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an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



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timelines

historical overviews of the ustaše



Timeline: History of the Ustase Movement



Forming in 1929 after the assassination of popular Croatian politician Stjepan Radic in Belgrade's parliament, the Ustase managed to outlive practically every other right-wing extremist movement in history. From the Independent State of Croatia to the Ratline to the renewed campaign of terror in the 1970s, this timeline offers a brief overview of the Ustase's seventy-plus year history. [more...](#)

[Timeline: The Ustase Movement](#)

[Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia](#)

[Essay: April 10, 1941](#)

[Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree](#)

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia



How it happened: from April 1941 to May 1945, the Ustase murdered between 300,000 and 600,000 human beings. This timeline lists key events in the war and the Independent State of Croatia as well as some of the most appalling atrocities resulting in the destruction of Croatia's Jewish and Roma communities and the massacre of an estimated third of its much larger Serbian population. [more...](#)

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The Ratline and the Krizari, 1946-1955

The Vatican, Krunoslav Draganovic, US Army Files, CIA Files, The Krizari...

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Exile and Resurrection, 1956-1990

Miro Baresic, Ante Ljubas, Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP), Croatian National Resistance (HNO, Odpor), Judicial Decisions and Trials...

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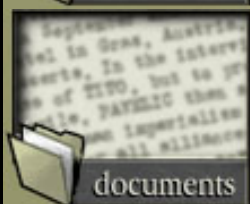
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prominent figures in the ustaše movement

Since 1929, literally tens of thousands of ministers and bureaucrats, soldiers and executioners have been part of the Ustase movement. The biographical thumbnails below are by no means exhaustive. This is living page and will be updated as time and circumstances allow.

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- **A** -

Artukovic, Andrija (1899 - 1988). Pre-war member of the Ustase, leading an uprising in the Velebit Mountains in opposition to the Royal Dictatorship of King Alexander I in the 1930s. Tasked with formulating a back-up plan in London in case the assassination of the King in Marseilles, France failed, Artukovic was briefly arrested by the British authorities but later released. Became Interior Minister of the Independent State of Croatia in April 1941, taking overall command of the concentration camps and part of the multi-headed hydra of Ustase security agencies. Escaped in May of 1945, eventually to Ireland and then to the United States, which he entered with a forged identity certificate. After nearly four decades living openly in California, Artukovic (by now quite senile) was extradited to Yugoslavia in 1986 and sentenced by a court to die by firing squad. The sentence was put off on account of his ill health, and Artukovic died in a prison hospital two years later. [more...](#)

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- B -

Budak, Mile (1889 - 1945). The "minister of culture with a machine gun," as famous Croatian novelist Miroslav Krleža called him, Mile Budak was a novelist in the pre-war era who emigrated after he was attacked by a pro-Yugoslav gang in broad daylight in Zagreb. The episode had a dramatic effect on his behavior, as he was soon calling for the mass extermination of Serbs and characterizing them as "slaves" and "beggars" and the like. As Minister of Education, Religion and Cults in the first Independent State of Croatia government, Budak was responsible for propaganda in the NDH as well as "de-Serbianizing" Croatian culture and forming a "pure" Catholic Croatian civilization (which, in order to mask the fact that minorities made up a plural majority in the NDH, included Bosnian Muslims, or as Budak was fond of referring to them, "Islamic Croats.") In a speech which was widely published in the Summer of 1941, Budak proclaimed the NDH's goal of "killing a third, expelling a third, and converting a third" of the Serbian population to Catholicism. Budak was arrested by the Communist-led Partisans in 1945 as he fled for the Austrian border and executed. **more...**

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Ducic, Jovan Yugoslav ambassador to Italy and Spain before the war. He emigrated to the United States in the early 1940s and for a brief time led the Serbian National Defense. Ducic died of a terminal illness before the war's conclusion. Mentioned frequently in the **OSS Files**.

Doshen, Ante Believed to be one of the top two or three leaders of the *Domobrans*, the official American branch of the Ustase movement in the 1930s.

Doshen escaped arrest when *Domobran* offices were raided by the FBI following the Independent State of Croatia's declaration of war on the United States in December, 1941. Described as an "adventurer" by the Office of Strategic Services, Doshen managed to obtain considerable political backing from a Pennsylvania senator until his ties to the Ustase regime then terrorizing Croatia were exposed. He was arrested on immigration charges, after which he is no longer heard from.

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- J -

Jelic, Branimir ("Branko") One of the three most important Ustase leaders in the pre-war period, along with Ante Pavelic and Eugen-Dido Kvaternik. Went into exile a year or more earlier than Pavelic, living in Vienna. He was interned with Pavelic and the younger Kvaternik in Italy following the assassination of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia in Marseilles, France, but later released, and it's questionable how involved in the conspiracy he had been. Jelic traveled to the United States in the 1930s to found the *Domobrans* or "Homedefenders," the official American branch of the Ustase movement. In London at the start of World War II, Jelic was interned as an enemy alien by the British government and thus did not participate in any role in the government of the **Independent State of Croatia**. After the war's conclusion, he settled in Germany and founded (with his brother Ivan) the **Croatian Committee** and the Croatian Socialist Party, closer in ideology to the **Croatian Peasant Party** than to any of the other Ustase successor organizations.

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Laxa, Vladimir (1870-1946). A highly decorated veteran of the First World War (in which he served in the Austro-Hungarian Army on the Italian front), Vladimir Laxa eventually enlisted in the Royal Yugoslav Army at the war's conclusion. After the German invasion and the declaration of the Independent State of Croatia, Laxa was given the title *podmarsal* (roughly, "deputy marshal") and was charged by Field Marshal Slavko Kvaternik with organizing the *Domobrans* (literally "Home Defenders," the Croatian regular army) in April 1941. Dispatched as "Special Representative of the Poglavnik" to Hercegovina in June of 1941, he authored several scathing reports denouncing the murderous rampages of the Ustase Army (the NDH's equivalent of Hitler's SS), in **one of which** he called for the entire Ustase Army's dissolution. Transferred to Army HQ, he later resigned his commission in protest against the refusal by Ante Pavelic and other Ustase political leaders to rein in the Ustase Army. Laxa was captured by the Communist-led Partizans after the British turned over a large group of Croatian refugees at the Austrian city of Bleiburg, and was shot the following year.

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Pavelic, Ante (1889-1959). A member of the Croat Party of Right founded by Ante Starcevic in the 19th century, Pavelic emigrated from Yugoslavia to Vienna in 1929 after the assassination of **Croatian Peasant Party** leader Stjepan Radic and the subsequent declaration of the Royal Dictatorship. He formed the Ustase movement with Branimir Jelic and with the assistance of Slavko Kvaternik and his son, Eugen-Dido. The Ustase organized several attempts on the life of King Alexander, including a farcical failure in Zagreb, before succeeding with the assistance of a hired killer from the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**, or IMRO. Sentenced to death in France, Pavelic remained in Italy until April 1941, when Nazi Germany invaded Yugoslavia and the Ustase proclaimed the Independent State of Croatia with the approval of Hitler and Mussolini. Responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands, including a third of the Serbian population of the NDH and the near total extinction of Croatia's Jewish and Roma communities. In May of 1945, he fled from Croatia toward Austria, disappearing into the woods with other Ustase political leaders. He spent the next two years in Italy under the protection of the **Vatican** and Father **Krunoslav Draganovic**. Pavelic resurfaced in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 1948, forming a series of short-lived organizations before uniting a dozen other escaped ministers from the NDH into the **Croatian Liberation Movement**, or HOP. After an attempt on his life in April of 1957, Pavelic fled to Spain, where he died a few days before the New Year in 1959. His body is reportedly buried at a secret location, waiting to be taken by his daughter Visnja back to Croatia for burial.

[more...](#)

Puk, Mirko Minister of Justice in the Ustase regime in the Independent State of Croatia, generally regarded as the instigator of the **Glina Church Massacre**, among other atrocities. Puk was reputedly the leading advocate for mass expulsion of the Serbian population of the NDH, and on February 25, 1942 (when tens of thousands of Serbs had already been killed, converted to Catholicism or forced over the border to Serbia), delivered a speech before the Croatian *Sabor* or parliament stating that "the moment the Croatian state came into being, its first duty was to return this element, which settled in these lands against all natural laws and against the will of the Croatian people, back to where it came from. The Croatian state has in this sense carried out its Croat and Ustase duty." Puk is mentioned in several files from the **US Army** as traveling with Pavelic in Italy; his final fate is unclear.

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Vrancic, Vjekoslav Personal secretary to **Ante Pavelic**, Vjekoslav Vrancic followed him throughout the war years, serving in a number of cabinet-level and deputy positions. In May of 1945, he followed Pavelic once again through Austria and Italy, passing on his master's orders via wireless radio transmitter to the **Krizari** or "Crusaders" who mounted a series of fantastically unsuccessful commando raids into Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1948. Vrancic became Pavelic's chief aide in the **Croatian Liberation Movement** in Buenos Aires, and after the *poglavnik*'s death disputed Stjepan Hefer's right to lead the organization. Vrancic led a small splinter faction of the HOP until it was re-united with the main organization in the 1970s under the HOP's American leader, Ante Bonifacic.

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essays, exhibitions and special features

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Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp

report by the state commission of croatia for the investigation of the crimes of the occupiers and their collaborators

Zagreb, 1946

A new translation of the official report on Jasenovac from 1946, including scores of testimony from the surviving inmates of the largest concentration camp in Southeast Europe.

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Memoir: Two Bullets for Pavelic

the story of blagoje jovovic

by Tihomir-Tiho Burzanovic, translated by Sinisa Djuric - November 8, 2003

English translation of the memoir of a Montenegrin Chetnik, Blagoje Jovovic, who claims to have been the man who shot Ante Pavelic in Argentina in 1957. [read more...](#)



Essay: The Return of the Golden Priest

the verona reports and the second recruitment of krunoslav draganovic, 1959

by Cali Ruchala - July 12, 2003

A new essay based on recently declassified files that reveal, in precise detail, the previously unknown "re-recruitment" of Father Krunoslav Draganovic by American intelligence in the Spring of 1959. [read more...](#)



Essay: From the Ratline to the Firing Line

for the new reader: an introduction to the ustase movement

by Cali Ruchala - May 18, 2003

The Ustase murdered more than six hundred thousand human beings during their terrible four years as commanders of the Nazi-satellite Independent State of Croatia during World War II. But the Ustase movement began long before Hitler's invasion of Yugoslavia in April of 1941, and survived long after. This essay provides an introduction into the seventy-plus year lifespan of a terrorist movement, from Austria-Hungary to the United States. [read more...](#)



Essay: April 10, 1941: A Day for Remembrance

by Cali Ruchala - April 10, 2003

April 10, 1941 is day of infamy on the calendar of humanity, the day a death sentence was passed on at least a half-million human beings. Sixty-two years ago, the Independent State of Croatia was formed. [read more...](#)



Exhibition: Top Secret: The Pavelic Army Files

After fifty years, the surveillance files on Ante Pavelic kept by the United States Army in Rome after World War II can finally be read. An annotated guide to this intriguing, often shocking collection. [read more...](#)



Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

by Cali Ruchala - October 2002

Exploring the connections between the Croatian extremists responsible for more than 100 terrorist attacks in the 1970s alone and the fugitive leaders of the wartime Ustase regime. [read more...](#)



Essay: Patron Saint of Genocide

by Bill Stouffer

A provocative, expertly-researched article exploring the controversy behind the Vatican's recent beatification of Croatia's wartime church leader, Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac. [read more...](#)



Essay: Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

by Jonathan Levy

An article by one of the lead attorneys seeking to find out the truth about Ustase's web of connections with the Vatican and US intelligence. [read more...](#)

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posted May 10, 2003

A statement regarding the death threats received by the editor of this website. "Most of the threats I've received in the past were vague. This time it was more direct: 'Delete the website or you'll get a bullet in the head.'" [more...](#)

- None.

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a note from the editors

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Foundation: 1929-1940

document count: 6



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Five months after the assassination of **Croatian Peasant Party** leader Stjepan Radic, King Alexander of Yugoslavia declared his personal dictatorship and liquidated all opposition political parties. **Ante Pavelic**, an obscure politician with the extreme right-wing "Frankist" faction of the Croat Party of Right, left Yugoslavia for exile in Vienna shortly thereafter. He first established contacts with the leadership of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO) in Bulgaria, then accepted the invitation of *Duce* Benito Mussolini to house his new organization in **Italy**. Several of the Ustase's most prominent leaders, including Slavko and Eugen-Dido Kvaternik and Branimir Jelic, were recruited during this period.

The Ustase began to organize terrorist raids into Yugoslav territory from abroad, chiefly from Hungarian, Austrian and Italian territory. Following a failed attempt on the life of Alexander by an Ustase assassin in Zagreb, Pavelic and Dido Kvaternik recruited an experienced killer from IMRO, who murdered King Alexander and France's Foreign Minister, Louis Barthou, in Marseilles, France in 1934. Pavelic, Kvaternik and Jelic are placed under arrest by Mussolini, but he rejects French requests for their extradition. Pavelic and Kvaternik are found guilty in a trial in absentia in France and sentenced to death.

The Ustase were in official disfavour in Rome following a rapprochement between Yugoslavia and Italy in 1937, and a plot to assassinate Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Stojadinovic during a state visit was foiled by the Italian police. The Yugoslav government signs the *Sporazum* (Understanding), an agreement with Vladko Macek of the **Croatian Peasant Party** which provides Croatia with a wide degree of autonomy within the Yugoslav state. Increasingly alarmed by German moves to push their borders south after the *Anschluss* with Austria and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, Italy resumes consultations with Pavelic on a plan to provoke an uprising and declare an independent Croatia, united with Italy under the monarchy.

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [Italian Sources](#)

Documents: [Croatian Peasant Party](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

Documents

Official Document: Principles of the Ustase Movement

1929: The founding document of the Ustase Movement, presented in full English translation for the first time

Pavelic: Ten Years Struggle in the Homeland

January 9-13, 1999: Lengthy excerpts from one of Pavelic's autobiographies, as serialized in a right-wing Croatian paper in 1999

News Excerpt: Croat Leader in Hospital

February 18, 1939: *New York Times* report on the hunger strike of Ustase leader Branimir Jelic in the United States

News Excerpt: Dr. Jelic Wins in Court

July 18, 1939: *New York Times* report on Branimir Jelic's release from prison by court order

Pamphlet: "The Victorious Axis"

March 1941: Excerpt from an Ustase propaganda leaflet denouncing the Croatian Peasant Party

News Story: The Conspirator Rediscovered

1990: Interview with IMRO leader Ivan "Vance" Mihailov on the murder of King Alexander

Features

- None.

External Links

- None.

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The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)

document count: 3



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Founded in Thessaloniki in 1893 under the motto "Macedonia for the Macedonians," and later became the best organized and most renowned Balkan militia. Split into two rival factions after the Ilinden Uprising in Macedonia was crushed by the Ottoman Army in 1903: the Federalists, favouring Macedonian autonomy within a wider Balkan Federation, and the Centralists, fighting for a direct annexation of Macedonia by Bulgaria. The latter faction was led by Ivan "Vancia" Mihailov.

After World War I, continued raids into Macedonia from Bulgarian territory against the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later named Yugoslavia. In March 1923, Bulgarian leader Alexander Stamboliski signed the Treaty of Nis with Yugoslavia, stressing the need for cooperation between the two countries to end IMRO incursions. After a coup forced him from office, Stamboliski fell into the hands of an IMRO contingent, who tortured him, cut off his right hand (which had signed the Treaty of Nis), stabbed him sixty times and decapitated his body.

Following an unsuccessful attempt on the life of King Alexander of Yugoslavia, Ustase leader **Ante Pavelic** "borrowed" Vancia Mihailov's driver and bodyguard and, together with Dido Kvaternik, plotted to kill the Yugoslav king during a state visit to Marseilles, France using the Bulgarian's expertise. Alexander was assassinated by bullets fired from the revolver held by "Vlada the Chauffeur," as was the French Foreign Minister, Louis Barthou, who was riding in the same vehicle. For this, Pavelic and Kvaternik were sentenced to death in absentia by a French court after **Italian** dictator Benito Mussolini refused to allow their extradition.

Exasperated by the power IMRO wielded within Bulgaria and of being forced into a hostile position with her neighbours, the governing *Zveno* movement in Sofia ordered the army to intervene. With the complicity of a moderate IMRO faction, the extremist wing was purged in the mid-1930s, and Vancia Mihailov fled abroad, first to Turkey and later, most probably, to the **Independent State of Croatia**.

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [Italian Sources](#)

Documents: [Croatian Peasant Party](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

Documents

Article: The Conspirator Rediscovered

1990: Interview with IMRO leader Ivan "Vance" Mihailov on the murder of King Alexander

OSS File: Croatian Fraternal Union Affairs

April 23, 1942: OSS report on various American Slavic groups; IMRO mentioned by name as a difficult group to infiltrate

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement

June 14, 1948: Mention of Mihailov as a possible agent in connection with the Ustase-backed Krizari movement

Features

- None.

External Links

- None.

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The Croatian Peasant Party (HSS)

document count: 12



OSS File: [Memorandum on Yugoslav Groups in the US](#)

Documents: [Otpor](#)

Documents: [The Croatian Liberation Movement](#)

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Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

Led by charismatic brothers Ante and Stjepan Radic in the closing years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and undoubtedly the most popular political movement among Croats through the 1930s. Stjepan Radic alone spoke in opposition to the formation of Yugoslavia under the aegis of the King of Serbia at the National Council which decided on the union. Won elections in March 1923, but HSS deputies boycotted parliament. Radic visited the USSR in the Summer of 1924 for the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and affiliated the HSS with Communist Peasant International, or *Krestintern*. Radic was arrested in December 1924 and the Peasant Party outlawed. Shifting strategies, Radic communicated his acceptance of the Constitution and was released from jail a few months later. For taking their seats, the HSS was branded as a band of traitors by radicals from the Croat Party of Right, including **Ante Pavelic**. After serving for a time as Yugoslav Minister of Education, Radic was shot on the floor of parliament with four other HSS deputies by a representative from Montenegro and died of his wounds on August 8, 1928.

Radic's successor, Vladko Macek, led the Croatian delegates in a walk-out of parliament and King Alexander declared his personal dictatorship five months later, an event which led Pavelic into exile and to form the Ustase. In August 1939, the *Sporazum* (Understanding) was initialed by the Peasant Party, granting Croatia a wide measure of autonomy. Vladko Macek joined the government and a Peasant Party deputy, Ivan Subasic, served as *ban* (governor) of Croatia, though HSS delegations continued to visit **Italy** to press for Fascist intervention in declaring hegemony over Croatia. After Yugoslavia was attacked by **Nazi Germany**, Macek declined an Axis offer to lead the Independent State of Croatia and appeared on radio urging Croats to support the new Ustase regime. He was one of the first inmates of the **Jasenovac** concentration camp, later released to serve under house arrest. The Peasant Party was completely liquidated by the Ustase, which absorbed their youth and other affiliated organizations and welcomed former HSS delegates who crossed over to their side, among them Pavelic's eventual successor, Stjepan Hefer. Other HSS officials attempted to broker an alliance with the Communist-led Partizans, but were prevented from doing so



by their former seniors. Macek was exiled in America by the Communist regime.

Documents

Pamphlet: "The Victorious Axis"

March 1941: Excerpt from an Ustase propaganda leaflet denouncing the Croatian Peasant Party

Official Document: "Pavelic's Cossacked Agents"

May 19, 1942: OSS report on efforts to undermine Croatian-American support for Ivan Subasic

Official Document: Memorandum on Yugoslav Groups in the US

June 28, 1944: Lengthy report including extensive background information the American branch of the Ustase movement, the Domobran

CIA File: Organization of the Ustase Abroad

October 1946: Reference to several HSS deputies-cum-Ustase hiding in Italy

CIA File: Background Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

February 12, 1947: "With this aim in view DRAGANOVIC is working with the Ustashi and also with the leftovers of the Croat Peasant Party in exile."

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (I)

June 14, 1948: Mention of HSS leaders in Italy attempting to set up their own resistance to Communist rule in Yugoslavia

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (II)

c. 1948: CIA report on leaders of the Croatian Resistance Movement, including the missing leader of the terror unit *Crna Legija* or Black Legion, Rafael Boban

CIA File: CIA Internal Memo

October 16, 1950: Mentions Krunoslav Draganovic's relations with Pavelic, Macek and other Croatian leaders

CIA File: Notes from the Foreign Language Press

November 8, 1950: Summary of a pointed Danica attack on Vladko Macek

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (1)

August 23, 1954: Report sent from Munich, Germany to the US State Department on activity of the Croatian exile groups, including the

Peasant Party

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (2)

c. October 1954: Second report sent from Munich, Germany to the US State Department, including the Peasant Party

CIA File: State Department File on Krunoslav Draganovic

January 9, 1968: Mention of Draganovic's attempts to woo the HSS in exile

Features

- None.

External Links

- None.

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Italian Sources

document count: 2

Italian dictator Benito Mussolini was the first patron of the Ustase, providing financial and military aid to the group shortly after Ustase founder **Ante Pavelic** went into exile in 1929, and acting as host to the *poglavnik* for most of the next dozen years. The *Duce* protected Pavelic after the assassination of Yugoslav King Alexander and French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou in Marseilles, France in 1934, and provided the Ustase with training camps near Siena to replace those shuttered by the Hungarian government following an outcry in the League of Nations.

The Ustase fell into disfavour in official circles after Count Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law and foreign minister, orchestrated a rapprochement with Yugoslavia in March 1937 and sought to draw the country into the Fascist orbit. Official meetings with Pavelic resumed following the Czechoslovak crisis and Italy's absorption of Albania, out of fear that the Ustase would turn to Germany and bring the Nazis to the Adriatic. Relations soured again after the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, when Pavelic agreed to surrender a large portion of Dalmatia to the Italians and faced criticism from his own inner-circle. Following Italian intervention to prevent the Ustase massacre of Serbs and Jews, Pavelic reoriented a shift in the NDH's position to the Germans, relying particularly upon his personal relationship with Adolf Hitler.



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [German Sources](#)

Documents: [Croatian Peasant Party](#)

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Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

Documents

A Telegram to Mussolini

April 8, 1941: Pavelic's letter to the Italian Duce on the invasion of Yugoslavia

Article: "The Renewal of Medieval Times"

September 18, 1941: Excerpt from an article in *Il Resto del Carlino* describing Franciscan complicity in the massacre of the Serbs

Features

- None.

External Links

- None.

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The Pavelic Papers

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documents



who's who



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misc./&tc.

The Independent State of Croatia: 1941-1945

document count: 76



After a revolution by junior military officers overthrew a Yugoslav government which had signed the Axis Tripartite Pact, Nazi Germany invaded Yugoslavia on Orthodox Easter, April 6, 1941. On April 10, Slavko Kvaternik arrived in Zagreb to proclaim the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) in the name of his master, *Poglavnik* **Ante Pavelic**.

Minorities (**Serbs**, **Jews** and Roma) made up more than half of the NDH's total population. Nevertheless, the Ustase regime immediately began a campaign to "purify" Croatia of those Interior Minister **Andrija Artukovic** would call "the insatiable parasites." Terrifying massacres outraged even hardened **Nazi officers**, who protested to Zagreb and to Berlin. Rebellion against the occupation began almost immediately in Serbia and Bosnia and probably would have occurred in any case, but Ustase atrocities against the civilian population threw literally thousands of new recruits into the ranks of the Serbian Cetniks and the Communist-led Partizans. Most shocking of all to **Italian** military and civilian observers was the participation of members of the clergy in the massacres; Pavelic's aggressive treatment of the "minority problem" enjoyed the unqualified support of the **Archbishop of Sarajevo** and dozens, possibly hundreds of lesser members of the clergy, particularly from the Franciscan Order.

The NDH suffered a blow following the Italian surrender in 1943. Two senior Ustase officials, Mladen Lorkovic and Ante Vokic, made tentative plans toward a *coup d'etat* which would replace Pavelic and other senior Ustase officials compromised by their virulent pro-Nazi stance, but the plot was discovered and the two ministers were placed under arrest. The rapid advance of the Soviet Army, increased supplies by the Allies to the Partizans and the presence of the British Navy in the Adriatic Sea accelerated the NDH's internal decay. On May 9, 1945, Germany surrendered, but Ustase loyalists in Croatia continued to fight. Pavelic, Saric, Artukovic and a horde of other Ustase ringleaders disguised themselves in a column of ordinary refugees fleeing the Communist advance for the Austrian border. It was the presence of the Ustase which drew attention to the group. Nearly all of the refugees were turned over by the British

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [Jewish Victims](#)

Documents: [Serbian Victims](#)

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Documents: [Italian Sources](#)

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at Bleiburg, except for the cream of the Ustase leadership, who mysteriously escaped. Thousands were imprisoned and killed by the Communist government while the deposed government officials hid in Austria and Italy.

Estimates of the death toll of the Ustase regime in the Independent State of Croatia vary. According to Aaron Breitbart, Senior Research Associate of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, "Although exact figures for civilian victims of the Ustashi in the nazi puppet state of Croatia may never be known, the following numbers represent reasonable estimates as determined by reputable, scholarly sources": 30,000 Jews, 28,000 Roma, and 600,000 Serbs. In Breitbart's estimate, a further 250,000 Serbs were listed as expelled, and 200,000 "forcibly converted to Catholicism" - in line with the regime's stated goal in mid-1941 of "killing a third, expelling a third, and converting a third" of the pre-war Serbian population.

Documents

Pavelic's Radio Address to Croatia

April 5, 1941: Excerpt from a radio speech Pavelic broadcast into Croatia on the eve of war, urging the Croatian people to "cleanse" the land of enemies

A Telegram to Mussolini

April 8, 1941: Pavelic's letter to the Italian Duce on the invasion of Yugoslavia

Decree: On the First Croatian Government

April 16, 1941: Pavelic declares himself head of state and names his closest advisors as ministers

Katolicki List: The Foundation of the Independent State of Croatia

April 1941: Article from the Catholic paper Katolicki List lauding the formation of the Independent State of Croatia

News: In the Sign of Sacrifice

April 27, 1941: Excerpt from an article by Father Franjo Kralik praising the work done by Dr. Ivan Merz's Croatian youth group as being in line with the "spiritual program of the Ustase"

Pastoral Letter from Archbishop Stepinac

April 28, 1941: The full text of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac's exhortation for priests to participate fully in the work of the Independent State of Croatia

Decree: On Racial Affiliation

April 30, 1941: English Translation of the Ustase Law "On Racial Affiliation"

Decree: On the Protection of Aryan Blood

April 30, 1941: English Translation of the Ustase Law "On the Protection of Aryan Blood..."

Comparison Between Nazi and Ustase Racial Decrees

1941: Comparison between the decrees passed in Germany and the NDH giving precise definition to who was and was not Jewish

Stepinac Letters to Artukovic

April 1941-November 1942: Letters from Archbishop Stepinac to Interior Minister Artukovic on application of the NDH racial decrees

Order: The White Armbands

May 13, 1941: Order to the municipal leadership ordering all Serbs to wear a white armband designating them as Orthodox

News: Victor Gutic's Visit to Petricevac

May 16, 1941: Eleven days before murdering the Orthodox Bishop of Banja Luka, Ustase prefect Victor Gutic visits the Franciscan monastery at Petricevac

Decree: On the Establishment of Courts-Martial

May 17, 1941: The complete text in English translation of the decree which established courts-martial for civilians in the Independent State of Croatia, in which the only legal sentence permitted was death by firing squad

Article: Archbishop Saric on his meetings with the Ustase

May 1941: From a nostalgic newspaper article authored by Ivan Saric

Article: "Love Has Its Limits"

1941: Anti-Semitic article often attributed to Ivan Saric, but actually the work of his subordinate, Father Franjo Kralik

Report: Expulsion of Serbs from Slavonia and Srem

June 2, 1941: Just six weeks after the founding of the NDH, organized mass expulsions begin

News: Speech by Minister Milovan Zanich

June 3, 1941: Excerpt from a speech by the Ustase minister exhorting the audience to "cleanse" Croatia of Serbs - and adding that it was state policy to do so.

Decree: Ustase Command-Dubrovnik Order No. 188:44

June 25, 1941: Prohibition on radios and forbidding Jews and Serbs

from congregating at night, signed by Dubrovnik prefect Ivo Rojnica

Report by Laxa on Unrest in Hercegovina

c. July 5, 1941: Report by General Vladimir Laxa of the Croatian regular army forces on atrocities by the Ustase in Hercegovina in the first months of the NDH

"The NDH is an Islamic State"

Spring-Summer, 1941: Mile Budak on "Islamic Croats"

Book Excerpt: Wartime

July 1941: Milovan Djilas' description of a country ripped apart by Maks Luburic's henchmen

Letter: "The Franciscans Haven't Gotten a Dime"

Summer, 1941: Powerful letter from a Catholic priest in the NDH to his exiled Orthodox counterpart

Letter: "Nature Takes Its Course"

July 31, 1941: Letter from a Franciscan priest from Koraca to the Ustase Prefect at Dervanta, on the marriage of widowed Serbs to Catholic men

Letter from the Bishop of Mostar to Archbishop Stepinac

August, 1941: Response to Stepinac's inquiry as to the progress of forced conversions to Catholicism among the Serbian population

Letter: Slovenian Settlers on Massacres Near Vojnic

August 2, 1941: Found in the NDH Archives, this is a letter written by Slovenian settlers relocated from the German Reich, addressed to German General Edmond Glaise von Horstenau on the extrajudicial murder of 400 Serbs by the Ustase

Report: Seven Hundred Hostages Shot by the Ustase

August 6, 1941: Report on a rise in Chetnik activity and the corresponding massacre of 700 Serbian civilians from Sanski Most by the Ustase near Banja Luka

Police Report on the "Cleansing" of Serbs near Slunj

August 13, 1941: Shocking eyewitness report by the Croatian commander of a police platoon in Slunj about the mass expulsions, conversions, and slaughter of his area's Serbian inhabitants

Decree: On the Croatian Language, Its Purity and Spelling

August 14, 1941: Mile Budak on how people should talk and write, with a promise to "determine penalties for the protection of the purity of the language and its spelling"

Order: Request by General Laxa for Ustase to Leave Bosnia

September 11, 1941: Decoded communication from General Vladimir

Laxa to the Ministry of Defense for "murdering and pillaging" Ustase units from Hercegovina to be removed from Bosnia at once before they provoke an even larger uprising

Italian Article: "The Renewal of Medieval Times"

September 18, 1941: Excerpt from an article in *Il Resto del Carlino* describing Franciscan complicity in the massacre of the Serbs

Letter: Bishop Aksamovic on Prayer for the "Crusade War"

September 24, 1941: Letter from the Bishop of Djakovo calling on Croats to pray for a quick end to the war after the Nazi invasion of the USSR - and honoring Pavelic and Hitler

Stepinac's Letter on the Resettlement of Slovene Monks

October 3, 1941: Letter from Stepinac to Ante Pavelic on Slovene monks taking over the cathedral of exiled Serb Orthodox clergy

Report on the Murder of 800 Civilians near Petrinja

December 3, 1941: Tersely-worded request for information by German General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau regarding the massacre of 800 "men, women and children" by the Ustase near Petrinja

Report on the Death of Peasants in Jablanica

December 4, 1941: Police report from Banja Luka on the massacre of 107 Serbs, "mostly boys from 12 to 15 years of age," and the massacre by the Ustase of mourners at a Serbian funeral

Decree: Declaration of War on the US and Britain

December 14, 1941: Delivered in Zagreb after the Japanese Attack on Pearl Harbor

Article: Jews as the "Insatiable Parasites"

February 26, 1942: Transcript of Artukovic's speech to parliament denouncing "Judeo-Communists" as ""poisonous and insatiable parasites"

The Career of Andrija Artukovic

Excerpt from *Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America*

Evelyn Waugh on the Sarajevo Franciscans

From the Catholic novelist who spent some time as part of the Allied mission to Yugoslavia in World War II

Letter: Rusinovic on Meeting with Cardinal Tisserant

March 6, 1942: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on a stormy meeting with Vatican official Cardinal Eugene Tisserant

OSS File: Ante Doshen

March 31, 1942: "Doshen has been and still is, one of the best

agents of Ante Pavelic in this country"

OSS File: Reverend Hugolin Feis

March 31, 1942: "This friar is a pronounced fascist and violently anti-democratic in principle"

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April 23, 1942: SK's report on internal dissension within the Croatian Fraternal Union

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April 29, 1942: The activities of members of the banned American branch of the Ustase, the Croatian Home Defenders

OSS File: The Croatian Catholic Union

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OSS File: Activities of Dr. A. Pavelic's Exponents

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Letter of Nikola Rusinovic on Stepinac in Rome

May 9, 1942: Letter from the NDH's ambassador to the Vatican on the conduct of Stepinac during his interviews with Pope Pius XII

OSS File: Axis Propagandists Within the Croatian Catholic Union

May 9, 1942: Report on a meeting of the Board of Directors of the CCU, in which the pro-Allied editor is taken to task for his writing against Hitler and Pavelic

OSS File: "Pavelic's Cossacked Agents"

May 19, 1942: The Rev. Spiro Andrianich and other Pavelich adherents in America

Report on the Slaughter of Serbs near Pokupje

October 15, 1942: Report forwarded through the Interior Ministry regarding the killing of Serbs in Kordun and Banija since the NDH's formation in April 1941, including the notorious Glina Church Massacre

Letter to Minister Anthony Eden

November 13, 1942: An official with the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile in London informs the British Foreign Office of reports of mass slaughter in the NDH

Letter: The Fate of Father Franjo Rihar

November 17, 1942: Artukovic sends a Catholic priest to Jasenovac for refusing to celebrate the NDH and its Poglavnik

Letter: Lobkowitz on February 1943 Meeting with the Pope

February 9, 1943: Letter from the NDH's ambassador to the Vatican detailing his interview with Pope Pius XII

Letter: Lobkowitz on Meeting with Cardinal Spellman

March 6, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on a meeting with New York Cardinal Spellman at the height of the war

Stepinac's Address to Pius XII

May 18, 1943: Aide-mémoire by Stepinac personally delivered to Pope Pius XII at their later meeting

Letter: Lobkowitz on Stepinac's Meeting with the Pope

June 10, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican describing the general impression among Vatican officials of Stepinac's second interview with the Pope

Letter: Lobkowitz on February 1943 Meeting with the Pope

July 13, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on a July meeting with the Pope

Letter of Erwin Lobkowitz on Stepinac in Rome

May 1943: Letter from the new NDH Ambassador to the Vatican on Stepinac's second visit to Rome, in which he justified the persecution of the Jews as abortionists

Proposal for Decoration for Nada Luburic

1944: Proposal for a decoration for Nada Luburic, future wife of Jasenovac commandant Dinko Sakic, for bravery

Decoration for Nada Luburic, Maja Buzdon, etc.

1944: Order signed by Ante Pavelic himself bestowing a military decoration on female concentration camp guards at Stara Gradiska

OSS File: Memorandum on Yugoslav Groups in the US

June 28, 1944: Lengthy report which includes considerable background on Ustase agents in the United States

A Jasenovac Survivor's Testimony

Dr. Nikola Nikolic on the Franciscan executioner, Fra Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic

Book Excerpt: Genocide in Satellite Croatia

Maks Luburic on the efficiency of his concentration camp system

Letter: Glaise von Horstenau's Tour of Ustase Concentration Camps

Gen. Glaise von Horstenau's inspection of an Ustase Concentration Camp

Letter: Glaise von Horstenau on the Ustase Massacres

"The 'lucky' inhabitants were consigned to one of the fearsome boxcar trains; many 'passengers' cut their veins on the journey."

Special Assignment in the Southeast

Dr. Hermann Neubacher, the German Plenipotentiary in SE Europe, on the "Croatian Crusade of Destruction"

Judicial Trial: Measures Taken Against the Jews

Testimony by Alexander Arnon on anti-Jewish laws passed immediately after the founding of the Independent State of Croatia

Article: As the Surviving Jews Remember Artukovic

March 9, 1958: Transcript of an article from the Yugoslav Press on Jews' memories of Andrija Artukovic

Book Excerpt: Eichmann in Jerusalem

Hannah Arendt on the Destruction of Croatian Jewry

Judicial Testimony: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann (Excerpt)

Andrija Artukovic's role in the Holocaust

Judicial Decision: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Judgment (Excerpt)

"only 1,500 out of 30,000 Croatian Jews remained alive..."

Article: Under the Government of the Ustashi Monster

November 11, 1993: Review of the *History of the Yugoslav Jews* by Yosef Algazi, *Haaretz*

Article: Ivo Goldstein at the Sakic War Crimes Trial

June 1, 1999: Historian Ivo Goldstein on Jasenovac and the Jewish Problem

Features

- None.

External Links

- None.

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timelines



documents



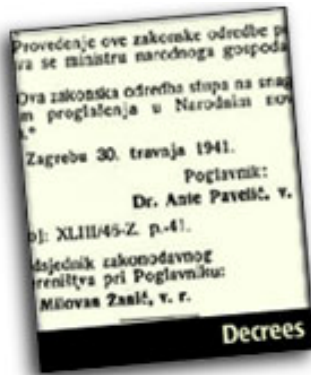
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essays



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NDH Decrees

document count: 6



related links

Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

Documents: [Judicial Trials and Decisions](#)

Documents: [Newspapers from the NDH](#)

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Essay: [The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA](#)

Though endowed with a *Sabor* (parliament), Ustase leader and *poglavnik* of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) **Ante Pavelic** regarded the body with a dictator's mistrust of democratic procedures and preferred to rule by decree. Pavelic's writs were usually counter-signed by the ministry which was charged with its implementation, as well as his minister in charge of organizing the *Sabor*. They were published in the official gazette of the NDH, the *Narodne novine*.

Documents

Decree: On the First Croatian Government

April 16, 1941: Pavelic declares himself head of state and names his closest advisors as ministers

Decree: On Racial Affiliation

April 30, 1941: English Translation of the Ustase Law "On Racial Affiliation"

Decree: On the Protection of Aryan Blood

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Decree: Ustase Command-Dubrovnik Order No. 188:44

June 25, 1941: Prohibition on radios and forbidding Jews and Serbs from congregating at night, signed by Dubrovnik prefect Ivo Rojnica

Features

- None.

External Links

- None

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The NDH Archive

document count: 14



It has been alleged that scores of incriminating documents were packed up and carried out of the country by retreating Ustase forces in May of 1945, or were hidden at various safehouses throughout Croatia. Nevertheless, thousands of pages were preserved in the NDH Archive. They are, by turns, shocking, banal, and revolting. The most notorious Ustase crimes, such as the Glina church massacre, are therein corroborated in the words of various onlookers, witnesses and, in some cases, participants.

For the official public decrees of the Ustase government, post-war investigators looked to the *Narodne novine* - the "official gazette" which was distributed throughout the country via the Ustase's bureaucratic apparatus. For police reports, commendations, army communications, and reports forwarded by outsiders, the NDH Archive proved to be a unique record of what a modern totalitarian state, built upon genocide, sounds like when it talks to itself.

The translations below are, in many cases, the first time these documents have appeared in the English language. For other official and quasi-official documents from the Independent State of Croatia, see also **Ante Pavelic**, **Andrija Artukovic**, **Mile Budak** and **Jasenovac**.

Documents

Order: The White Armbands

May 13, 1941: Order to the municipal leadership ordering all Serbs to wear a white armband designating them as Orthodox

Expulsion of Serbs from Slavonia and Srem

June 2, 1941: Just six weeks after the founding of the NDH, organized mass expulsions begin

Report by Laxa on Unrest in Hercegovina

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Documents: [German Sources](#)

Documents: [Newspapers in the NDH](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

Who's Who: [General Vladimir Laxa](#)



c. July 5, 1941: Report by General Vladimir Laxa of the Croatian regular army forces on atrocities by the Ustase in Hercegovina in the first months of the NDH

Letter: Slovenian Settlers on Massacres Near Vojnic

August 2, 1941: Found in the NDH Archives, this is a letter written by Slovenian settlers relocated from the German Reich, addressed to German General Edmond Glaise von Horstenau on the extrajudicial murder of 400 Serbs by the Ustase

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August 6, 1941: Report on a rise in Chetnik activity and the corresponding massacre of 700 Serbian civilians from Sanski Most by the Ustase near Banja Luka

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August 13, 1941: Shocking eyewitness report by the Croatian commander of a police platoon in Slunj about the mass expulsions, conversions, and slaughter of his area's Serbian inhabitants

Order: Request by General Laxa for Ustase to Leave Bosnia

September 11, 1941: Decoded communication from General Vladimir Laxa to the Ministry of Defense for "murdering and pillaging" Ustase units from Hercegovina to be removed from Bosnia at once before they provoke an even larger uprising

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December 3, 1941: Tersely-worded request for information by German General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau regarding the massacre of 800 "men, women and children" by the Ustase near Petrinja

Report on the Death of Peasants in Jablanica

December 4, 1941: Police report from Banja Luka on the massacre of 107 Serbs, "mostly boys from 12 to 15 years of age," and the massacre by the Ustase of mourners at a Serbian funeral

Report on the Slaughter of Serbs near Pokupje

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Proposal for Decoration for Nada Luburic

1944: Proposal for a decoration for Nada Luburic, future wife of Jasenovac commandant Dinko Sakic, for bravery

Decoration for Nada Luburic, Maja Buzdon, etc.

1944: Order signed by Ante Pavelic himself bestowing a military decoration on female concentration camp guards at Stara Gradiska

Features

- None.

External Links

- None.

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The OSS Files

document count: 11



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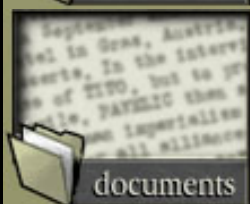
Shortly after the Japanese attack on the naval base at Pearl Harbor, the Roosevelt Administration directed the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), led by Allen W. Dulles, to begin investigation of suspected collaborators and spies among ethnic communities of the United States with ties to their (now enemy or occupied) former countries.

For information about individuals in the Yugoslav diaspora groups (Croats, Serbs, Slovenes and Macedonians), the OSS relied upon the reports of one "SK" - S. Karan. SK developed informants within numerous emigre organizations, including the Croatian Fraternal Union, the Croatian Catholic Union and the Serbian National Defense Council, among others. The majority of SK's reports have been declassified and are now available in the National Archives in Washington, DC.

A few disclaimers should be noted about the OSS Files, and intelligence files in general. First, the OSS was an organ of the United States government, and SK's primary motivation was to locate those individuals who might be detrimental to the American war effort. The Independent State of Croatia, under Ante Pavelic, had declared war on the United States on December 14, 1941 - and in a **most ostentatious manner**. Thus, a man's personal opinions, which would be respected in peacetime, were quite enough alone to attract the unwelcome attention of the authorities. And after several Germans were arrested for plotting sabotage in the US, giving aid and comfort to the enemy was a serious threat and was treated accordingly.

Second, SK, though he seems to have been remarkably well-informed, was not the final investigator. Many of his OSS reports which carry the most serious accusations against his subjects have the handwritten comment of a supervisor (often Allen Dulles himself) that a copy had been forwarded to the FBI, presumably for further investigation of the most serious charges laid within.

Finally, governments open files on all sorts of people. Inclusion in these files is not necessarily an equation with guilt, nor should it ever be. However, the OSS Files are a fascinating snapshot of the



Croatian community in America after their new country's entry into the war against their old one, particularly after FBI raids shut down the American branch of the Ustase movement, the "Croatian homedefender" organization, shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Documents

OSS File: Ante Doshen

March 31, 1942: "Doshen has been and still is, one of the best agents of Ante Pavelic in this country"

OSS File: Reverend Hugolin Feis

March 31, 1942: "This friar is a pronounced fascist and violently anti-democratic in principle"

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April 23, 1942: SK's report on internal dissension within the Croatian Fraternal Union

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OSS File: "Pavelic's Cossacked Agents"

May 19, 1942: The Rev. Spiro Andrianich and other Pavelich adherents in America

OSS File: Memorandum on Yugoslav Groups in the US

June 28, 1944: Lengthy report including extensive background information the American branch of the Ustase movement, the Domobran

Features

- None.

External Links

- None.

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Newspapers in the NDH

document count: 6

The Ustase organization, from its genesis in Vienna and Rome in the 1930s until more recent times, has placed an extraordinary emphasis on propaganda and its dissemination. Yet many of the most inflammatory statements during the lifespan of the Independent State of Croatia were in the Catholic press, in organs of long standing, chief among them *Katolicki List* and *Katolicki Tjednik*. Notable organs under the jurisdiction of the state were *Hrvatski List*, *Hrvatski Narod* and *Nova Hrvatska*. **Official decrees** were published in *Narodne novine*, the official government gazette, though newspapers often published transcripts of speeches by notable Ustase leaders.



related links

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archives](#)

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Documents

Katolicki List: The Foundation of the Independent State of Croatia

April 1941: Article from the Catholic paper Katolicki List lauding the formation of the Independent State of Croatia

News: In the Sign of Sacrifice

April 27, 1941: Excerpt from an article by Father Franjo Kralik praising the work done by Dr. Ivan Merz's Croatian youth group as being in line with the "spiritual program of the Ustase"

News: Victor Gutic's Visit to Petricevac

May 16, 1941: Eleven days before murdering the Orthodox Bishop of Banja Luka, Ustase prefect Victor Gutic visits the Franciscan monastery at Petricevac

News: Speech by Minister Milovan Zanich

June 3, 1941: Excerpt from a speech by the Ustase minister exhorting the audience to "cleanse" Croatia of Serbs - and adding that it was state policy to do so.

Article: Archbishop Saric on his Pre-War Meetings with the

Ustase

May 1941: From a nostalgic newspaper article authored by Ivan Saric

Article: "Love Has Its Limits"

1941: Anti-Semitic article often attributed to Ivan Saric, but actually the work of his subordinate, Father Franjo Kralik

Features

- None.

External Links

- None.

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

German Sources

document count: 4



Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [Italian Sources](#)

Documents: [Croatian Peasant Party](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

After the conquest and dismemberment of Yugoslavia in April 1941, German soldiers formed the backbone of security forces and were soon drawn into action as administrators, diplomats, and as shock troops against a growing insurgency. General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau arrived in Zagreb as German Plenipotentiary General after the proclamation of the state and remained in this position until September 1944. Glaise von Horstenau detested the Ustase, and *poglavnik* **Ante Pavelic** in particular, and acted as a brake to the more atrocious plans by the Ustase leadership. His reports to Berlin were filled with accounts of the slaughter ordered by Pavelic and his agents. In his testimony to the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, Horstenau said he had been "dismissed from my post in Zagreb because, being an Austrian of the old regime, I was against the official policy and was one of the opponents of the Ustashi terror. Another reason was that I was supposed to have called the Head of the State, who was elected and appointed by us, Ante Pavelic, a 'criminal subject,' among other undiplomatic things." Horstenau died shortly after the end of World War II, and his notes and reports have been compiled into a sort of posthumous autobiography. Together with the memoirs of German Plenipotentiary for Southeast Europe Dr. Hermann Neubacher, the reports submitted by these loyal German officers form a valuable primary source of how the Ustase were viewed by their chief allies.

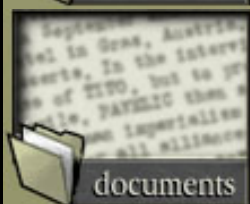
Documents

Report on the Murder of 800 Civilians near Petrinja

December 3, 1941: Tersely-worded request for information by German General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau regarding the massacre of 800 "men, women and children" by the Ustase near Petrinja

Letter: Glaise von Horstenau on the Ustase Concentration Camps

Gen. Glaise von Horstenau's inspection of an Ustase Concentration Camp



Letter: Glaise von Horstenau on the Ustase Massacres

"The 'lucky' inhabitants were consigned to one of the fearsome boxcar trains; many 'passengers' cut their veins on the journey."

Special Assignment in the Southeast

Dr. Hermann Neubacher, the German Plenipotentiary in SE Europe, on the "Croatian Crusade of Destruction"

Features

- None.

External Links

- None.

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

Jasenovac

document count: 17



Documents: [Jewish Victims](#)

Documents: [Serbian Victims](#)

Feature: [Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp: Report from the State Commission](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

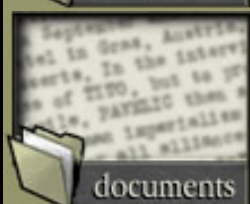
Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

The largest concentration camp in the Balkans, opening in September 1941 and functioning up until its liberation in the Spring of 1945, when the remaining inmates were slaughtered and the buildings demolished by the retreating Ustase. Plans for the camp were drafted by **Maks Luburic** while the Ustase were still in exile. Worked in tandem with the Sisak camp, specializing in killing children, and Stara Gradiska, the women's camp supervised by Nada Luburic-Sakic, Maks Luburic's sister and wife of Jasenovac commandant Dinko Sakic. Linked to railways which brought Jews, Serbs, Roma and political prisoners from across the NDH. Among the first detainees at Jasenovac was Croat Peasant Party leader Vladko Macek, who described in his memoirs how the "screams and wails of despair, broken by intermittent shooting, accompanied all my waking hours and followed me into sleep at night."

From concentration camps run by Germans in the occupied territories, two things distinguished Jasenovac: the brutal methods of execution preferred by the Ustase and the participation of dressed Catholic clergy in the atrocities committed. Strangulation and killing their victims by knives, axes, ropes, chains or live burning or burial were preferred to Zyklon-B. Several Franciscan priests, such as **Fra Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic**, were among Jasenovac's executioners.

Franjo Tudjman in *Wastelands of Historical Reality* argued that only 60-70,000 non-combatants were killed across the NDH, including in Jasenovac. Journalist Sam Vaknin: "The very use of the word 'only' in this context ought to send a frisson of repulsion down the spines of civilized men." The Jewish death toll up until August 1942, after which most Croatian Jews were sent instead to Auschwitz, was 18,000, according to historian Ivo Goldstein. The standard number given today for Jasenovac's death toll is "at least 200,000," though the truth will never be known. Tudjman later expressed a desire to disinter the remains of Ustase and place them in Jasenovac, thus forcing a "reconciliation" between the victims and their executioners unparalleled at any Holocaust memorial in Europe.

Documents below include those having to do directly with the



operation of the Jasenovac camp, as well as the victims who never made it that far: the ones who died in anonymous pits, in ravines or were murdered in their beds. For more accounts of the terror in the NDH, see also **Ante Pavelic**, **Andrija Artukovic** and the **NDH Archive**.

Documents

Decree: "On Racial Affiliation"

April 30, 1941: English Translation of the Ustase Law

Decree: "On the Protection of Aryan Blood"

April 30, 1941: English Translation of the Ustase Law

Order: The White Armbands

May 13, 1941: Order to the municipal leadership ordering all Serbs to wear a white armband designating them as Orthodox

Order: Expulsion of Serbs from Slavonia and Srem

June 2, 1941: Just six weeks after the founding of the NDH, organized mass expulsions begin

Judicial Testimony: Measures Taken Against the Jews

Testimony by Alexander Arnon on anti-Jewish laws passed immediately after the founding of the Independent State of Croatia

Adolf Friedrich, Jasenovac Survivor

Memories of Jasenovac by Adolf Friedrich, a Jewish inmate

Article: Ivo Goldstein at the Sakic War Crimes Trial

June 1, 1999: Historian Ivo Goldstein on Jasenovac and the Jewish Problem

Letter: Glaise von Horstenau on the Ustase Concentration Camps

Gen. Glaise von Horstenau's inspection of an Ustase Concentration Camp

Book Excerpt: The Efficiency of Mass Slaughter

October 9th, 1942: Maks Luburic on the efficiency of his concentration camp system

Letter to Minister Anthony Eden

November 13, 1942: An official with the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile in London informs the British Foreign Office of reports of mass slaughter in the NDH

Special Assignment in the Southeast

Dr. Hermann Neubacher, the German Plenipotentiary in SE Europe, on the "Croatian Crusade of Destruction"

A Jasenovac Survivor's Testimony

Dr. Nikola Nikolic on the Franciscan executioner, Fra Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic

Letter: Glaise von Horstenau on the Ustase Massacres

"The 'lucky' inhabitants were consigned to one of the fearsome boxcar trains; many 'passengers' cut their veins on the journey."

Book Excerpt: Encyclopedia of the Holocaust

From the "Jasenovac" Entry

Article: As the Surviving Jews Remember Artukovic

March 9, 1958: Transcript of an article from the Yugoslav Press on Jews' memories of Andrija Artukovic

Article: A Camp Called Jasenovac

Sept 26, 1992: Journalist Robert Fisk's Visit to Jasenovac

Article: A Vow of Silence

March 30, 1998: "Did Gold Stolen by Croatian Fascists Reach the Vatican?"

Features

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp

A new translation of the official state report on the largest concentration camp in Southeast Europe, including statements from the handful of inmates who survived Jasenovac

External Links

The Jasenovac Exhibition

Multimedia presentation at the Holocaust Museum

The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

Jewish Victims

document count: 11



Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [German Sources](#)

Documents: [Serbian Victims](#)

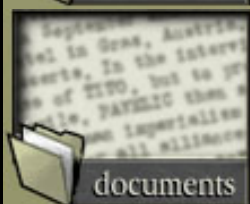
Feature: [Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp: Report from the State Commission](#)

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Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

The anti-Semitism of the Ustase was expressed early in the writings of their leader **Ante Pavelic**, who held Jews in contempt as despicable agents of the Serbian regime in Yugoslavia, controllers of the press and an anti-national element which would have to be dealt with should Croatia attain true independence - despite being married to a scion of the Lovrencices, a prominent Jewish family from Vienna. In the 1930s he wrote: "Today, practically all finance and nearly all commerce in Croatia is in Jewish hands. This became possible only through the support of the state, which thereby seeks, on one hand, to strengthen the pro-Serbian Jews, and on the other, to weaken Croat national strength... As the Jews had foreseen, Yugoslavia became, in consequence of the corruption of official life in Serbia, a true Eldorado of Jewry." Among the first **decrees** issued by the Independent State of Croatia were those dealing with racism, aimed primarily at Jews and the Roma.

Despite the influence of the **Italians** in the NDH, Pavelic immediately oriented his racial policies to those of **Nazi Germany**, calling for extermination as compared to legal discrimination. On September 5, 1941, Italian troops discovered the bodies of some 4,500 Serbs and 2,500 Jews on the Island of Pag during their redeployment. Two days later, Italian General - later Chief of Staff - Vittorio Ambrosio gave his "word of honour" to protect Jews in areas under his control. The Italian military command in Dalmatia and Croatia often intervened to protect the lives of Serbian and Jewish civilians, and even went so far as to arrest an Ustase detachment which had undertaken a massacre. Another prominent commander, General Mario Roatta refused all German and Croatian requests to surrender Jews and Serbs under his protection because, as he wrote in his memoirs, "they would be interned in **Jasenovac** with well-known consequences."



Documents

Pamphlet: "The Victorious Axis"

March 1941: Excerpt from an Ustase propaganda leaflet denouncing the Croatian Peasant Party

Decree: NDH Decree No. 76

April 30, 1941: English Translation of the Ustase Law "On Racial Affiliation"

Decree: NDH Decree No. 77

April 30, 1941: English Translation of the Ustase Law "On the Protection of Aryan Blood..."

Comparison Between Nazi and Ustase Racial Decrees

1941: Comparison between the decrees passed in Germany and the NDH giving precise definition to who was and was not Jewish

Decree: Ustase Command-Dubrovnik Order No. 188:44

June 25, 1941: Prohibition on radios and forbidding Jews and Serbs from congregating at night, signed by Dubrovnik prefect Ivo Rojnica

Article: Jews as the "Insatiable Parasites"

February 26, 1942: Transcript of Artukovic's speech to parliament denouncing "Judeo-Communists" as ""poisonous and insatiable parasites" later published in the official Ustase gazette

Judicial Testimony: Measures Taken Against the Jews

Testimony by Alexander Arnon on anti-Jewish laws passed immediately after the founding of the Independent State of Croatia

Article: Ivo Goldstein at the Sakic War Crimes Trial

June 1, 1999: Historian Ivo Goldstein on Jasenovac and the Jewish Problem

Book Excerpt: Eichmann in Jerusalem

Hannah Arendt on the Destruction of Croatian Jewry

Article: Under the Government of the Ustashi Monster

November 11, 1993: Review of the *History of the Yugoslav Jews* by Yosef Algazi, *Haaretz*

Article: As the Surviving Jews Remember Artukovic

March 9, 1958: Transcript of an article from the Yugoslav Press on Jews' memories of Andrija Artukovic

Features

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp

A new translation of the official state report on the largest concentration camp in Southeast Europe, including statements from the handful of inmates who survived Jasenovac

External Links

- None.

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

Serbian Victims

document count: 15



As a disciple of Croatian Party of Right founder Ante Starcevic, Ustase leader **Ante Pavelic** denounced Serbs as the chief enemy of the Croatian people. At times, Ustase propaganda even denied the common origins of the two peoples, claiming that Croats were a "lost tribe of Goths" (and hence "Aryans" in the Nazi sense), and Serbs a race of slaves brought to the Balkans by the Turkish Conquest. At other times, Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia were theoretically (and in the preponderance of cases, only theoretically) permitted to convert to Roman Catholicism and acquire rights which were reserved only for "racially pure" Croats. Later in the war, under considerable German pressure to curb the massacres which were increasing the ranks of rebels, the Ustase attempted to form a "Croatian Orthodox Church" for "Croats of the Orthodox faith," which Pavelic at other times characterized as a purely "political organization."

Ustase Minister of Education and Pavelic confidant **Mile Budak** elucidated the NDH's racial policy toward the Serbs in his infamous boast that the Ustase would "kill a third, expel a third, and convert a third" of the Serbian population, making Croatia a "Catholic state within ten years." The plan was put into effect within weeks of the founding of the Independent State of Croatia.

According to the Simon Wiesenthal Center, out of 1,750,000 Serbs in the territory of the NDH, at least 600,000 were murdered, 250,000 expelled and 200,000 forcibly converted to Catholicism by the Ustase regime.

Documents: [Jewish Victims](#)

Documents: [Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic](#)

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Feature: [Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp: Report from the State Commission](#)

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Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)



Documents

Order: The White Armbands

May 13, 1941: Order to the municipal leadership ordering all Serbs to wear a white armband designating them as Orthodox

Report: Expulsion of Serbs from Slavonia and Srem

June 2, 1941: Just six weeks after the founding of the NDH, organized mass expulsions begin

Government Decree: Ustase Command-Dubrovnik Order No. 188:44

June 25, 1941: Prohibition on radios and forbidding Jews and Serbs from congregating at night, signed by Dubrovnik prefect Ivo Rojnica

Hercegovina in 1941

July 1941: Milovan Djilas' description of a country ripped apart by Maks Luburic's henchmen

Letter: "The Franciscans Haven't Gotten a Dime"

Summer, 1941: Powerful letter from a Catholic priest in the NDH to his exiled Orthodox counterpart

Letter: "Nature Takes Its Course"

July 31, 1941: Letter from a Franciscan priest from Koraca to the Ustase Prefect at Dervanta, on the marriage of widowed Serbs to Catholic men

Letter: Slovenian Settlers on Massacres Near Vojnic

August 2, 1941: Found in the NDH Archives, this is a letter written by Slovenian settlers relocated from the German Reich, addressed to German General Edmond Glaise von Horstenau on the extrajudicial murder of 400 Serbs by the Ustase

Police Report on the "Cleansing" of Serbs near Slunj

August 13, 1941: Shocking eyewitness report by the Croatian commander of a police platoon in Slunj about the mass expulsions, conversions, and slaughter of his area's Serbian inhabitants

Letter from the Bishop of Mostar to Archbishop Stepinac

August, 1941: Response to Stepinac's inquiry as to the progress of forced conversions to Catholicism among the Serbian population

Report on the Slaughter of Serbs near Prokupje

October 15, 1942: Report forwarded through the Interior Ministry regarding the killing of Serbs in Kordun and Banija since the NDH's formation in April 1941, including the infamous Glina Church Massacre

Letter to Minister Anthony Eden

November 13, 1942: An official with the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile in London informs the British Foreign Office of reports of mass slaughter in the NDH

Special Assignment in the Southeast

Dr. Hermann Neubacher, the German Plenipotentiary in SE Europe, on the "Croatian Crusade of Destruction"

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Letter: Glaise von Horstenau on the Ustase Massacres

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The Efficiency of Mass Slaughter

Maks Luburic on the efficiency of his concentration camp system

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Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp

A new translation of the official state report on the largest concentration camp in Southeast Europe, including statements from the handful of inmates who survived Jasenovac

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- None.

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The Pavelic Papers

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timelines



documents



who's who



essays



misc./&tc.



Andrija Artukovic

document count: 16

b. 1899, Ljubuski

d. 1988, Yugoslavia

aka: "The Yugoslav Himmler," "Alois Anich," Andriya Artukovitch



related links

Documents: [Judicial Trials and Decisions](#)

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

Minister of the Interior of the Independent State of Croatia and one of **Ante Pavelic's** most trusted deputies, later becoming the highest-ranking war criminal to find safe haven in America. Studied at a Franciscan monastery at Siroki Brijeg in Hercegovina. Led uprising in Velebit Mountains in the 1930s, escaping arrest and joining the Ustase in exile. In England in 1934, allegedly planned a second conspiracy to assassinate Yugoslav King Alexander should the Ustase plot in Marseilles fail, for which he was arrested but later released. Named Interior Minister of the Independent State of Croatia after the **Nazi invasion** of Yugoslavia, April 6, 1941.

As Interior Minister approved practically every aspect of the Ustase terror, and personally ordered the extermination of 4,000 Serbs in his native Siroki Brijeg in May 1941. Approved construction of a system of concentration camps in September 1941, including **Jasenovac**. Fled with Pavelic, Archbishop **Ivan Saric** and other Ustase leaders to Austria in May 1945. Allegedly freed by British from detention camp in Spittal. Deviated from the usual Ratline escape route, hiding first in Switzerland and then Ireland until entering the United States on July 16, 1948 on a tourist visa obtained with a forged Irish identity certificate. Through a mystifying pattern of logic, an immigration judge stayed an order of deportation indefinitely, saying that Artukovic would suffer from "physical persecution" should he be deported to stand trial on war crimes charges in Yugoslavia. The case was reopened more than twenty years later, and Artukovic was finally deported in 1986, primarily due to an outcry by Jewish organizations. Became a martyr for right-wing American groups who continue to plead his case as a red herring for anti-Semitism. Tried and sentenced to death by firing squad in Yugoslavia, Artukovic (who was by now enfeebled) was in custody of

a prison hospital there in 1988 when he died.

Documents

The Career of Andrija Artukovic

Book excerpt from *Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America*

Stepinac Letters to Artukovic

April 1941-November 1942: Letters from Archbishop Stepinac to Interior Minister Artukovic on application of the NDH racial decrees

News: Jews as the "Insatiable Parasites"

February 26, 1942: Transcript of Artukovic's speech to parliament, later published in the official NDH gazette, denouncing "Judeo-Communists" as ""poisonous and insatiable parasites"

Letter: The Fate of Father Franjo Rihar

November 17, 1942: Artukovic sends a Catholic priest to Jasenovac for refusing to celebrate the NDH and its Poglavnik

Court Testimony: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann (Excerpt)

Andrija Artukovic's role in the Holocaust

Court Transcript: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Judgment (Excerpt)

"only 1,500 out of 30,000 Croatian Jews remained alive..."

CIA File: Organization of the Ustase Abroad

October 1946: Intelligence report listing names of Ustase cells throughout Italy and Austria with their area of expertise

News: Exile Denies Tito Charge

May 6, 1951: United Press article dating from Artukovic's first extradition hearings

News: As the Surviving Jews Remember Artukovic

March 9, 1958: Transcript of an article from the Yugoslav press on Zagreb Jews' memories of Andrija Artukovic

Letter: "The Hand of the Ustasha"

1958: The editor of a Jewish newspaper in California reports receiving death threats after writing about Andrija Artukovic

News: The LA Times on Artukovic's Extradition Hearing

March 11, 1958: The US Supreme Court rejects the original ruling that Artukovic's role in the slaughter in the NDH constituted a

"political crime"

Letter: Artukovic in California

August 22, 1958: Report from the American Jewish Congress on Artukovic's appearance as a "featured speaker" at the Catholic Maritime Club

Congressional Bill: "For the Relief of Andrija Artukovic"

January 6, 1961: A shocking attempt to forestall the extradition of Andrija Artukovic by a United States Congressman

Letter: The American Jewish Congress on the Artukovic Bill

February 13, 1959: Response by a representative of the AJC to an earlier attempt by the same US politician to grant Artukovic permanent residency

Unidentified Document: United Croats of America

September 3, 1964: Document among the papers of the American Jewish Congress on the "Second Convention of Croatian Unity" in America

Book Excerpt: The Extradition of Nazi Criminals

Overview of the extradition of Andrija Artukovic

Court Decision: Order for the Extradition of Andrija Artukovic

February 6th, 1986: Final decision by a United States Federal Court ordering Artukovic's deportation to Yugoslavia to stand trial on war crimes charges

Features

Essay: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Reference to Artukovic's long California refuge.

External Links

- None

The Pavelic Papers

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Alojzije Stepinac

document count: 10

b. May 8, 1898

d. December 10, 1960, Krasic, Croatia



Archbishop of Zagreb (later Cardinal), head of the Croatian Catholic Church, favorite of Pope Pius XII and public defender of most of the Ustase ringleaders. As a young man was an adherent of the Yugoslavist philosophy and spoke admiringly of Bishop Josip Strossmayer, one of the founders of Yugoslav intellectual movement. After being captured by the Serbian army in World War I, bargained for his release by joining their side to fight against the Austrians in a special legion made up of Croat and Slovene soldiers. King Alexander, fearing the rise of militant nationalist clergy such as Archbishop **Ivan Saric** in Sarajevo, supported Stepinac's appointment as Archbishop of Zagreb, the most important Catholic post in Yugoslavia and dean of the Croatian Church, in 1934.

A puritan, Stepinac harangued worshippers at mass on topics such as divorce, mixed sunbathing and the dangers of Protestantism. Turned dramatically to the right on political matters after his appointment. Despite advising clergy to steer clear of politics, on April 12, 1941 paid a visit of his own accord to Slavko Kvaternik, and on April 16 to *poglavnik* **Ante Pavelic** to give NDH and Ustase regime his personal endorsement. Also broadcast his support for the NDH in a radio address to the Croatian people, all of which occurred before the Royal Yugoslav Army capitulated. Informed by letter by Bishop Alojzije Misić of Mostar of the ghastly massacres undertaken by the Ustase against local Serbs and Jews, but merely passed on the letter to Pavelic. Vigorously defended the Ustase to Pope Pius XII and the **Vatican** secretary of state during visits in 1942 and 1943. Catholic newspapers during the war kept to official guidelines and published **appalling attacks** on Jews and Serbs and effusive praise of the *poglavnik* and the Ustase. As head of the Croatian Catholic Church was in charge of the mass conversion of Serbs to Catholicism and the adoption of Serb children orphaned by the Ustase massacres by Croatian, Catholic families, and certainly equated Orthodoxy with heresy.

Defenders allege he protected some Jews from falling into the hands of the Ustase and Gestapo, that he spoke privately of his displeasure

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

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Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)



to Pavelic and other Ustase leaders, refraining from speaking publicly for fear that the church would lose its influence altogether. Critics argue that after German and Italian attempts to rein in the Ustase failed, the Church was the only organ which could arrest the state terror of Pavelic, **Budak**, and Co, who considered themselves devout Catholics. Spoke out vehemently against Communism before Communists had even taken power, fully exonerating the clergy of complicity in war crimes and atrocities in the NDH. Yugoslav government alleged that his office coordinated **Krizari** or "Crusader" guerrilla operations through 1947 with Father **Krunoslav Draganovic** and **Maks Luburic**. Found guilty of treason relating to his recognition of the NDH before Yugoslav armed forces had surrendered on October 11, 1946 before exclusively Catholic judges. Sentence of hard labor commuted to house arrest. Pope Pius XII named him Cardinal in captivity. Died on December 10, 1960. Beatified by Pope John Paul II on October 3, 1998 during Papal visit to Croatia, despite requests by Jewish organizations to delay the ceremony in order for a panel of historians to determine whether Stepinac really did help significant numbers of Jews avoid murder by the Ustase. To date, all applications to recognize Alojzije Stepinac as a "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem have been denied.

Documents

Katolicki List: The Foundation of the Independent State of Croatia

April 1941: Article from the Catholic paper Katolicki List lauding the formation of the Independent State of Croatia

Stepinac Letters to Artukovic

April 1941-November 1942: Letters from Archbishop Stepinac to Interior Minister Artukovic on application of the NDH racial decrees

Pastoral Letter from Archbishop Stepinac

April 28, 1941: The full text of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac's exhortation for priests to participate fully in the work of the Independent State of Croatia

Letter from the Bishop of Mostar to Archbishop Stepinac

August, 1941: Response to Stepinac's inquiry as to the progress of forced conversions to Catholicism among the Serbian population

Stepinac's Letter on the Resettlement of Slovene Monks

October 3, 1941: Letter from Stepinac to Ante Pavelic on Slovene monks taking over the cathedral of exiled Serb Orthodox clergy

Letter of Nikola Rusinovic on Stepinac in Rome

May 9, 1942: Letter from the NDH's ambassador to the Vatican on the conduct of Stepinac during his interviews with Pope Pius XII

Stepinac's Address to Pius XII

May 18, 1943: Aide-mémoire by Stepinac personally delivered to Pope Pius XII at their later meeting

Letter: Lobkowitz on Stepinac's Second Visit to Rome

May 1943: Letter from the new NDH Ambassador to the Vatican on Stepinac's second visit to Rome, in which he justified the persecution of the Jews as abortionists

Letter: Lobkowitz on Stepinac's Meeting with the Pope

June 10, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican describing the general impression among Vatican officials of Stepinac's second interview with the Pope

CIA File: State Department File on Krunoslav Draganovic

January 9, 1968: Reference to Stepinac's dispatch of Draganovic to Rome

Features

Essay: The Patron Saint of Genocide

Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac and the Ustase

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- None.

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

Ivan Saric

document count: 9

b. 1871

d. 1960, Spain



Archbishop of Sarajevo and militant Ustase adherent. Auxiliary bishop of Sarajevo in 1914, succeeded as full Archbishop of Sarajevo in 1922. An amateur poet, frequently published his writings eulogizing **Ante Pavelic**, condemning Jews and Serbs as "vipers" and "wolves" and cultivated ties with the Ustase in exile. After the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, took part in mass conversions and celebrated the slaughter of civilians in his diocese. Publications under his control heaped vituperation upon "schismatics," and allegedly used his influence with the city police to seize prized properties belonging to Sarajevo's Sephardic Jewish community. In his employ was Father **Krunoslav Draganovic**, later to become one of the most effective operatives on the **Vatican** Ratline.

Fled Croatia with Pavelic, **Andrija Artukovic** and other Ustase leaders in the Spring of 1945. Found his way to Spain where he was reunited with Ante Pavelic in 1957. Made a new, highly prejudicial translation of the New Testament into Croatian in Spain, and published a book extolling the virtues of Pope Pius XII. Died in 1960.

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [Alojzije Stepinac](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

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Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

Documents

News: In the Sign of Sacrifice

April 27, 1941: Excerpt from an article by Father Franjo Kralik praising the work done by Dr. Ivan Merz's Croatian youth group as being in line with the "spiritual program of the Ustase"

Archbishop Saric on his meetings with the Ustase

May 1941: From a nostalgic newspaper article authored by Ivan Saric

Evelyn Waugh on the Sarajevo Franciscans

From the Catholic novelist who spent some time as part of the Allied mission to Yugoslavia in World War II



Article: "Love Has Its Limits"

1941: Anti-Semitic article often attributed to Ivan Saric, but actually the work of his subordinate, Father Franjo Kralik

CIA File: Organization of the Ustase Abroad

October 1946: "Dr. Ivan SARICH, Arch-Bishop of Sarajevo, lives together with the Slovenian Bishop ROZMAN in Klagenfurt in Austria in the Bishops palace there."

US Army File: Background Material on Krunoslav Draganovic

October 10, 1946: One of the first and most crucial extant files tracing Krunoslav Draganovic's role in the Ratline

US Army File: Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

Unknown: Information on Draganovic, Austria, Pavelic, the Vatican and the Krizari

CIA File: Background Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

February 12, 1947: On Saric's mentoring of Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: State Department File on Krunoslav Draganovic

January 9, 1968: Summary describing Saric's patronage of Krunoslav Draganovic

Features

Essay: The Patron Saint of Genocide

Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac and the Ustase

External Links

- None.

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



timelines



documents



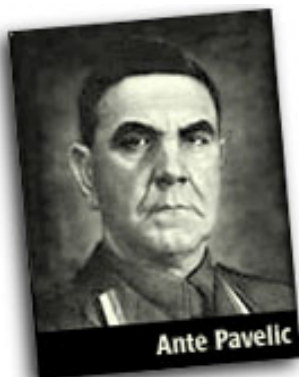
who's who



essays



misc./&c.



Ante Pavelic

document count: 49

b. July 14, 1889, Bradina, Bosnia

d. December 28, 1959, Madrid, Spain

aka: *poglavnik* ("leader" or *fuehrer*),
Anton Pavelitch, Ante Pavelitch, Pedro
Gonner



related links

Documents: [The Croatian Liberation Movement](#)

Documents: [Judicial Decisions and Trials](#)

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Documents: [Mile Budak](#)

Documents: [Andrija Artukovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Feature: [Two Bullets for Pavelic](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

Essay: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

Poglavnik ("leader"; in German, "fuehrer") of the **Independent State of Croatia**, founder of the **Ustase movement** and mastermind of the Holocaust in Croatia in which an estimated 600,000 to 1 million Serbs, Jews, Roma and political prisoners perished between 1941 and 1945.

Leader of the extreme right, or "Frankist" faction of Croat Party of Rights after World War I. Following the assassination of Croat Peasant Party leader Stjepan Radic and the imposition of the Royal Dictatorship in Yugoslavia on January 6, 1929, Pavelic went abroad, first to Austria and then to Italy, where the nascent Ustase were provided training camps and afforded protection from the Fascist Italian government. Following the Nazi invasion and dismemberment of Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941, proclaimed *poglavnik* of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH by its Serbo-Croat acronym), but only after Radic's successor, **Vladko Macek**, declined to lead the puppet state himself. Immediately implemented the Ustase plan for the "purification" of the NDH using the formula coined by his deputy **Mile Budak**: "kill a third, expel a third, and convert a third" of the Serbian population to Catholicism. Concentration camps such as **Jasenovac** were established as the Ustase "Black Legion" swept through Serbian villages and arrested Jews and Roma wherever they could be found.

After the collapse of the NDH, Pavelic escaped to Austria and then to Italy, where he linked up with **Vatican** operatives of the "Ratline," dedicated to shielding accused war criminals from arrest and shuttling them out of Europe. Escaped to Argentina with the help of Catholic priest, Ustase officer and Ratline operative **Krunoslav Draganovic**. Immediately upon arrival in Buenos Aires, formed a

successor movement to the Ustase with other NDH fugitives and accused war criminals, and later the **Croatian Liberation Movement**, which still exists today as a miniscule political party in Zagreb. Acted as security advisor to Argentine dictator Juan Peron. After an attempt on his life on April 9, 1957, fled to Franco's Spain where he died on December 28, 1959. The Ustase and several splinter organizations of the one he founded would live on, enjoying a renaissance of terrorism in the 1960s and '70s.

Documents

Principles of the Ustase Movement

1929: The founding document of the Ustase Movement, presented in full English translation for the first time

Pavelic: Ten Years Struggle in the Homeland

January 9-13, 1999: Lengthy excerpts from one of Pavelic's autobiographies, as serialized in a right-wing Croatian paper in 1999

Article: The Conspirator Rediscovered

1990: Interview with IMRO leader Ivan "Vance" Mihailov on the murder of King Alexander

Pavelic's Radio Address to Croatia

April 5, 1941: Excerpt from a radio speech Pavelic broadcast into Croatia on the eve of war, urging the Croatian people to "cleanse" the land of enemies

A Telegram to Mussolini

April 8, 1941: Letter Sent to the Italian Duce on the Invasion of Yugoslavia

Government Decree: On the First Croatian Government

April 16, 1941: Pavelic declares himself head of state and names his closest advisors as ministers

Decree: Declaration of War on the US and Britain

December 14, 1941: Delivered in Zagreb after the Japanese Attack on Pearl Harbor

US Army File: Supreme Allied HQ to 12th and 6th Army (Austria)

June 5, 1945: "Ante Pavelic... may be in your area"

US Army File: Rome Area Allied Command to CIC

August 8, 1945: "Is Pavelic in Rome? Is San Gerolamo Monastery used as a haven..."

US Army File: Judge Advocate General to Army Counter-Intelligence

November 5, 1945: Form Inquiring after Pavelic's Whereabouts

Article: Interview with Marija Pavelic

May 22, 1992: Interview in Croatian newspaper *Globus* with Pavelic's daughter on his whereabouts in the Summer, 1945

US Army File: Rome Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) Memorandum

August 25, 1945: On News Reports of Pavelic's Arrest in Austria

US Army File: Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

Unknown: Information on Draganovic, Austria, Pavelic, the Vatican and the Krizari

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US Army File: Unidentified Document (Index Card)

October 12, 1946: Possibly Sent to Confirm that Pavelic Had Been in U.S. Custody in Austria

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agent William Gowen

January 17, 1947: Re: article about Pavelic in the Swiss Press

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agent Gowen

January 22, 1947: Investigation of Pavelic's Vatican Sanctuary; First Appearance of Krunoslav Draganovic in the Army Dossier

US Army File: CIC Summary from Special Agent Robert Clayton Mudd

January 30, 1947: Overview of Pavelic's Biography to Date; First Allusion to the "Ratline" in the CIC Files

US Army File: Cover Letter by Ass. Chief of Staff G-2 Robert Stuart

February 25, 1947: A moment of equivocation as to the subject's whereabouts when forwarding Agent Gowen's latest **report**.

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agents Caniglia and Zappala

March 15, 1947: "In Rome Pavelic took refuge in a religious institution..."

US Army File: Unknown Document (Index Card)

April 14, 1947: An index card pulled from an unknown source. Interesting that Pavelic is classified in this one in a category of

"Yugoslav Anti-Communists."

US Army File: Investigation by Capt. Marion Scott

April 18, 1947: Long investigation report on Pavelic and other Ustasa in Italy

US Army File: CIC Cover Letter to Scott Report

April 21, 1947: Note included with Scott report which casts doubt on the key informant's usefulness

CIA File: The Do Marius Report

May 6, 1947: A bizarre tale of a meeting with the Poglavnik

US Army File: Information Sheet

May 19, 1947: What appears to be information acquired from OZNA, the Yugoslav secret police, on Pavelic in Italy

US Army File: Unknown Document (Index Card)

May 25, 1947: Two sentence card, quoting Belgrade Radio as saying the British let Pavelic escape, presumably from their custody in Austria

US Army File: Summary of Information from Agents Gowen and Caniglia

June 9, 1947: Report confirming Pavelic has not, as others have reported, left Rome at all

US Army File: "Ante Pavelic and other Ustasha Personalities"

c.July, 1947: Dated by other researchers in early July, this document appears to have been obtained in final preparation for Pavelic's arrest

US Army File: "Hands Off"

July 7 and 14, 1947: One of the most crucial documents in the archive: a two word, handwritten note appended to the bottom of this otherwise ordinary memo

US Army File: Memorandum from the Political Adviser to Supreme Allied Commander

July 29, 1947: "...military authorities should cooperate with the Italian authorities to the extent necessary and possible..."

US Army File: Memorandum from the British Political Adviser

August 2, 1947: Response to the American Political Adviser listed above

US Army File: G-2 Brief on Pavelic's Background to Allied Headquarters

August 7, 1947: In response to their request

US Army File: Memorandum by Agent William Gowen

August 29, 1947: In just 45 days, Pavelic has gone from a criminal to be captured to a potential collaborator whose chief victims - the Serbs - want him to be free as well

US Army File: Memorandum by Agent William Gowen

September 12, 1947: "...any extradition of Subject would deal a staggering blow to the Roman Catholic Church"

US Army File: Unknown Document

October 17, 1947: Small index card-type file with a few misc claims

US Army File: Telegram Received by G-2

January 7, 1948?: Telegram regarding departure of Ante Pavelic from Rome

US Army File: Unknown Document

February 16, 1948?: Another index card-type file with a quote about the "new" principles of the Ustase

CIA File: Reported Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina

December 2, 1948: Appears to be a microfilm document with information on the arrival of Pavelic and other Ustase in Argentina

US Army File: Unknown Document

December 4, 1950: Index card-type file with contact information for the "Croatian Catholic Union"

US Army File: Unknown Document

1950s: Index card-type file, undated, from some larger file on the Croatian Resistance Movement

News: Tito Asks Peron to Yield Pavelic

May 24, 1951: News report of an early Yugoslav extradition request.

US Army File: Ustasha Resurgence in Europe

December 11, 1951: This document has been pulled by the CIA. The first page is a series of references to the file, but the next two pages are still classified, 51 years later.

US Army File: Unknown Document

June 24, 1953: An index card-type file referring to another report alleging Ustase using Caritas (Catholic refugee service) offices in Austria as an "information collecting agency"

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (1)

August 23, 1954: Report sent from Munich, Germany to the US State Department on activity of the Croatian exile groups, including the fugitive Ustase in Buenos Aires, Argentina

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (2)

c. October 1954: Second report sent from Munich, Germany to the US State Department, including information on Pavelic's meeting with Milan Stojadinovic and promises to cede Croatian territory to Italian and Hungarian rightists

Founding Declaration of the Croatian Liberation Movement

June 8, 1956: English translation of the founding document of Pavelic's Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP), signed by Pavelic and 12 former Ustase ministers in exile in Buenos Aires

News: Pro-Nazi is Hunted

April 26, 1957: News report on the Argentine authorities' decision to revoke Ante Pavelic's asylum after the attempt on his life

News: Ante Pavelic Dies in Madrid at 70

December 29, 1959: Obituary on Ante Pavelic from the *New York Times*

US Congress: H.Res 235 IH

May 14, 2003: A resolution introduced in the US House of Representatives "urging the Government of Argentina to build upon the steps it has taken to shed light on the relocation to Argentina of Nazis and other war criminals" - including, by name, Ante Pavelic

Features

Memoir: Two Bullets for Pavelic

The Biography of a man who claims to have shot Ante Pavelic in Buenos Aires, Argentina

Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

Unraveling the Ustase Successor Organizations

Exhibition: Top Secret

A Guide to Ante Pavelic's Army File.

Essay: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Co-lead counsel explains the lawsuit to discover the fate of the Ustase treasury.

External Links

Lord of the Danse Macabre

Biography of Ante Pavelic, also in **PDF format**

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timelines



documents



who's who



essays



misc./&tc.



Mile Budak

document count: 3

b. August 1889, Sveti Rok

d. June 7, 1945

aka: Doglavnik (deputy leader)



related links

Documents: [Decrees](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

Defenders claim he was an accomplished author who served as "Minister of Culture" of the Independent State of Croatia. Mile Budak was also Minister of Religion, Education and Cults, and his signature is at the bottom of some of the most infamous decrees of the Ustase regime, and provided the Ustase's ideological backbone as a Goebbels-style propagandist. Uttered that the goal of the Ustase regime was to "kill a third, expel a third, and convert a third" of the Serbian population. Also initialed the anti-Semitic measures introduced within days of the Ustase taking power in April, 1941.

Born in Sveti Rok (Saint Rocco) and trained as a lawyer. Recognized as a writer of middling originality and imagination, primarily from his poetry and short stories and later his novels such as *The Hearth*. Attacked by militants of the pro-Serb "Young Yugoslavia" organization in broad daylight in June 1934. The assault fractured his skull and shortly thereafter he went abroad, joining the Ustase.

Named *doglavnik* (deputy leader) of the NDH and placed in charge of preserving and translating Ustase ideology to Croats. His belief that Muslims and Croats were the same people who held different religions was accepted by most other Ustase leaders (though Serbs he considered "wandering beggars from the East whom the Turks brought along as servants and porters.") As the NDH's chief cultural figure, tried to persuade artists and writers to support the new regime with varying degrees of success. The great Croat novelist Miroslav Krleža lampooned Budak as "a minister of culture with a machine gun," and sculptor Ivan Mestrovic was imprisoned for several months after he came to Zagreb not to make busts of the *poglavnik* but to ask Budak for a passport out of the country.

Budak's position was made redundant once the Jewish and Roma problems in the NDH were "solved" by their extermination, and he was shuffled around to other positions, including Foreign Minister. Eventually fell out of favor following the internal strife within the NDH government involving the Kvaterniks. Made a trip to Rome and greatly impressed Ustase supporters at the **Vatican**. One of the few Ustase political leaders captured after the war and executed.

Documents

"The NDH is an Islamic State"

Spring-Summer, 1941: Book excerpt quoting Mile Budak on "Islamic Croats"

Decree: On the Croatian Language, Its Purity and Spelling

August 14, 1941: Mile Budak on how people should talk and write, with a promise to "determine penalties for the protection of the purity of the language and its spelling"

Article: Croats Honor Author of Anti-Semitic Laws

February 10, 1993: Associated Press on "Mile Budak Street"

Features

- None.

External Links

- None

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documents



who's who



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misc./&tc.



Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic

document count: 7

b. 1914

d. April 10-20, 1969, Spain



related links

Documents: [Odpor](#)

Documents: [Ante Ljubas](#)

Documents: [The Croatian Liberation Movement](#)

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

Feature: [Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp: Report from the State Commission](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

Essay: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

One of the most violent Ustase leaders, characterized as an "extreme sadist" and "mentally ill" by a German observer, and the link between the Ustase of the Independent State of Croatia and the rebirth of the Ustase in the post-war era as a militant terrorist movement.

Designed the framework of the **Jasenovac** concentration camp by his own hand while in exile, then carried out his plan in September 1941. Was first commandant. Nada Tanic-Luburic, his half-sister, was placed in charge of the women's facility in Nova Gradiska and later married Luburic's protege Dinko Sakic. Led Ustase attacks on Serb villages in Slavonia and the Krajina in April and May of 1941, precipitating the massive bloodletting which led to Italian and later German intervention on behalf of civilians. During the retreat from Zagreb in April 1945, was in charge of rear-guard activities against Partizans in pursuit. Escaped Croatia via Austria, ending up in Spain. Rumored to have coordinated *Krizari* (Crusader) terrorist incursions into Communist Yugoslavia immediately after the war.

Formed Ustase successor organization, Croatian National Resistance (*Hrvatski Narodni Odpor*, aka Croatian People's Resistance or simply *Odpor* or *Otpor*. Coordinated terrorist attacks across Europe, with cells in Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, Germany, Spain and Italy, and several mysterious incursions into Yugoslavia itself. Found murdered in his villa in Spain on April 20, 1969, his skull fractured from repeated blows from a crowbar and dozens of stab wounds in his chest. *Odpor* evolved into the HDP, or Croatian Statehood Movement, to which **Miro Baresic** among others belonged.

Documents

The Efficiency of Mass Slaughter

Maks Luburic on the effectiveness of the system of Croatian concentration camps

Encyclopedia of the Holocaust

"Maks Luburic... was personally responsible for everything that happened there."

Hercegovina in 1941

July 1941: Milovan Djilas' description of a country ripped apart by Maks Luburic's henchmen

Order: Maks Luburic's Proclamation

August 9, 1950: The order from General Drinyanin (aka Maks Luburic) ordering Croats to cease enlisting in the armies of foreign nations

US Army File: Unknown Document

1950s: Index card-type file, undated, from some larger file on the Croatian Resistance Movement

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (2)

c. October 1954: Second report sent from Munich, Germany to the US State Department, including reference to Luburic as an even more radical alternative to Ustase leader Ante Pavelic

Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

January 25, 1983: 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals decision reaffirming all but one charge against four Otpor members, including conspiracy to kill a prominent Croatian-American leader while he walked his daughter to school

Features

Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

Unraveling the Ustase Successor Organizations

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp

A new translation of the official state report on the largest concentration camp in Southeast Europe, including statements from the handful of inmates who survived Jasenovac

External Links

- None

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timelines



documents



who's who



essays



misc./&tc.



Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic

document count: 3

b. June 5, 1915

d. 1946

aka: *Fra Sotona* ("Brother Devil");

Tomislav Filipovic; Vjekoslav Filipovic



related links

Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Feature: [Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp: Report from the State Commission](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

Essay: [The Patron Saint of Genocide](#)

Franciscan priest and enthusiastic commandant at **Jasenovac**. Known to inmates as *Fra Sotona* (Brother Devil) for his monstrous cruelty against inmates. Ordained in 1939 and served mass at Petricevac (near Banja Luka) until the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia in 1941. From January 1942 he was a military chaplain, and was accused of taking part in terrible atrocities against the Serbian population. A German court singled him out for prosecution as part of a general attempt to halt the bloodletting in the NDH. Filipovic did not deny that the atrocities had happened, but claimed he took no part, and failed to act against the perpetrators owing to military solidarity. Removed from his post, he was appointed commandant of Jasenovac through the offices of **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic**. Captured by Communists after the war, summarily tried and executed.

Documents

Book Excerpt: Jasenovac Survivor on Fra Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic

An Interview with Nikola Nikolic on the Ustasha priest, Fra Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic

Encyclopedia of the Holocaust

"...former priest Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic, who killed scores of prisoners with his own hands"

Article: A Vow of Silence

March 30, 1998: "Did Gold Stolen by Croatian Fascists Reach the Vatican?"

Features

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp

A new translation of the official state report on the largest concentration camp in Southeast Europe, including statements from the handful of inmates who survived Jasenovac

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

Overview of the Independent State of Croatia, 1941-1945

External Links

- None

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The Ratline: 1946-1955

document count: 69



According to Mark Aarons and John Loftus in their groundbreaking *Unholy Trinity*, "ratline" is a nautical term referring to "the rope ladder reaching to the top of the mast, the last place of safety when the ship is going down." The use of this term for the myriad operations and networks which carried out the rescue of some of the worst mass murderers in European history - including Klaus Barbie, Walter Rauff and nearly the entire leadership of the Ustase - could not be more appropriate.

Following the collapse of the Independent State of Croatia in May of 1945, the leadership of the Ustase fled for the Austrian border. The Croatian refugees they fled with were handed back to the Yugoslav government, but an incredible number of the Ustase ringleaders managed to escape. *Poglavnik* Ante Pavelic remained in Austria for a short while before proceeding to Rome. There he and several of his underlings concealed themselves on Vatican property while former Ustase officer and priest Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic masterminded their escape to South America.

Agent William Gowen of the CIC was assigned to the case, conducted surveillance of Pavelic's Vatican refuge and was prepared to make an arrest when his superiors intervened. Draganovic had been contacted at the same time and offered a *quid pro quo* by American agents stationed in Austria to smuggle their own assets - among them Gestapo Chief of Lyon Klaus Barbie - in return for their assistance to "persons of interest" to him. Pavelic remained in Rome for more than a year before departing for Buenos Aires, where he joined a dozen other officials from the Independent State of Croatia and began the resurrection of the Ustase movement in exile.

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

Documents

US Army File: Supreme Allied HQ to 12th and 6th Army (Austria)

June 5, 1945: "Ante Pavelic... may be in your area"

US Army File: Rome Area Allied Command to CIC

August 8, 1945: "Is Pavelic in Rome? Is San Gerolamo Monastery used as a haven..."

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August 25, 1945: On News Reports of Pavelic's Arrest in Austria

Article: Interview with Marija Pavelic

May 22, 1992: Interview in Croatian newspaper *Globus* with Pavelic's daughter on his whereabouts in the Summer, 1945

US Army File: Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

Unknown: Information on Draganovic, Austria, Pavelic, the Vatican and the Krizari

Alleged Vatican Protection of Yugoslav War Criminals

July 12, 1946: Reference to a number of Nazi-allied figures taking sanctuary in San Girolamo

CIA File: Organization of the Ustase Abroad

October 1946: Intelligence report listing names of Ustase cells throughout Italy and Austria with their area of expertise

US Army File: Background Material on Krunoslav Draganovic

October 10, 1946: One of the first and most crucial extant files tracing Krunoslav Draganovic's role in the Ratline

US Army File: Unidentified Document (Index Card)

October 12, 1946: Possibly Sent to Confirm that Pavelic Had Been in U.S. Custody in Austria

US Treasury: The Bigelow Memo

October 21, 1946: Report from Emerson Bigelow on the fate of the wartime Ustase treasury

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agent William Gowen

January 17, 1947: Re: article about Pavelic in the Swiss Press

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agent Gowen

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CIA File: Background Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

February 12, 1947: Agent Robert Clayton Mudd's report on Draganovic's past and present activity vis-a-vis the Ustase and Pavelic

US Army File: Cover Letter by Ass. Chief of Staff G-2 Robert Stuart

*February 25, 1947: A moment of equivocation as to the subject's whereabouts when forwarding Agent Gowen's latest **report**.*

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agents Caniglia and Zappala

March 15, 1947: "In Rome Pavelic took refuge in a religious institution..."

US Army File: Unknown Document (Index Card)

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April 21, 1947: Note included with Scott report which casts doubt on the key informant's usefulness

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US Army File: Unknown Document (Index Card)

May 25, 1947: Two sentence card, quoting Belgrade Radio as saying the British let Pavelic escape, presumably from their custody in Austria

CIA File: American Agents in the Krizari Campaign

July 3, 1947: Profiles of two Krizari operatives who claim Allied-

American support

US Army File: Summary of Information from Agents Gowen and Caniglia

June 9, 1947: Report confirming Pavelic has not, as others have reported, left Rome at all

US Army File: "Ante Pavelic and other Ustasha Personalities"

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August 2, 1947: Response to the American Political Adviser listed above

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August 7, 1947: In response to their request

US Army File: Memorandum by Agent William Gowen

August 29, 1947: In just 45 days, Pavelic has gone from a criminal to be captured to a potential collaborator whose chief victims - the Serbs - want him to be free as well

CIA File: Documentary Evidence of Krunoslav Draganovic's Ustase Activity

September 5, 1947: CIC Agent Mudd's report citing evidence of Draganovic's role in the Ratline, sent without results to his superiors

US Army File: Memorandum by Agent William Gowen

September 12, 1947: "...any extradition of Subject would deal a staggering blow to the Roman Catholic Church"

US Army File: Unknown Document

October 17, 1947: Small index card-type file with a few misc claims

CIA File: The "Alter Ego" of Ante Pavelic

November 26, 1947: Intelligence report on Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic

US Army File: Telegram Received by G-2

January 7, 1948?: Telegram regarding departure of Ante Pavelic from Rome

News: Yugoslavs Try Fifty as Spies

July 13, 1948: News account of the Yugoslav trials of captured *Krizari*, mentioning Draganovic

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (I)

June 14, 1948: CIA report on the organization and internal dynamics of the *Krizari*

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (II)

c. 1948: CIA report on leaders of the Croatian Resistance Movement, including the missing leader of the terror unit *Crna Legija* or Black Legion, Rafael Boban

US Army File: Rat Line from Austria to South America

July 12, 1948: Crucial memo from the CIC in Austria, written by the man who formed the Ratline with Krunoslav Draganovic's assistance

CIA File: Reported Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina

December 2, 1948: Appears to be a microfilm document with information on the arrival of Pavelic and other Ustase in Argentina

US Army File: Unknown Document

February 16, 1948?: Another index card-type file with a quote about the "new" principles of the Ustase

CIA File: Franjo Cvijic and the Ustase Treasury

June 17, 1949: Report on movements of NDH bank president Franjo Cvijic and his expected emigration to Argentina

US Army File: History of the Italian Rat Line

April 10, 1950: Comprehensive history of the Nazi smuggling program and Krunoslav Draganovic's role

Order: Maks Luburic's Proclamation

August 9, 1950: The order from General Drinyanin (aka Maks Luburic) ordering Croats to cease enlisting in the armies of foreign nations

CIA File: CIA Internal Memo

October 16, 1950: Mentions Krunoslav Draganovic's relations with Pavelic, Macek and other Croatian leaders

CIA File: Notes from the Foreign Language Press

November 8, 1950: Newspaper reports on Krunoslav Draganovic and Dragutin Kamber's wartime record

US Army File: Unknown Document

1950s: Index card-type file, undated, from some larger file on the Croatian Resistance Movement

US Army File: Unknown Document

December 4, 1950: Index card-type file with contact information for the "Croatian Catholic Union"

US Army File: Unknown Document

1950s: Index card-type file, undated, from some larger file on the Croatian Resistance Movement

News: Exile Denies Tito Charge

May 6, 1951: United Press article dating from Artukovic's first extradition hearings

US Army File: Ustasha Resurgence in Europe

December 11, 1951: This document has been pulled by the CIA. The first page is a series of references to the file, but the next two pages are still classified, 51 years later.

News: Tito Asks Peron to Yield Pavelic

May 24, 1951: News report of an early Yugoslav extradition request.

CIA File: "An Uncompromising and Dangerous Extremist"

July 24, 1952: Overview of Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic's activity from 1943 to 1952

US Army File: Unknown Document

June 24, 1953: An index card-type file referring to another report alleging Ustase using Caritas (Catholic refugee service) offices in Austria as an "information collecting agency"

CIA File: Irregular Activity of Krunoslav Draganovic

October 1, 1953: Report, possibly intercepted, of Krunoslav Draganovic's alleged corruption

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (1)

August 23, 1954: Report sent from Munich, Germany to the US State Department on activity of the Croatian exile groups, including the fugitive Ustase in Buenos Aires, Argentina

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (2)

c. October 1954: Second report sent from Munich, Germany to the US State Department, including information on Pavelic's meeting with Milan Stojadinovic and promises to cede Croatian territory to Italian and Hungarian rightists

CIA File: Attempt to Penetrate US Guard Companies

December 10, 1954: Summary of report detailing attempts by

Krunoslav Draganovic to infiltrate US guard companies in Central Europe

CIA File: Dismissal of Krunoslav Draganovic from San Girolamo

November 19, 1958: Document outlining circumstances behind Draganovic's departure from the former nerve center of the Ratline

CIA File: Summary of Activities of the SILC

November 20, 1958: Summary of the unidentified SILC, with reference to Krunoslav Draganovic's activities in Italy in 1944

CIA File: State Department File on Krunoslav Draganovic

January 9, 1968: Summary of Draganovic's public 'career' a few months after his defection to Yugoslavia

CIA File: DOJ/OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie

1983: First admission of the existence of the Ratline and Krunoslav Draganovic's role as a 'prime mover'

Article: The Return of Bolivia's Blood-Stained Dictator

1997: Draganovic and the Butcher of Lyons, Klaus Barbie

Article: Peron's Bloody Ties

November 9, 1998: Krunoslav Draganovic and Argentina, the Last Redoubt of Nazism

Article: Holocaust Gold Taints the Vatican

July 27, 1997: From the *Sunday Telegraph*, UK

Article: Pope's Apology to Jews an Empty Gesture

October 30, 1997: "...Ante Pavelic, the Croat Fascist leader, arrived in Argentina dressed as a priest and carrying a certificate of safe conduct from the Vatican..."

Article: A Vow of Silence

March 30, 1998: "Did Gold Stolen by Croatian Fascists Reach the Vatican?"

Article: The Vatican Response

April 29, 1998: One of the Vatican officials with access to the wartime archives responds to criticisms in these news stories and others

State Department Report: Holocaust Assets: The Fate of the Wartime Ustasha Treasury

June 2, 1998: Report from the US committee investigating the fate of Nazi gold looted from their victims

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

The Vatican

document count: 29



Never recognized the Independent State of Croatia, but approved exchange of ambassadors and countless high-level, private meetings with NDH henchmen such as Father **Krunoslav Draganovic**, **Mile Budak**, and *poglavnik* **Ante Pavelic** himself. Remained deaf to pleas made by refugees from the Ustase terror, even after Mussolini had turned against his former proteges. The indispensable force behind the Ratline which protected dozens of notorious Ustase and other war criminals such as Klaus Barbie and Adolf Eichmann and smuggled them out of Europe to the New World.

Tacitly supported the Ustase before the war. Archbishop of Sarajevo **Ivan Saric** first met Pavelic in St. Peter's Basilica in 1939. Pope Pius XII gave a personal interview to Pavelic after the latter became Poglavnik in April, 1941. Told the British ambassador he really didn't believe Pavelic was guilty of the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia in Marseilles, or of any of the other terrorist acts the Ustase had undertaken in the decade before the war.

Refused to excommunicate a single Franciscan who had taken part in Ustase atrocities against Serbs, Jews, or other innocent civilians during the war, and helped organize the "Krizari" or Crusader movement made up of former Ustase who conducted terrorist incursions into Yugoslavia through the late 1940s. Through the offices of Father **Krunoslav Draganovic**, organized the removal of the Ustase treasury from the Balkans and its concealment abroad. Protected Pavelic for at least two years from arrest in Italy. Helped scores of other Ustase, such as Archbishop Saric, escape to Spain or South America along the Ratline. Today, praises the "wise and skilful" diplomacy of Pius XII, denies assisting war criminals escape from justice at all, and has steadfastly refused to admit the institution of the Holy See obstructed justice in any way. Released report by its own experts denying any knowledge of the fate of the Ustase treasury.

Documents: [Archbishop Stepinac](#)

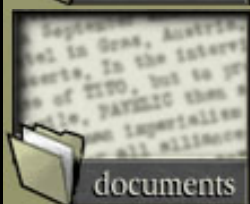
Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

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Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)



Documents

Katolicki List: The Foundation of the Independent State of Croatia

April 1941: Article from the Catholic paper Katolicki List lauding the formation of the Independent State of Croatia

Catholic Origins of the Ustase Oath

"The intensity of Croatian Catholicism would now be transferred... to a political movement"

Encyclopedia of the Holocaust

Excerpt on the complicity of the Vatican and Catholic priests in the Ustase massacres

News: In the Sign of Sacrifice

April 27, 1941: Excerpt from an article by Father Franjo Kralik praising the work done by Dr. Ivan Merz's Croatian youth group as being in line with the "spiritual program of the Ustase"

Letter: "The Franciscans Haven't Gotten a Dime"

Summer, 1941: Powerful letter from a Catholic priest in the NDH to his exiled Orthodox counterpart

Letter: "Nature Takes Its Course"

July 31, 1941: Letter from a Franciscan priest from Koraca to the Ustase Prefect at Dervanta, on the marriage of widowed Serbs to Catholic men

Letter from the Bishop of Mostar to Archbishop Stepinac

August, 1941: Response to Stepinac's inquiry as to the progress of forced conversions to Catholicism among the Serbian population

Italian Article: "The Renewal of Medieval Times"

September 18, 1941: Excerpt from an article in *Il Resto del Carlino* describing Franciscan complicity in the massacre of the Serbs

Letter: Bishop Aksamovic on Prayer for the "Crusade War"

September 24, 1941: Letter from the Bishop of Djakovo calling on Croats to pray for a quick end to the war after the Nazi invasion of the USSR - and honoring Pavelic and Hitler

Letter: Rusinovic on Meeting with Cardinal Tisserant

March 6, 1942: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on a stormy meeting with Vatican official Cardinal Eugene Tisserant

Letter of Nikola Rusinovic on Stepinac in Rome

May 9, 1942: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on the conduct of Stepinac during his interviews with Pope Pius XII

Letter: Lobkowicz on February 1943 Meeting with the Pope

February 9, 1943: Letter from the NDH's ambassador to the Vatican detailing his interview with Pope Pius XII

Letter: Lobkowicz on Meeting with Cardinal Spellman

March 6, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on a meeting with New York Cardinal Spellman at the height of the war

Letter: Erwin Lobkowicz on Stepinac in Rome

May 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on Stepinac's second visit to Rome, in which he justified the persecution of the Jews as abortionists

Letter: Lobkowicz on Stepinac's Meeting with the Pope

June 10, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican describing the general impression among Vatican officials of Stepinac's second interview with the Pope

Letter: Lobkowicz on July 1943 Meeting with the Pope

July 13, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on a July meeting with the Pope

US Treasury: The Bigelow Memo

October 21, 1946: Report from Emerson Bigelow on the fate of the wartime Ustase treasury

CIA File: Documentary Evidence of Krunoslav Draganovic's Ustase Activity

September 5, 1947: CIC Agent Mudd's stunning report citing evidence of Draganovic's role in the Ratline, sent without results to his superiors

CIA File: Background Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

February 12, 1947: CIC Special Agent Robert Clayton Mudd's background report on Draganovic's activities

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July 24, 1952: Overview of Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic's activity from 1943 to 1952

CIA File: Irregular Activity of Krunoslav Draganovic

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CIA File: Summary of Activities of the SILC

November 20, 1958: Summary of the unidentified SILC, with reference to Krunoslav Draganovic's activities in Italy in 1944

Article: Under the Government of the Ustashi Monster

November 11, 1993: Review of the *History of the Yugoslav Jews* by Yosef Algazi, *Haaretz*

Article: Holocaust Gold Taints the Vatican

July 27, 1997: From the *Sunday Telegraph*, UK

Article: Pope's Apology to Jews an Empty Gesture

October 30, 1997: "...Ante Pavelic, the Croat Fascist leader, arrived in Argentina dressed as a priest and carrying a certificate of safe conduct from the Vatican..."

Article: A Vow of Silence

March 30, 1998: "Did Gold Stolen by Croatian Fascists Reach the Vatican?"

Article: The Vatican Response

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State Department Report: Holocaust Assets: The Fate of the Wartime Ustasha Treasury

June 2, 1998: Report from the US committee investigating the fate of Nazi gold looted from their victims

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Essay: The Patron Saint of Genocide

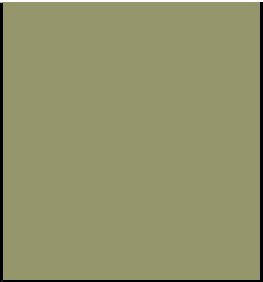
Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac and the Ustase

Essay: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Co-lead counsel explains the lawsuits to discover the fate of the Ustase treasury.

External Links

- None.



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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



timelines



documents



who's who



essays



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Krunoslav Draganovic

document count: 28

b. 1903, Brcko

d. 1983, Sarajevo



related links

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

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Essay: [The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA](#)

The "Scarlet Pimpernel" of numerous fugitive war criminals and arguably the most important Ustase leader after 1945. From Rome, he supervised the "Ratline" which rescued most Ustase political leaders from arrest and transported them to countries which offered fascists a safe haven.

Studied theology after a higher education in Sarajevo and Vienna, later becoming professor of the subject at Zagreb University. Also studied at the Papal Oriental Institute in Rome. After working at Vatican Archives, became secretary to Archbishop of Sarajevo **Ivan Saric**, a virulent Croat nationalist and early supporter of the Ustase. After formation of the Independent State of Croatia, became an officer in the Ustase as well as a priest, and participated in brutal cleansing operations against Serbs in the Kozara region. As a high official in the Ministry for Internal Colonization, responsible for seizing assets of murdered or expelled Serbs, Jews and Roma and reallocating land among Croat and Muslim settlers in Bosnia as well as Slovene settlers purged from the enlarged German Reich.

Sent to Rome as representative of the Croatian Red Cross in 1943, probably to hedge against the fall of the NDH. Provided additional introductions to senior **Vatican** contacts by Archbishop **Alojzije Stepinac**, including Pope Pius XII. In 1945 was secretary of the Croatian Institute at the College of San Girolamo degli Illirici in Rome. With protection of college head Monsignor Juraj Magjerec and Pope Pius XII, turned San Girolamo into waystation and hiding place for fugitive Ustase, including **Ante Pavelic** and other members of the Ustase inner-circle (**one document**, so far uncorroborated, alludes to several officials of the Serbian, Montenegrin and Albanian puppet regimes granted sanctuary there as well). Kept Pavelic in Italy for

two years before the latter's flight to Argentina. In the Summer of 1947, Draganovic was approached by agents of the Counter Intelligence Corp's Austrian branch to perform the same duties for American assets, including former Gestapo Chief of Lyon Klaus Barbie. Funded and organized former Ustase as "Krizari" (Crusaders), making terrorist raids into Yugoslavia until 1947. Believed to have participated in the shepherding away the Ustase treasury of gold looted from their victims, which has never been found.

Asket to leave San Girolamo in October of 1958, several months later Draganovic was **approached again** by US intelligence with an offer of employment. Was on payroll of US Army until 1962, and alleged to also be employed as an agent by British intelligence, the KGB and possibly Communist Yugoslavia as well.

Dropped as Army agent in 1962 "with prejudice, for security reasons and lack of control." On November 15, 1967, appeared at a press conference in Belgrade denouncing the Ustase and praising Tito and Yugoslavia. Ustase groups alleged he was kidnapped, but Draganovic indicated he crossed the border of his own free will in one of the most puzzling enigmas of the Ustase's history. Lived quietly and free of persecution at a monastery near Sarajevo until his death in 1983.

Documents

US Army File: Rome Area Allied Command to CIC

August 8, 1945: Mention of "San Gerolamo" as a Haven for Ustase in Rome Just a Few Months After VE-Day

Alleged Vatican Protection of Yugoslav War Criminals

July 12, 1946: Reference to a number of Nazi-allied figures taking sanctuary in San Girolamo

US Army File: Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

Unknown: Information on Draganovic, Austria, Pavelic, the Vatican and the Krizari

US Army File: Background Material on Krunoslav Draganovic

October 10, 1946: One of the first and most crucial extant files tracing Krunoslav Draganovic's role in the Ratline

CIA File: Organization of the Ustase Abroad

October 1946: Krunoslav Draganovic mentioned as one of the chief Ustase operatives in post-war Europe

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agent Gowen

*January 22, 1947: Investigation of Ante Pavelic's Vatican Sanctuary;
First Appearance of Draganovic by Name in the Army Dossier*

CIA File: Background Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

February 12, 1947: CIC Special Agent Robert Clayton Mudd's background report on Draganovic's activities

CIA File: Documentary Evidence of Krunoslav Draganovic's Ustase Activity

September 5, 1947: CIC Agent Mudd's report citing evidence of Draganovic's role in the Ratline, sent without results to his superiors

US Army File: Memorandum by Agent William Gowen

September 12, 1947: "...any extradition of Subject would deal a staggering blow to the Roman Catholic Church"

CIA File: The "Alter Ego" of Ante Pavelic

November 26, 1947: A second intelligence report, this time stating Mudd's earlier allegations as fact

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement

June 14, 1948: CIA report on the organization and internal dynamics of the Krizari

US Army File: Rat Line from Austria to South America

July 12, 1948: Crucial memo from the CIC in Austria, written by the man who formed the Ratline with Krunoslav Draganovic's assistance

News: Yugoslavs Try Fifty as Spies

July 13, 1948: News account of the Yugoslav trials of captured Krizari, mentioning Draganovic

US Army File: History of the Italian Rat Line

April 10, 1950: Comprehensive history of the Nazi smuggling program and Krunoslav Draganovic's role

CIA File: Reported Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina

December 2, 1948: Draganovic assists Pavelic's final escape from Italy

CIA File: Franjo Cvijic and the Ustase Treasury

June 17, 1949: Report on movements of NDH bank president Franjo Cvijic and his expected emigration to Argentina, courtesy Draganovic

CIA File: CIA Internal Memo

October 16, 1950: Mentions Krunoslav Draganovic's relations with Pavelic, Macek and other Croatian leaders

CIA File: Notes from the Foreign Language Press

November 8, 1950: Newspaper reports on Krunoslav Draganovic and

Dragutin Kamber's wartime record

CIA File: "An Uncompromising and Dangerous Extremist"

July 24, 1952: Overview of Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic's activity from 1943 to 1952

CIA File: Irregular Activity of Krunoslav Draganovic

October 1, 1953: Report, possibly intercepted, of Krunoslav Draganovic's alleged corruption

CIA File: Attempt to Penetrate US Guard Companies

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November 19, 1958: Document outlining circumstances behind Draganovic's departure from the former nerve center of the Ratline

CIA File: Summary of Activities of the SILC

November 20, 1958: Summary of the unidentified SILC, with reference to Krunoslav Draganovic's activities in Italy in 1944

CIA File: Request for Info, SETAF Verona

April 13, 1959: American intelligence in Verona's request for all documents relating to Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: CIC Reply to SETAF Verona

April 16, 1959: The CIC responds with an extensive description of Draganovic's Nazi-smuggling activities. Verona never mentions it again.

CIA File: The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

May 2, 1959: US Army intelligence makes contact once again with Father Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: Report by Senior Agent "SARDI"

May 29, 1959: A senior agent, codenamed SARDI, finds glaring holes in Draganovic's story in this report

CIA File: Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records from US Intelligence, 1959-1960

May 1959-July 1960: Expense sheets from American asset DYNAMO, aka Father Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: The Doctor Fabiano Statement

July 8, 1959: Signed statement by Krunoslav Draganovic to sign for all money with a code-name

CIA File: Dottore DYNAMO

c. July 8, 1959: Linked with the "Doctor Fabiano statement," reveals another Draganovic alias in negotiations with American agents

CIA File: SETAF 41 Bona Fides for Krunoslav Draganovic

ca. September 1959: Instructions for agents on methods to establish contact with Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: Termination Files of Krunoslav Draganovic

February 7, 1962: Files under Krunoslav Draganovic's three codenames, detailing reasons for his termination from US intelligence

News: Priest, Termed War Criminal, Back in Yugoslavia

November 11, 1967: First confirmation in the press of Draganovic's defection back to Yugoslavia

CIA File: State Department File on Krunoslav Draganovic

January 9, 1968: Summary of Draganovic's public 'career' a few months after his defection to Yugoslavia

CIA File: DOJ/OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie

1983: First admission of the existence of the Ratline and Krunoslav Draganovic's role as a 'prime mover'

News Excerpt: The Return of Bolivia's Blood-Stained Dictator

1997: Draganovic and the Butcher of Lyons, Klaus Barbie

News Excerpt: Peron's Bloody Ties

November 9, 1998: Krunoslav Draganovic and Argentina, the Last Redoubt of Nazism

News Excerpt: A Vow of Silence

March 30, 1998: "Did Gold Stolen by Croatian Fascists Reach the Vatican?"

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The Verona Reports and the Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic, 1959

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An Overview of Draganovic's Role as a Part of American - and Possibly Yugoslav - Intelligence



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The US Army Files

document count: 35



related links

These files cover the United States Army's surveillance, contacts with and, to some degree, complicity with Ustase war criminals concealed in Austria and Italy in the years after World War II, largely through the vehicle of the army's Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC). For a general overview of the US Army files, please see **Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File**.

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

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Documents

US Army File: Supreme Allied HQ to 12th and 6th Army (Austria)

June 5, 1945: "Ante Pavelic... may be in your area"

US Army File: Rome Area Allied Command to CIC

August 8, 1945: "Is Pavelic in Rome? Is San Gerolamo Monastery used as a haven..."

US Army File: Judge Advocate General to Army Counter-Intelligence

November 5, 1945: Form Inquiring after Pavelic's Whereabouts

US Army File: Rome Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) Memorandum

August 25, 1945: On News Reports of Pavelic's Arrest in Austria

US Army File: Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

Unknown: Information on Draganovic, Austria, Pavelic, the Vatican and the Krizari

US Army File: Background Material on Krunoslav Draganovic

October 10, 1946: One of the first and most crucial extant files tracing Krunoslav Draganovic's role in the Ratline

US Army File: Unidentified Document (Index Card)

October 12, 1946: Possibly Sent to Confirm that Pavelic Had Been in U.S. Custody in Austria

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agent William Gowen

January 17, 1947: Re: article about Pavelic in the Swiss Press

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agent Gowen

January 22, 1947: Investigation of Pavelic's Vatican Sanctuary; First Appearance of Krunoslav Draganovic in the Army Dossier

US Army File: CIC Summary from Special Agent Robert Clayton Mudd

January 30, 1947: Overview of Pavelic's Biography to Date; First Allusion to the "Ratline" in the CIC Files

CIA File: Background Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

February 12, 1947: Agent Robert Clayton Mudd's report on Draganovic's past and present activity vis-a-vis the Ustase and Pavelic

US Army File: Cover Letter by Ass. Chief of Staff G-2 Robert Stuart

February 25, 1947: A moment of equivocation as to the subject's whereabouts when forwarding Agent Gowen's latest **report**.

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agents Caniglia and Zappala

March 15, 1947: "In Rome Pavelic took refuge in a religious institution..."

US Army File: Unknown Document (Index Card)

April 14, 1947: An index card pulled from an unknown source. Interesting that Pavelic is classified in this one in a category of "Yugoslav Anti-Communists."

US Army File: Investigation by Capt. Marion Scott

April 18, 1947: Long investigation report on Pavelic and other Ustasa in Italy

US Army File: CIC Cover Letter to Scott Report

April 21, 1947: Note included with Scott report which casts doubt on the key informant's usefulness

US Army File: Information Sheet

May 19, 1947: What appears to be information acquired from OZNA, the Yugoslav secret police, on Pavelic in Italy

US Army File: Unknown Document (Index Card)

May 25, 1947: Two sentence card, quoting Belgrade Radio as saying the British let Pavelic escape, presumably from their custody in

Austria

US Army File: Summary of Information from Agents Gowen and Caniglia

June 9, 1947: Report confirming Pavelic has not, as others have reported, left Rome at all

US Army File: "Ante Pavelic and other Ustasha Personalities"

c. July, 1947: Dated by other researchers in early July, this document appears to have been obtained in final preparation for Pavelic's arrest

US Army File: "Hands Off"

July 7 and 14, 1947: One of the most crucial documents in the archive: a two word, handwritten note appended to the bottom of this otherwise ordinary memo

US Army File: Memorandum from the Political Adviser to Supreme Allied Commander

July 29, 1947: "...military authorities should cooperate with the Italian authorities to the extent necessary and possible..."

US Army File: Memorandum from the British Political Adviser

August 2, 1947: Response to the American Political Adviser listed above

US Army File: G-2 Brief on Pavelic's Background to Allied Headquarters

August 7, 1947: In response to their request

US Army File: Memorandum by Agent William Gowen

August 29, 1947: In just 45 days, Pavelic has gone from a criminal to be captured to a potential collaborator whose chief victims - the Serbs - want him to be free as well

CIA File: Documentary Evidence of Krunoslav Draganovic's Ustase Activity

September 5, 1947: CIC Agent Mudd's report citing evidence of Draganovic's role in the Ratline, sent without results to his superiors

US Army File: Memorandum by Agent William Gowen

September 12, 1947: "...any extradition of Subject would deal a staggering blow to the Roman Catholic Church"

US Army File: Unknown Document

October 17, 1947: Small index card-type file with a few misc claims

US Army File: Telegram Received by G-2

January 7, 1948?: Telegram regarding departure of Ante Pavelic from Rome

US Army File: Unknown Document

February 16, 1948?: Another index card-type file with a quote about the "new" principles of the Ustase

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US Army File: Ustasha Resurgence in Europe

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US Army File: Unknown Document

June 24, 1953: An index card-type file referring to another report alleging Ustase using Caritas (Catholic refugee service) offices in Austria as an "information collecting agency"

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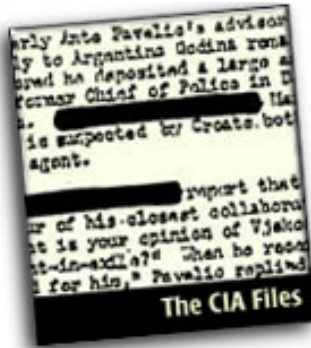
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The CIA Files

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Essay: [The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Essay: [The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA](#)

These files include *all* documents which eventually wound up in the possession of the Central Intelligence Agency, including those which were in the agency's possession from the Rome Counter-Intelligence Corps mission which tracked Ustase fugitives in Italy from 1945-1948. They also include several documents which were originally the possession of the **Office of Strategic Services'** Overseas Branch, a group which worked sometimes in tandem but often at odds with Allied military intelligence (as the Allied armies were then an occupation force in Italy and Austria) and particularly the Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC), based in Rome. Ante Pavelic's CIA files from his exile in Argentina and Spain have never been located or released.

For a general overview of the US Army files, including files from the '45-'48 CIC mission, see **Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File**. Most of the files dating from 1959-1960 are from a dossier referred to as the "Verona Reports"; they are summarized in **The Return of the Golden Priest: The Verona Reports and the Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic, 1959**.

Documents

CIA File: Organization of the Ustase Abroad

October 1946: Intelligence report listing names of Ustase cells throughout Italy and Austria with their area of expertise

US Treasury: The Bigelow Memo

October 21, 1946: Report from Emerson Bigelow on the fate of the wartime Ustase treasury

CIA File: Background Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

February 12, 1947: Agent Robert Clayton Mudd's report on Draganovic's past and present activity vis-a-vis the Ustase and Pavelic

CIA File: The Do Marius Report

May 6, 1947: A bizarre tale of a meeting with the Poglavnik

CIA File: American Agents in the Krizari Campaign

July 3, 1947: Profiles of two Krizari operatives who claim Allied-American support

CIA File: Documentary Evidence of Krunoslav Draganovic's Ustase Activity

September 5, 1947: CIC Agent Mudd's report citing evidence of Draganovic's role in the Ratline, sent without results to his superiors

CIA File: The "Alter Ego" of Ante Pavelic

November 26, 1947: Intelligence report on Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (I)

June 14, 1948: CIA report on the organization and internal dynamics of the Krizari

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (II)

c. 1948: CIA report on leaders of the Croatian Resistance Movement, including the missing leader of the terror unit *Crna Legija* or Black Legion, Rafael Boban

CIA File: Reported Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina

December 2, 1948: Appears to be a microfilm document with information on the arrival of Pavelic and other Ustase in Argentina

CIA File: Franjo Cvijic and the Ustase Treasury

June 17, 1949: Report on movements of NDH bank president Franjo Cvijic and his expected emigration to Argentina

CIA File: CIA Internal Memo

October 16, 1950: Mentions Krunoslav Draganovic's relations with Pavelic, Macek and other Croatian leaders

CIA File: Notes from the Foreign Language Press

November 8, 1950: Newspaper reports on Krunoslav Draganovic and Dragutin Kamber's wartime record

CIA File: "An Uncompromising and Dangerous Extremist"

July 24, 1952: Overview of Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic's activity from 1943 to 1952

CIA File: Irregular Activity of Krunoslav Draganovic

October 1, 1953: Report, possibly intercepted, of Krunoslav Draganovic's alleged corruption

CIA File: Attempt to Penetrate US Guard Companies

December 10, 1954: Summary of report detailing attempts by Krunoslav Draganovic to infiltrate US guard companies in Central Europe

CIA File: Dismissal of Krunoslav Draganovic from San Girolamo

November 19, 1958: Document outlining circumstances behind Draganovic's departure from the former nerve center of the Ratline

CIA File: Summary of Activities of the SILC

November 20, 1958: Summary of the unidentified SILC, with reference to Krunoslav Draganovic's activities in Italy in 1944

CIA File: Request for Info, SETAF Verona

April 13, 1959: American intelligence in Verona's request for all documents relating to Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: CIC Reply to SETAF Verona

April 16, 1959: The CIC responds with an extensive description of Draganovic's Nazi-smuggling activities. Verona never mentions it again.

CIA File: The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

May 2, 1959: US Army intelligence makes contact once again with Father Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: Report by Senior Agent "SARDI"

May 29, 1959: A senior agent, codenamed SARDI, finds glaring holes in Draganovic's story in this report

CIA File: The Doctor Fabiano Statement

July 8, 1959: Signed statement by Krunoslav Draganovic to sign for all money with a code-name

CIA File: Dottore DYNAMO

c. July 8, 1959: Linked with the "Doctor Fabiano statement," reveals

another Draganovic alias in negotiations with American agents

CIA File: Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records from US Intelligence, 1959-1960

May 1959-July 1960: Expense sheets from American asset DYNAMO, aka Father Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: SETAF 41 Bona Fides for Krunoslav Draganovic

ca. September 1959: Instructions for agents on methods to establish contact with Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: Termination Files of Krunoslav Draganovic

February 7, 1962: Files under Krunoslav Draganovic's three codenames, detailing reasons for his termination from US intelligence

CIA File: State Department File on Krunoslav Draganovic

January 9, 1968: Summary of Draganovic's public 'career' a few months after his defection to Yugoslavia

CIA File: DOJ/OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie

1983: First admission of the existence of the Ratline and Krunoslav Draganovic's role as a 'prime mover'

Features

Essay: The Return of the Golden Priest

The Verona Reports and the Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic, 1959

Exhibition: Top Secret

A Guide to Ante Pavelic's Army File

External Links

- None

The Pavelic Papers

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misc./etc.

The Krizari (Crusaders)

document count: 4

The *Krizari*, or "Crusaders," went into operation immediately following the collapse of the Independent State of Croatia in May, 1945. At first a group of scattered bands led inside Croatia by Ustase chieftain **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic**, the *Krizari* gained in sophistication as Western intelligence agencies took an interest in the nascent movement of former Ustase and *Domobran* officers. Large expeditions were instigated in which *Krizari* saboteurs were smuggled into Yugoslavia via Italy or Austria to conduct guerrilla operations, including dynamiting bridges, sabotaging communications or ambushing Yugoslav Army forces.

The extent of the *Krizari* campaign, as well as hard information about when it began and ended, is still shrouded in mystery, and perhaps only the unveiling of the archives of OZNA/UDB-a, the Communist Yugoslav secret police agencies, will fill in the gaps. What is known for sure is that it was a true extension of the Ustase leadership's flight upon the collapse of the NDH, and that American intelligence - in the very least - knew about the *Krizari* and had informers working within the organization. Western intelligence agencies later concluded the entire campaign was compromised by notorious Soviet spy Kim Philby, who passed on data about this and other infiltration operations in the Balkans to Moscow. Yugoslav officials put scores of captured *Krizari*, including notorious Jasenovac and Lepoglava concentration camp executioner Ljubo Milos, on trial throughout the summer of 1948. The movement is believed to have tapered off thereafter, which coincides with Ustase leader **Ante Pavelic's** final departure from his hideout in Italy to Buenos Aires on the **Ratline**.



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

Documents

CIA File: Organization of the Ustase Abroad

October 1946: Intelligence report listing names of Ustase cells throughout Italy and Austria with their area of expertise

CIA File: American Agents in the Krizari Campaign

July 3, 1947: Profiles of two Krizari operatives who claim Allied-American support

News: Yugoslavs Try Fifty as Spies

July 13, 1948: News account of the Yugoslav trials of captured *Krizari*, mentioning Draganovic

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement

June 14, 1948: CIA report on the organization and internal dynamics of the Krizari

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Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

Unraveling the Ustase Successor Organizations

External Links

- None.

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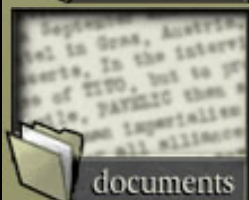
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timelines



documents



who's who



essays



misc./&tc.

Exile and Resurrection: 1956-1990

document count: 38



related links

After escaping to South America on the **Ratline**, *poglavnik* **Ante Pavelic** quickly regrouped the scattered Ustase fugitives from the Independent State of Croatia into a new organization. For a general overview of the successor Ustase organizations, please see **The Poglavnik's Family Tree: Unraveling the Ustase Successor Organizations**.

Documents: [The Croatian Liberation Movement](#)

Documents: [Otpor](#)

Documents: [Judicial Decisions and Trials](#)

Documents: [Ante Ljubas](#)

Documents: [Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

Documents

Founding Declaration of the Croatian Liberation Movement

June 8, 1956: English translation of the founding document of Pavelic's Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP), signed by Pavelic and 12 former Ustase ministers in exile in Buenos Aires

News: Pro-Nazi is Hunted

April 26, 1957: News report on the Argentine authorities' decision to revoke Ante Pavelic's asylum after the attempt on his life

CIA File: Request for Info, SETAF Verona

April 13, 1959: American intelligence in Verona's request for all documents relating to Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: CIC Reply to SETAF Verona

April 16, 1959: The CIC responds with an extensive description of Draganovic's Nazi-smuggling activities. Verona never mentions it again.

CIA File: The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

May 2, 1959: US Army intelligence makes contact once again with Father Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: Report by Senior Agent "SARDI"

May 29, 1959: A senior agent, codenamed SARDI, finds glaring holes in Draganovic's story in this report

CIA File: Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records from US Intelligence, 1959-1960

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CIA File: The Doctor Fabiano Statement

July 8, 1959: Signed statement by Krunoslav Draganovic to sign for all money with a code-name

CIA File: Dottore DYNAMO

c. July 8, 1959: Linked with the "Doctor Fabiano statement," reveals another Draganovic alias in negotiations with American agents

CIA File: SETAF 41 Bona Fides for Krunoslav Draganovic

ca. September 1959: Instructions for agents on methods to establish contact with Krunoslav Draganovic

News: Ante Pavelic Dies in Madrid at 70

December 29, 1959: Obituary on Ante Pavelic from the *New York Times*

CIA File: Termination Files of Krunoslav Draganovic

February 7, 1962: Files under Krunoslav Draganovic's three codenames, detailing reasons for his termination from US intelligence

News: Priest, Termed War Criminal, Back in Yugoslavia

November 11, 1967: First confirmation in the press of Draganovic's defection back to Yugoslavia

News Excerpt: Australian Police Raid Office Of the Nation's Secret Service

March 16, 1973: Account of Australian police raid to uncover documents relating to Croatian terrorist movements from the Australian secret service, and a plot to bomb the motorcade of Britain's Prince Philip

Appeal of Angelo Maric (Australia)

August 8, 1978: Decision by the High Court of Australia on the conviction of Odpor member Angelo Maric for several 1972 Sydney bombings

News: Two Odpor Agents Convicted of Terrorism

December 1, 1978: Two Odpor agents are found guilty on federal charges following a bungled raid on the Yugoslav consulate in Chicago

Otpor Bombing in California

June 23, 1980: Report from the US Secret Service on an retaliatory

OTPOR bombing in California against two Croatian-owned businesses

FBI Tracing Report on the Murder Weapon Used to Kill

Anthony Cikoja

September 28, 1981: Copy of the FBI tracing report on one of the two murders of Croatian immigrants in the United States which Otpor was convicted of carrying out

News: Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation

February 19, 1982: UPI article laying out the prosecution's opening argument in the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

10 Croatians on Trial on Racketeering Charges

1982: New York Times article on the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Otpor Bombing in New York

July 6, 1982: Report from the US Secret Service on two retaliatory OTPOR bombings in New York City, after the sentencing of the six terrorists convicted in the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York

Judicial Decision: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

April 14, 1983: 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals Summarizes the Case and Denies Appeal of Original Convictions under the RICO Act

Judicial Decision: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City (Excerpt)

April 14, 1983: Miro Baresic named an "unindicted co-racketeer" charged with extorting and conspiring to kill Croatian opponents of the Ustase in the United States

Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

January 25, 1983: 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals decision reaffirming all but one charge against four Otpor members, including conspiracy to kill a prominent Croatian-American leader while he walked his daughter to school

FBI File: Croatian Terrorism Investigation

April 19, 1983: Heavily redacted FBI file outlining a new Otpor bomb threat and new recruiting efforts for bomb-makers

FBI File: Rumored Arrests in Germany

February 7, 1984: Report from an FBI field office on reported arrests of Otpor activists in Germany in connection with the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympics

News Excerpt: Escaped Terrorist Captured

April 18, 1987: UPI news report on the recapture of Zvonko Basic

News Excerpt: Hijacker Recaptured After Prison Escape

April 19, 1987: News excerpt on Odpor hijacker Zvonko Basic's escape from prison

Diplomatic Cable: Baresic Paroled from Prison

June 1987: Unclassified telegram from the US Embassy, Stockholm

Diplomatic Cable: Baresic Deported from Sweden

December 1987: Unclassified telegram from the US Embassy, Stockholm

Diplomatic Cable: Baresic Arrives in Paraguay

December 1987: "Limited Use" telegram from the US Embassy, Asuncion

FBI File: An Interview with Miro Baresic

February 17, 1988: Translated interview with freed Odpor terrorist Miro Baresic and a Chicago radio station

The Ustase Croatian Liberation Movement

1997: English translation of Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP) tract describing the movement's history

News Excerpt: Protest Sent to the Hague

June 23, 1998: "The US Government was asked to drop the charges against Zvonko Basic and Ante Ljubas..."

Judicial Decision: State of IL vs. Aleman (Extract)

March 21, 2000: More on Ljubas' Mafia Hitman, Louis Almeida

News Excerpt: Unofficial Diplomat

May 14, 2000: The Ustase Attacks on the Croatian Fraternal Union

Announcement Dissolving the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood

September 15, 2000: Unverified communique issued by "main revolutionary hq" dissolving the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood

US Congress: H.Res 235 IH

May 14, 2003: A resolution introduced in the US House of Representatives "urging the Government of Argentina to build upon the steps it has taken to shed light on the relocation to Argentina of Nazis and other war criminals" - including, by name, Ante Pavelic

Features

Book: Two Bullets for Pavelic

The Story of Blagoje Jovovic

Essay: The Return of the Golden Priest

The Verona Reports and the Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic, 1959.

Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

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Who Will Take a Monument to Take a Piss?

Reprint of an award-winning *Feral Tribuna* article on the monument to Baresic and the resettlement of his accomplices in Croatia

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Miro Baresic

document count: 6

b. ?, Sibenik, Croatia

d. 1992, near Zadar, Croatia



Among the most notorious Croatian terrorists in the 1970s for his part in the brutal murder of Yugoslav Ambassador to Sweden Vladimir Rolovic and a romantic escape from jail. Born in Sibenik on the Dalmatian Coast, emigrating from Yugoslavia in the late 1960s. Received training at an unknown destination from militants of the *Hrvatski Drzavotvorni Pokret*, the Croatian Statehood Movement, an outgrowth of **Jasenovac** creator **Maks Luburic's** Croatian National Resistance (also called **Otpor** and Otpor). In 1971, with co-conspirators Andjelko Brajkovic and Ante Stojanov, conspired to seize the Yugoslav Ambassador to Sweden and - they claimed - hold him as a bargaining chip to free Ustase held in prison on terrorism charges. During the stand-off with police, Brajkovic shoved his gun in the ambassador's mouth and pulled the trigger. The three served barely a year of their 18 year sentence when Ustase terrorists hijacked a Swedish airliner and demanded Baresic and five other Ustase terrorists' release from jail, along with a large sum of money. All demands were granted to win the hostages' release.

After a short stay in Spain, was recruited as an army officer in Paraguay, training Military Academy commando units characterized as "death squads" dispatched to hunt down opponents of dictator Alfredo Stroessner. Was arrested in Washington, DC while serving as personal bodyguard and driver to the Paraguayan Ambassador to the US Mario Lopez Escobar - a part of his salary, the ambassador told the FBI, came from "Croatian emigres in Chicago." Named an "unindicted co-racketeer" in the groundbreaking **Otpor Racketeering Trials** in New York City, as he had kept in close contact with several of the Otpor terrorists accused of attempting to kill rival Croat-American leaders and commit various acts of terror in the United States. Among other crimes, Baresic was implicated with thinking up the idea of killing a Croatian Catholic priest in Milwaukee, Father Timothy Majic. When the conspirators attempted to extort *moderate, pro-independence* Croats, Baresic operated the post office box in Paraguay where the blackmail money was to be sent.

Extradited from the United States back to Sweden in 1980, where he

Judicial Decision: [The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York](#)

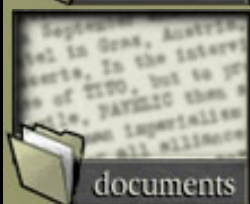
Judicial Decision: [The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York \(Full Text\)](#)

Documents: [Otpor](#)

Documents: [Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic](#)

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Timeline: [The Ustase Timeline](#)



served seven more years on his prison sentence before being paroled in 1987.

Returned to Paraguay, then rushed to Croatia in time to join the paramilitary forces of the newly-independent state fighting in Bosnia and the Krajina. Brajkovic and Stojanov also emerged from hiding and were granted positions in the Croatian army despite valid Interpol warrants for their arrest. Was killed in combat in the Krajina in 1992. Posthumously decorated as a "Knight" by Franjo Tudjman, and reputedly memorialized with a statue blessed at a ceremony by the Archbishop of Zadar.

Documents

News: Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation

February 19, 1982: UPI article laying out the prosecution's opening argument in the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Judicial Decision: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York (Excerpt)

April 14, 1983: Miro Baresic named an "unindicted co-racketeer" charged with extorting and conspiring to kill Croatian opponents of the Ustase in the United States

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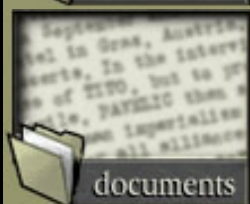
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The Pavelic Papers

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Ante Ljubas

document count: 9



In the words of a federal prosecutor, the "field marshal" of the **Croatian National Resistance**, or "Odpor" or "Otpor" inside the United States, and ringleader of a conspiracy to extort, intimidate and murder scores of moderate Croat nationalists in the United States, including the head of the largest Croat-American organization, John Badovinac, and a Catholic priest who had condemned Odpor's terrorist bombings, Father Timothy Majic of Milwaukee, WI. Also charged with fifty counts of extortion of moderate Croats and recent immigrants to fund their "criminal enterprise." Hired two members of the Chicago mafia (aka "The Outfit"), Joe Neary (aka Joe Neri) and **Louis Almeida** (driver for the top mob enforcer in the 1970s, Harry Aleman) to kill Badovinac and intimidate the moderate leadership of the Croatian Fraternal Union. After failing to assassinate their target, Neary and Almeida were arrested in Ohio after a traffic stop; Almeida later turned state's evidence. Ljubas, along with Milan Bagaric, Mile Markich, Vinko Logarusic, Ranko Primorac and Drago Sudar were convicted for violations of the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), the preeminent Organized Crime statutes, on May 15, 1982 (with Ustase assassin **Miro Baresic** named an "unindicted co-racketeer.")

Still in prison as of 1999, when an organization in Croatia appealed to the United States to release Ljubas and his co-conspirators and repatriate them to Croatia. Ljubas is due for release in the Summer of 2004. [see also **the Croatian National Resistance**]

Documents: [Odpor](#)

Documents: [Miro Baresic](#)

Documents: [Judicial Decisions and Trials](#)

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Otpor Bombing in California

June 23, 1980: Report from the US Secret Service on an retaliatory OTPOR bombing in California against two Croatian-owned businesses

FBI Tracing Report on the Murder Weapon Used to Kill Anthony Cikoja

September 28, 1981: Copy of the FBI tracing report on one of the two murders of Croatian immigrants in the United States which Otpor was convicted of carrying out

News: Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation

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1982: New York Times article on the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

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April 14, 1983: 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals Summarizes the Case and Denies Appeal of Original Convictions under the RICO Act

Article: Protest Sent to The Hague

June 23, 1998: "The US Government was asked to drop the charges against Zvonko Busic and Ante Ljubas..."

More on Louis Almeida

March 21, 2000: Judicial Decision: State of IL vs. Aleman (Excerpt)

Article: Unofficial Diplomat

May 14, 2000: The Ustase Attacks on the Croatian Fraternal Union

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Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

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Article: Where Are They Now? Odpor's Jailed Alumni

From **Archive**, the journal of the Pavelic papers

External Links

- None.

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timelines



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misc./&tc.

The Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP)

document count: 2



related links

Shortly after arriving in Buenos Aires, Argentina, Ante Pavelic gathered together the surviving Ustase and beneficiaries of the **Ratline** in the Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP). The founding declaration of the HOP contains the names of a dozen officials from the government of the Independent State of Croatia, all at liberty despite indictments against them for atrocious war crimes committed during World War II, and many living in the "democratic West." Pavelic's successor as the head of HOP was former **Croatian Peasant Party** politician Stjepan Hefer. Ante Bonifacic controlled the movement in the 1970s from his headquarters in Chicago, and the FBI considered the HOP generally and Bonifacic personally as "non-violent." At the same time, Ustase terrorist attacks against targets both within Yugoslavia and abroad were occurring on an almost monthly basis, including several hijackings of American and European airliners. In the later years of Bonifacic's reign, the Croatian emigrant community was torn apart by Ustase violence, which was increasingly directed at Croatian-Americans who refused to endorse their views or contribute kick-backs to fund their activities. The United States Justice Department finally brought a pair of RICO suit against a half-dozen Croatian terrorists, and charged them with more than fifty counts of racketeering, extortion, and attempted murder for mailing bombs concealed in books to a Croatian-American journalist as well as a Catholic priest. Upon Bonifacic's death, the HOP was taken over by Pavelic's son-in-law, former Ustase officer Srecko Psenicnik.

For a general overview of the successor Ustase organizations, please see **The Poglavnik's Family Tree: Unraveling the Ustase Successor Organizations**.

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [Otpor](#)

Documents: [Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic](#)

Documents: [Judicial Decisions and Trials](#)

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Essay: [The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

Documents

Founding Declaration of the Croatian Liberation Movement

June 8, 1956: English translation of the founding document of Pavelic's Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP), signed by Pavelic and 12 former Ustase ministers in exile in Buenos Aires

The Ustase Croatian Liberation Movement

1997: English translation of Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP) tract describing the movement's history

Features

Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

Unraveling the Ustase Successor Organizations.

External Links

- None.

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The Croatian National Resistance

document count: 17

aka: Odpor, Otpor, HNO



Founded by **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic**, one of the most vicious and sadistic Ustase leaders, after his flight from the Balkans after World War II, the *Hrvatski Narodni Odpor*, (Croatian National Resistance, HNO, or simply "Odpor" and "Otpor") became the most violent of the Ustase successor organizations which were born in the aftermath of World War II. Commanded from Spain, Luburic's place of refuge under Generalissimo Franco, until his murder on April 20, 1969. The organization lived on, as several convictions for high profile crimes such as racketeering, attempted murder, extortion, terrorism, hijacking and other violent crimes indicate. The HNO's North American branch was effectively destroyed as an organization when the group's entire leadership echelon was convicted for racketeering, murder, attempted murder, extortion and other crimes *primarily against other Croatian expatriates* in the early 1980s.

Documents: [Judicial Decisions and Trials](#)

Documents: [Otpor Leader Ante Ljubas](#)

Documents: [Miro Baresic](#)

Documents: [Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic](#)

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Essay: [The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

Documents

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (II)

c. 1948: CIA report on leaders of the Croatian Resistance Movement, including the missing leader of the terror unit *Crna Legija* or Black Legion, Rafael Boban

Australian Police Raid Office Of the Nation's Secret Service

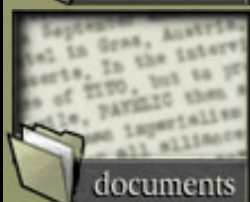
March 16, 1973: Account of Australian police raid to uncover documents relating to Croatian terrorist movements from the Australian secret service, and a plot to bomb the motorcade of Britain's Prince Philip

Appeal of Angelo Maric (Australia)

August 8, 1978: Decision by the High Court of Australia on the conviction of Odpor member Angelo Maric for several 1972 Sydney bombings

News: Two Odpor Agents Convicted of Terrorism

December 1, 1978: Two Odpor agents are found guilty on federal



charges following a bungled raid on the Yugoslav consulate in Chicago

Otpor Bombing in California

June 23, 1980: Report from the US Secret Service on an retaliatory OTPOR bombing in California against two Croatian-owned businesses

FBI Tracing Report on the Murder Weapon Used to Kill Anthony Cikoja

September 28, 1981: Copy of the FBI tracing report on one of the two murders of Croatian immigrants in the United States which Otpor was convicted of carrying out

News: Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation

February 19, 1982: UPI article laying out the prosecution's opening argument in the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

10 Croats on Trial on Racketeering Charges

1982: New York Times article on the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Otpor Bombing in New York

July 6, 1982: Report from the US Secret Service on two retaliatory OTPOR bombings in New York City, after the sentencing of the six terrorists convicted in the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York

Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

January 25, 1983: 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals decision reaffirming all but one charge against four Otpor members, including conspiracy to kill a prominent Croatian-American leader while he walked his daughter to school

FBI File: Croatian Terrorism Investigation

April 19, 1983: Heavily redacted FBI file outlining a new Otpor bomb threat and new recruiting efforts for bomb-makers

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February 7, 1984: Report from an FBI field office on reported arrests of Otpor activists in Germany in connection with the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympics

News Excerpt: Escaped Terrorist Captured

April 18, 1987: UPI news report on the recapture of Zvonko Busic

News Excerpt: Hijacker Recaptured After Prison Escape

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FBI File: An Interview with Miro Baresic

Februay 17, 1988: Translated interview with freed Odpor terrorist Miro Baresic and a Chicago radio station

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April 14, 1983: 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals Summarizes the Case and Denies Appeal of Original Convictions under the RICO Act

Announcement Dissolving the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood

September 15, 2000: Unverified communique issued by "main revolutionary hq" dissolving the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood

Features

Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

Unraveling the Ustase Successor Organizations.

Article: Where Are They Now? Odpor's Jailed Alumni

From **Archive**, the journal of the Pavelic papers

External Links

- None.

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



Judicial Decisions and Trials

document count: 9

The following are but the first handful of judicial decisions, trial testimony and other court documents from trials associated with the Ustase and the Ustase successor organizations, **Odpor** or Otpor and the **Croatian Liberation Movement** or HOP. Also included are relevant extracts from the trial of Hitler's mechanic of the Final Solution, Adolf Eichmann, and the extradition proceedings against Andrija Artukovic in Los Angeles in 1986-1986.



Documents: [Odpor](#)

Documents: [Andrija Artukovic](#)

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Documents

Judicial Testimony: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann (Excerpt)

Andrija Artukovic's role in the Holocaust

Judicial Testimony: Measures Taken Against the Jews

Testimony by Alexander Arnon on anti-Jewish laws passed immediately after the founding of the Independent State of Croatia

Judicial Decision: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Judgment (Excerpt)

"only 1,500 out of 30,000 Croatian Jews remained alive..."

Appeal of Angelo Maric (Australia)

August 8, 1978: Decision by the High Court of Australia on the conviction of Otpor member Angelo Maric for several 1972 Sydney bombings

Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York

January 25, 1983: 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals decision reaffirming all but one charge against four Otpor members, including conspiracy to kill a prominent Croatian-American leader while he walked his daughter to school

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April 14, 1983: 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals Summarizes the Case and Denies Appeal of Original Convictions under the RICO Act

Judicial Decision: Miro Baresic as Unindicted Co-Racketeer

April 14, 1983: Miro Baresic named an "unindicted co-racketeer" charged with extorting and conspiring to kill Croatian opponents of the Ustase in the United States

Judicial Decision: State of IL vs. Aleman (Extract)

March 21, 2000: More on the Ustase's Mafia Hitman, Louis Almeida

Judicial Decision: The Extradition of Andrija Artukovic

August 8, 1985: Court decision denying Artukovic's eleventh hour appeal to thwart his deportation nearly 40 years after entering the country illegally

Features

- None.

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Documents: [The Ratline](#)

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IN MAY 1945, ANTE PAVELIC, head of the Nazi-puppet Independent State of Croatia, vanished. For years, no one knew what had happened to him. There were vague allusions to conspiracies involving Austrian palaces, Italian monasteries and mysterious collaborators who passed the front lines in clerical robes - but precious little evidence.

Today, we have made available on the web a selection from the contents of Ante Pavelic's dossier kept by the US Army's Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC). These files in no way explain all of the unanswered questions about the escape of Ante Pavelic and other Ustase leaders from justice after the war. They do however provide a series of intriguing clues as to how this high-ranking Nazi collaborator avoided the fate of Nuremberg, and the shocking truth that the United States government helped facilitate his escape.

Following are notes to ten key documents in this collection, in chronological order from June of 1945 to September of 1947, when the CIC's surveillance of Pavelic ended abruptly. You can view all of the army files available on this site in both scanned and HTML format [here](#).

1. First Sightings

June 5, 1945



As early as June 5, 1945 - just three weeks after Pavelic fled from Zagreb as the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) collapsed before a Soviet-Yugoslav offensive - the Rome headquarters of the Chief of Staff of the Allied Expeditionary Force informed his counterparts in 6th and 12th Armies of the "possibility" that Pavelic and another Ustase minister of the NDH were in the American

Occupation Zone in Austria. This information was most likely received from the Yugoslav government; Tito gave orders for the Yugoslav Army to apprehend the column of refugees that Pavelic and the other Ustase were in, and Yugoslav agents had by then penetrated far into the Austrian province of Carinthia.

2. Sanctuary

August 8, 1945

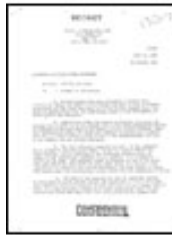


No one can question the thoroughness of American intelligence. Just two months later, on August 8, 1945, Rome Area Allied Command sent a memo to the CIC asking three pertinent questions: "a. Is PAVELIC in Rome? b) if so, where, c) is the San Gerolamo Monastery [*sic*] used as a haven."

The Monastery of San Girolamo, where Father **Krunoslav Draganovic** was quietly building the most effective Nazi-smuggling operation of the post-war era, was indeed being used as a haven for Pavelic and several other Ustase fugitives. That American intelligence knew about it in August of 1945 is especially damning, as San Girolamo remained the locus of Ratline activity for the next three to five years.

3. The Sacred Heart of Rome

January 22, 1947



A year and a half later, Special Agent William Gowen conducts a surveillance operation around one of Pavelic's suspected hideouts in Rome. If senior members of the United States government were hoping to bury the Pavelic case by assigning it to an inexperienced and overwhelmed investigator, they picked the wrong man.

As this report shows, Gowen approached the investigation like a hard-nosed police detective: following leads, conducting stake-outs, and developing informants within the network of Croat exiles and Vatican priests shielding Pavelic from arrest. Striking in this document is the mention of "such known Pavelic contacts as DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav," the papal favorite, who was to Gowen key to Pavelic's apprehension.

4. The Ratline Exposed

January 30, 1947

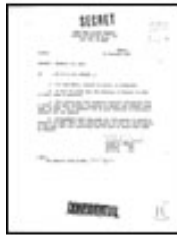


Special Agent Robert Clayton Mudd, who worked from Naples for most of his time in the CIC, delivers a bombshell: the first extensive glimpse amidst the fumbling in the dark of what would become known as the Ratline: a Vatican network to rescue fugitive war criminals, provide them sanctuary and escort them out of Europe and away from investigators. Paragraph five

states: "This informant, directed by this Agent to try to penetrate the Ustashi intelligence network in Italy and Yugoslavia, has managed to do so and it has been determined that the network runs from GRUMO-ROME- VENICE-TRIESTE-LJUBLJANA-ZAGREB. The whole affair is run under cover of the Roman Catholic clergy whose priests in these monasteries are nearly all of Croat extraction. Complete penetration of this organization is a rather lengthy process but efforts are being continued in that direction. There is no doubt that Ustashi elements in Italy communicate with one another, and that the focal point of all intelligence and activity is the Monastery of Saint Jerome [NB - Anglicized *San Girolamo*], Via Tomacelli, 132, ROME."

5. Plausible Deniability

February 25, 1947



There are many instances of bewildering cynicism on the part of American officers in regard to the breakthroughs being made by the CIC's agents; this is the first of many. Captain Robert M. Stuart, as a note when forwarding Agent Gowen's last report up the chain of command (after sitting on it for more than a month), emphasizes that "It will be noted that the presence of *[Pavelic]* in

Rome is still open to question" - before passing on a extraneous and, in light of the reports coming in by Agents Gowen and Mudd, entirely minor lead.

6. The Do Marius Report

May 6, 1947



The Pavelic dossier is filled with gaps and missing pages, but the "Do Marius Report" may be one of the first attempts at outright deception by the superiors of the agents working the Pavelic case. Attorney Jonathan Levy writes, "I've been working with FOIA documents since 1999 on the Ustashe and have made hundreds of requests. There are some real caveats specific to the

Pavelic case.

"Surviving US Intelligence documents are often appallingly incorrect or based on poor sources of information, and some could be deliberate misinformation. A history professor who recently visited NARA also confirmed that the Pavelic and Ustashe material in general was misfiled or often just missing," Levy says.

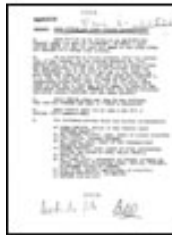
The Do Marius Report was obtained from the CIA. In the report, an Italian agent confers with the anonymous author about a meeting with Ante Pavelic, who comes across rather like an old fellow in the tavern than a hunted Nazi collaborator. He claims his dispute with the Serbs came down entirely to an issue over the NDH's border with Serbia, rather than his regime's genocidal frenzy which began within weeks of the Ustase taking power in Zagreb in the Spring of 1941. Neither here, nor really anywhere else in the CIC files, is there any mention of Pavelic's destruction of the Croatian Jewish community, or the barbarism of their manner of execution. The author has quoted Pavelic in one long block of text throughout most of the report, but the Poglavnik inexplicably shifts to the third person in the final paragraph of the document. One or more pages of this document are missing.

"James Angleton and Alan Dulles were both involved with Pavelic and his Ustashe," Levy says. "It was in their interest to make sure that much of the information simply vanished. For example, no one has ever been able to locate significant US Intelligence files on Pavelic from his stays in Argentina, Chile, and Spain."

According to Levy, former CIC Special Agent William Gowen - who is the last surviving member of the Rome CIC team involved in the Pavelic case - believes that the Do Marius report may have been produced by Angleton. Later, as director of CIA Counter Intelligence, Angleton would open the floodgates to Nazi fugitives fleeing from Europe for use in the anti-Communist crusade. At this time he was in charge of a joint British-American OSS unit known as "SCI-Z," which had earlier stonewalled the CIC on the eve of the latter's planned arrest of Walter Rauff, the inventor of the Nazi's mobile gas chamber. With Angleton's assistance, Rauff become one of the most prominent German Nazis to escape.

7. Imminent Arrest

c. July, 1947



Whatever his superiors thought of it, the hard information that Agent Gowen was collecting couldn't be ignored. After months of steady work, it appears that he had propelled an irresistible force of momentum leading towards Pavelic's arrest. This document, dated by other researchers as having been produced in July, 1947, appears to be notes organized from an interview with an informant (it is clearly marked "TRANSLATION" at the top, but is otherwise unidentifiable). It confirms an earlier report by Gowen which detailed the precise address at which Pavelic was hiding, and offers detailed instructions on how to access his abode. Pavelic "is living on Church property under the protection of the Vatican, at Via Giacomo Venezian No. 17-C, second floor... On the right the rooms are numbered 1,2,3, etc. If you knock once or twice at door No. 3 an unimportant person will come out. But if you knock once or twice times *[sic]* at door No. 3, door No.2 will open. It leads to the room where Pavelic lives." Included is a list of other prominent members of the Ustase also living in the same Vatican sanctuary.

8. "Hands Off"

July 7, 1947



At first glance, this appears to be the sort of banal request that Pavelic be arrested that appears elsewhere in the file, this time from Bernard J. Grennan, Chief of Operations at the CIC in Rome. He conveys the desire of the Assistant Chief of Staff that Pavelic "be taken into custody on sight and that this office be notified immediately when such apprehension is made."

The difference from the previous orders to this effect which appear in the file is that now - on July 7, 1947 when this memo was issued - Pavelic's whereabouts were known, and Grennan had agents in the field prepared to carry out the order. A **previous report** by an outside investigator passed on an informant's note that every time Pavelic and his entourage were about to be arrested, "they were moved elsewhere by Allied personnel who were hiding them." It would be difficult to divert American agents moving in for an arrest in a similar manner without difficulty.

Then, one week later, Agent Gowen's supervisor, Gono Morena, received a blunt message from his supervisors - one he thought important enough (and, quite possibly, incriminating enough) to append to this document - something that no other agent saw fit to do on any other file in the dossier. It is the closest thing to a smoking gun found in a sheaf of documents that has been purged, picked clean, and still only released begrudgingly:

**New instructions: "Hands Off",
Source Mr. Grennan & Lt. Col Hartman
14 July 1947
GM**

In *Unholy Trinity*, the first book to expose the CIC documents, Mark Aarons and John Loftus note that after this "the operation [*to arrest Pavelic*] was allowed to quietly die. The apparent determination to arrest this notorious Nazi mass murderer disappeared, just as Pavelic himself had seemingly done in May 1945... Senior US officials were then developing their own network of ex-Nazis, and were beginning to co-ordinate activities with both the Vatican and London... No one cared about Nazis as long as they were anti-Communist." (p 82-83).

9. "A Cultured Person and Social Liberal"

August 29, 1947



Agent Gowen has been told "Hands Off"; this document is either a master forgery or he is putting the best face on the situation. "British and American officials were playing bureaucratic chess," Loftus and Aarons write. "The intelligence operatives on the scene were merely their pawns and really did not understand the game's rules."

Here, Pavelic is alleged to be under British as well as

Vatican protection, which in part explains the **agreement** by London to the **American proposal** that the Italian authorities be brought into the discussions on any sensitive operation to arrest Pavelic, despite their notorious unreliability. Whatever the case, within forty-five days, Ante Pavelic has gone from a hunted war criminal to a misunderstood man whose own victims, the Serbs, have already forgiven him for the mass-murder of between three hundred and five hundred thousand of their kin.

10. A Staggering Blow to the Catholic Church

September 12, 1947



This document is, in effect, the swan song of Agent Gowen and, for all intents and purposes, the entire investigation of the Pavelic case. Speaking for the record, and drawing attention to it in their short, punchy prose, Gowen and his partner note:

These agents have received the following impression of PAVELIC's contact with the VATICAN.

PAVELIC's contacts are so high and his present position is so compromising to the VATICAN, that any extradition of Subject would deal a staggering blow to the Roman Catholic Church.

Within 18 months, Ante Pavelic and his closest collaborators in the operation of the slaughterhouse of the Independent State of Croatia would be safely out of Italy and the Balkans and on their way to freedom in the West. Even as the Ustase was abandoned by Croats in droves, both during the war and immediately thereafter, the consequences of allowing this small extremist sect to survive have been incalculable. Far from becoming the pliant anti-Communist puppets that Angleton, Dulles and other American intelligence operatives wanted them to be, Pavelic's Ustase were reborn as a terrorist movement in the West, responsible for more than a hundred attacks on innocent civilians and public landmarks, including the Statue of Liberty. Sadly for the United States and the rest of the world, the handling of Pavelic and the Ustase was not an aberration, but a blueprint for successive American administrations, as shady characters nurtured by the CIA in countries like Afghanistan and Nicaragua have gone on to have truly spectacular careers in atrocity and terror. This is to say nothing of the moral consequences of offering an umbrella of protection to the highest-ranking Nazi collaborators to

escape justice after the war.

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



timelines



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essays



misc./&tc.

new files

new documents in The Pavelic Papers

added May 19, 2004



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Pavelic: Ten Years Struggle in the Homeland

January 9-13, 1999: Lengthy excerpts from one of Pavelic's autobiographies, as serialized in a right-wing Croatian paper in 1999

News Excerpt: Croat Leader in Hospital

February 18, 1939: *New York Times* report on the hunger strike of Ustase leader Branimir Jelic in the United States

News Excerpt: Dr. Jelic Wins in Court

July 18, 1939: *New York Times* report on Branimir Jelic's release from prison by court order

Pavelic's Radio Address to Croatia

April 5, 1941: Excerpt from a radio speech Pavelic broadcast into Croatia on the eve of war, urging the Croatian people to "cleanse" the land of enemies

Comparison Between Nazi and Ustase Racial Decrees

1941: Comparison between the decrees passed in Germany and the NDH giving precise definition to who was and was not Jewish

Stepinac's Letter on the Resettlement of Slovene Monks

October 3, 1941: Letter from Stepinac to Ante Pavelic on Slovene monks taking over the cathedral of exiled Serb Orthodox clergy

Proposal for Decoration for Nada Luburic

1944: Proposal for a decoration for Nada Luburic, future wife of Jasenovac commandant Dinko Sakic, for bravery

Decoration for Nada Luburic, Maja Buzdon, etc.

1944: Order signed by Ante Pavelic himself bestowing a military decoration on female concentration camp guards at Stara Gradiska

US Army File: Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

Unknown: Information on Draganovic, Austria, Pavelic, the Vatican and the Krizari

US Army File: Background Material on Krunoslav Draganovic

October 10, 1946: One of the first and most crucial extant files tracing Krunoslav Draganovic's role in the Ratline

US Treasury: The Bigelow Memo

October 21, 1946: Report from Emerson Bigelow on the fate of the wartime Ustase treasury

FBI File: Croatian Terrorism Investigation

April 19, 1983: Heavily redacted FBI file outlining a new Odpor bomb threat and new recruiting efforts for bomb-makers

FBI File: Rumored Arrests in Germany

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FBI File: An Interview with Miro Baresic

February 17, 1988: Translated interview with freed Odpor terrorist Miro Baresic and a Chicago radio station

added February 19

News: Victor Gutic's Visit to Petricevac

May 16, 1941: Eleven days before murdering the Orthodox Bishop of Banja Luka, Ustase prefect Victor Gutic visits the Franciscan monastery at Petricevac

Letter: Rusinovic on Meeting with Cardinal Tisserant

March 6, 1942: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on a stormy meeting with Vatican official Cardinal Eugene Tisserant

Stepinac's Address to Pius XII

May 18, 1943: Aide-mémoire by Stepinac personally delivered to Pope Pius XII at their later meeting

Appeal of Angelo Maric (Australia)

August 8, 1978: Decision by the High Court of Australia on the conviction of Otpor member Angelo Maric for several 1972 Sydney bombings

Announcement Dissolving the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood

September 15, 2000: Unverified communique issued by "main revolutionary hq" dissolving the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood

added February 12

Letter: Lobkowitz on February 1943 Meeting with the Pope

February 9, 1943: Letter from the NDH's ambassador to the Vatican detailing his interview with Pope Pius XII

Letter: Lobkowitz on Meeting with Cardinal Spellman

March 6, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on a meeting with New York Cardinal Spellman at the height of the war

Letter: Lobkowitz on Stepinac's Meeting with the Pope

June 10, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican describing the general impression among Vatican officials of Stepinac's second interview with the Pope

Letter: Lobkowitz on July 1943 Meeting with the Pope

July 13, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on a July meeting with the Pope

FBI Tracing Report on the Murder Weapon Used to Kill Anthony Cikoja

September 28, 1981: Copy of the FBI tracing report on one of the two murders of Croatian immigrants in the United States which Otpor was convicted of carrying out

News: Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation

February 19, 1982: UPI article laying out the prosecution's opening argument in the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

added February 6

News: Speech by Minister Milovan Zanic

June 3, 1941: Excerpt from a speech by the Ustase minister exhorting the audience to "cleanse" Croatia of Serbs - and adding that it was state policy to do so.

Pastoral Letter from Archbishop Stepinac

April 28, 1941: The full text of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac's exhortation for priests to participate fully in the work of the Independent State of Croatia

Letter: Bishop Aksamovic on Prayer for the "Crusade War"

September 24, 1941: Letter from the Bishop of Djakovo calling on Croats to pray for a quick end to the war after the Nazi invasion of the USSR - and honoring Pavelic and Hitler

News: In the Sign of Sacrifice

April 27, 1941: Excerpt from an article by Father Franjo Kralik praising the work done by Dr. Ivan Merz's Croatian youth group as being in line with the "spiritual program of the Ustase"

News: Two Odpor Agents Convicted of Terrorism

December 1, 1978: Two Odpor agents are found guilty on federal charges following a bungled raid on the Yugoslav consulate in Chicago

added January 28

Archive: the journal of the pavelic papers

Volume 1, No. 1 of the Pavelic Papers journal now available.

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added December 8

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp

1946: Official comprehensive report by the State Commission in Croatia documenting crimes committed by the Ustase in the Jasenovac concentration camp

added November 26

The Ustase Croatian Liberation Movement

1997: English translation of Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP) tract describing the movement's history

News: Exile Denies Tito Charge

May 6, 1951: United Press article dating from Artukovic's first extradition hearings

News: Yugoslavs Try Fifty as Spies

July 13, 1948: News account of the Yugoslav trials of captured *Krizari*, mentioning Draganovic

News: Priest, Termed War Criminal, Back in Yugoslavia

November 11, 1967: First confirmation in the press of Draganovic's defection back to Yugoslavia

News: Tito Asks Peron to Yield Pavelic

May 24, 1951: News report of an early Yugoslav extradition request.

News: Pro-Nazi is Hunted

April 26, 1957: News report on the Argentine authorities' decision to revoke Ante Pavelic's asylum after the attempt on his life

News: Ante Pavelic Dies in Madrid at 70

December 29, 1959: Obituary on Ante Pavelic from the *New York Times*

Stepinac Letters to Artukovic

April 1941-November 1942: Letters from Archbishop Stepinac to Interior Minister Artukovic on application of the NDH racial decrees

added November 8

Book: Two Bullets for Pavelic

1999: English translation of the memoir of Montenegrin Chetnik Blagoje Jovovic, who claimed to have been the man that shot Ante Pavelic in Argentina in 1957.

added October 15

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (II)

c. 1948: CIA report on leaders of the Croatian Resistance Movement, including the missing leader of the terror unit *Crna Legija* or Black Legion, Rafael Boban

Australian Police Raid Office Of the Nation's Secret Service

March 16, 1973: Account of Australian police raid to uncover documents relating to Croatian terrorist movements from the Australian secret service, and a plot to bomb the motorcade of

Britain's Prince Philip

added September 20

Alleged Vatican Protection of Yugoslav War Criminals

Reference to a number of Nazi-allied figures taking sanctuary in San Girolamo

added July 12

Essay: The Return of the Golden Priest

The Verona Reports and the Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic, 1959.

added July 8

US Army File: Rat Line from Austria to South America

July 12, 1948: Crucial memo from the CIC in Austria, written by the man who formed the Ratline with Krunoslav Draganovic's assistance

US Army File: History of the Italian Rat Line

April 10, 1950: Comprehensive history of the Nazi smuggling program and Krunoslav Draganovic's role

added June 27

US Congress: H.Res 235 IH

May 14, 2003: A resolution introduced in the US House of Representatives "urging the Government of Argentina to build upon the steps it has taken to shed light on the relocation to Argentina of Nazis and other war criminals" - including, by name, Ante Pavelic

Decree: On the Establishment of Courts-Martial

May 17, 1941: The complete text in English translation of the decree which established courts-martial for civilians in the Independent State of Croatia, in which the only legal sentence permitted was death by firing squad

added June 6

Otpor Bombing in California

June 23, 1980: Report from the US Secret Service on an retaliatory OTPOR bombing in California against two Croatian-owned businesses

10 Croats on Trial on Racketeering Charges

1982: New York Times article on the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Otpor Bombing in New York

July 6, 1982: Report from the US Secret Service on two retaliatory OTPOR bombings in New York City, after the sentencing of the six terrorists convicted in the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York

added June 4

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (1)

August 23, 1954: Report sent from Munich, Germany to the US State Department on activity of the Croatian exile groups, including the fugitive Ustase in Buenos Aires, Argentina

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (2)

c. October 1954: Second report sent from Munich, Germany to the US State Department, including information on Pavelic's meeting with Milan Stojadinovic and promises to cede Croatian territory to Italian and Hungarian rightists

added May 28

Report by Laxa on Unrest in Hercegovina

c. July 5, 1941: Report by General Vladimir Laxa of the Croatian regular army forces on atrocities by the Ustase in Hercegovina in the first months of the NDH

General Vladimir Laxa

Brief biography of the *Domobran* general in our **Who's Who** section

added May 25

CIA File: Attempt to Penetrate US Guard Companies

December 10, 1954: Summary of report detailing attempts by

Krunoslav Draganovic to infiltrate US guard companies in Central Europe

CIA File: SETAF 41 Bona Fides for Krunoslav Draganovic

ca. September 1959: Instructions for agents on methods to establish contact with Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: Termination Files of Krunoslav Draganovic

February 7, 1962: Files under Krunoslav Draganovic's three codenames, detailing reasons for his termination from US intelligence

added May 24

Report: Seven Hundred Hostages Shot by the Ustase

August 6, 1941: Report on a rise in Chetnik activity and the corresponding massacre of 700 Serbian civilians from Sanski Most by the Ustase near Banja Luka

Order: Request by General Laxa for Ustase to Leave Bosnia

September 11, 1941: Decoded communication from General Vladimir Laxa to the Ministry of Defense for "murdering and pillaging" Ustase units from Hercegovina to be removed from Bosnia at once before they provoke an even larger uprising

Report on the Murder of 800 Civilians near Petrinja

December 3, 1941: Tersely-worded request for information by German General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau regarding the massacre of 800 "men, women and children" by the Ustase near Petrinja

Report on the Death of Peasants in Jablanica

December 4, 1941: Police report from Banja Luka on the massacre of 107 Serbs, "mostly boys from 12 to 15 years of age," and the massacre by the Ustase of mourners at a Serbian funeral

added May 18

Judicial Decisions and Trials

New section highlighting legal documents - mostly from United States courts - and testimony against the Ustase and the Ustase successor organizations on charges of murder, racketeering, and other crimes

Katolicki List: The Foundation of the Independent State of Croatia

April 1941: Article from the Catholic paper Katolicki List lauding the formation of the Independent State of Croatia

CIA File: Documentary Evidence of Krunoslav Draganovic's Ustase Activity

September 5, 1947: CIC Agent Mudd's report citing evidence of Draganovic's role in the Ratline, sent without results to his superiors

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



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"The Ustase Won't Refrain from Killing"

The Foundation of the Ustase Movement, 1929-1940

Principles of the Ustase Movement

1929: The founding document of the Ustase, presented in full English translation for the first time

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1990: Interview with IMRO leader Ivan "Vance" Mihailov on the assassination of King Alexander

"The Victorious Axis"

1929: The founding document of the Ustase, presented in full English translation for the first time

News Excerpt: Croat Leader in Hospital

February 18, 1939: *New York Times* report on the hunger strike of Ustase leader Branimir Jelic in the United States

News Excerpt: Dr. Jelic Wins in Court

July 18, 1939: *New York Times* report on Branimir Jelic's release from prison by court order

Pavelic: Ten Years Struggle in the Homeland

January 9-13, 1999: Lengthy excerpts from one of Pavelic's autobiographies, as serialized in a right-wing Croatian paper in 1999

"The Dagger, the Gun & the Crucifix"

The Independent State of Croatia, 1941-1945

Pavelic's Radio Address to Croatia

April 5, 1941: Excerpt from a radio speech Pavelic broadcast into Croatia on the eve of war, urging the Croatian people to "cleanse"

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the land of enemies

A Telegram to Mussolini

April 8, 1941: Letter Sent to the Italian Duce by Ustase leader Ante Pavelic on the Invasion of Yugoslavia

Katolicki List: The Foundation of the Independent State of Croatia

April 1941: Article from the Catholic paper Katolicki List lauding the formation of the Independent State of Croatia

Decree: On the First Croatian Government

April 16, 1941: Pavelic declares himself head of state and names his closest advisors as ministers

News: In the Sign of Sacrifice

April 27, 1941: Excerpt from an article by Father Franjo Kralik praising the work done by Dr. Ivan Merz's Croatian youth group as being in line with the "spiritual program of the Ustase"

Pastoral Letter from Archbishop Stepinac

April 28, 1941: The full text of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac's exhortation for priests to participate fully in the work of the Independent State of Croatia

Decree: On Racial Affiliation

April 30, 1941: English Translation of the Ustase Decree and Law "On Racial Affiliation"

Decree: On the Protection of Aryan Blood

April 30, 1941: English Translation of the Ustase Law "On the Protection of Aryan Blood..."

Comparison Between Nazi and Ustase Racial Decrees

1941: Comparison between the decrees passed in Germany and the NDH giving precise definition to who was and was not Jewish

Stepinac Letters to Artukovic

April 1941-November 1942: Letters from Archbishop Stepinac to Interior Minister Artukovic on application of the NDH racial decrees

Order: The White Armbands

May 12, 1941: Order to municipal leaders for all Serbs to wear a white armband designating them as Orthodox

News: Victor Gutic's Visit to Petricevac

May 16, 1941: Eleven days before murdering the Orthodox Bishop of Banja Luka, Ustase prefect Victor Gutic visits the Franciscan monastery at Petricevac

Decree: On the Establishment of Courts-Martial

May 17, 1941: The complete text in English translation of the decree which established courts-martial for civilians in the Independent State of Croatia, in which the only legal sentence permitted was death by firing squad

Archbishop Saric on His Pre-War Meetings With the Ustase

May 1941: Book excerpt quoting a nostalgic newspaper article authored by Ivan Saric, Archbishop of Sarajevo

Order: The Expulsion of Serbs from Slavonia and Srem

June 2, 1941: Just six weeks after the founding of the NDH, organized, mass expulsions begin.

News: Speech by Minister Milovan Zanic

June 3, 1941: Excerpt from a speech by the Ustase minister exhorting the audience to "cleanse" Croatia of Serbs, and adding that it was state policy to do so.

Decree: Ustase Command-Dubrovnik Order No. 188:44

June 25, 1941: Prohibition on radios and forbidding Jews and Serbs from congregating at night, signed by Dubrovnik Ustase prefect Ivo Rojnica

Report by Laxa on Unrest in Hercegovina

c. July 5, 1941: Report by General Vladimir Laxa of the Croatian regular army forces on atrocities by the Ustase in Hercegovina in the first months of the NDH

The Career of Andrija Artukovic

Excerpt from *Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America* on the career of Ustase Interior Minister Andrija Artukovic

"The NDH is an Islamic State"

Spring-Summer 1941: Book excerpt quoting Ustase Minister of Education, Religion and Cults Mile Budak on "Islamic Croats"

Letter: "The Franciscans Haven't Gotten a Dime"

Summer, 1941: Powerful letter from a Catholic priest in the NDH to his exiled Orthodox counterpart

Hercegovina in 1941

July 1941: Milovan Djilas' description of a countryside ripped apart by Maks Luburic's henchmen

Letter: "Nature Takes Its Course"

July 31, 1941: Book excerpt quoting a letter from a Franciscan priest from Koraca to the Ustase prefect at Dervanta, on the marriage of widowed Serbs to Catholic men

Letter: Slovenian Settlers on Massacres Near Vojnic

August 2, 1941: Found in the NDH Archives, this is a letter written by Slovenian settlers relocated from the German Reich, addressed to German General Edmond Glaise von Horstenau on the extrajudicial murder of 400 Serbs by the Ustase

Report: Seven Hundred Hostages Shot by the Ustase

August 6, 1941: Report on a rise in Chetnik activity and the corresponding massacre of 700 Serbian civilians from Sanski Most by the Ustase near Banja Luka

Letter from the Bishop of Mostar to Archbishop Stepinac

August, 1941: Book excerpt quoting the response by the Bishop of Mostar to Stepinac's inquiry as to the progress of forced conversions to Catholicism among the Serbian population

Croatian Police Report: The "Cleansing" of Serbs near Slunj

August 13, 1941: Shocking eyewitness report by the Croatian commander of a police platoon in Slunj about the mass expulsions, conversions, and slaughter of Serbs in the area.

Decree: On the Croatian Language, Its Purity and Spelling

August 14, 1941: Mile Budak on how people should talk and write, with a promise to "determine penalties for the protection of the purity of the language and its spelling"

Order: Request by General Laxa for Ustase to Leave Bosnia

September 11, 1941: Decoded communication from General Vladimir Laxa to the Ministry of Defense for "murdering and pillaging" Ustase units from Hercegovina to be removed from Bosnia at once before they provoke an even larger uprising

News Excerpt: "The Renewal of Medieval Times"

September 18, 1941: Book excerpt quoting an article in *Il Resto del Carlino* describing Franciscan complicity in the massacre of the Serbs by an Italian eyewitness.

Letter: Bishop Aksamovic on Prayer for the "Crusade War"

September 24, 1941: Letter from the Bishop of Djakovo calling on Croats to pray for a quick end to the war after the Nazi invasion of the USSR - and honoring Pavelic and Hitler

Stepinac's Letter on the Resettlement of Slovene Monks

October 3, 1941: Letter from Stepinac to Ante Pavelic on Slovene monks taking over the cathedral of exiled Serb Orthodox clergy

News Excerpt: "Love Has Its Limits"

1941: Anti-Semitic article often attributed to Ivan Saric, but actually the work of his subordinate, Father Franjo Kralik

Book Excerpt: Jasenovac Survivor on Fra Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic

Book excerpt of an interview with Nikola Nikolic on the Ustase priest, Fra Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic

Book Excerpt: Adolf Friedrich, Jasenovac Survivor

Memories of Jasenovac from Adolf Friedrich, a Jewish inmate of Jasenovac

Report on the Murder of 800 Civilians near Petrinja

December 3, 1941: Tersely-worded request for information by German General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau regarding the massacre of 800 "men, women and children" by the Ustase near Petrinja

Report on the Death of Peasants in Jablanica

December 4, 1941: Police report from Banja Luka on the massacre of 107 Serbs, "mostly boys from 12 to 15 years of age," and the massacre by the Ustase of mourners at a Serbian funeral

Government Release: The Declaration of War on the US and Britain

December 14, 1941: The document declaring the Independent State of Croatia in a state of war with the United States and England

Book Excerpt: Encyclopedia of the Holocaust on the Ustase Clergy

Excerpt describing the complicity of the Vatican and Catholic priests in the Ustase Terror

Book Excerpt: Catholic Origins of the Ustase Oath

"The intensity of Croatian Catholicism would now be transferred... to a political movement"

Letter: Glaise von Horstenau on the Ustase Concentration Camps

German *Wehrmacht* General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau's comments after his inspection of an Ustase Concentration Camp

Letter: Glaise von Horstenau on the Ustase Massacres

"The 'lucky' inhabitants were consigned to one of the fearsome boxcar trains; many 'passengers' cut their veins on the journey"

News Excerpt: Jews as "the Insatiable Parasites"

February, 1942: Transcript of Andrija Artukovic's speech to parliament denouncing "Judeo-Communists" as "poisonous and insatiable parasites"

Letter: Rusinovic on Meeting with Cardinal Tisserant

March 6, 1942: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on a stormy meeting with Vatican official Cardinal Eugene Tisserant

OSS Report: Ante Doshen

March 31, 1942: "Doshen has been and still is, one of the best agents of Ante Pavelic" in the United States

OSS Report: Reverend Hugolin Feis

March 31, 1942: "This friar is a pronounced fascist and violently anti-democratic in principle"

OSS Report: The Croatian Central Committee

April 7, 1942: The formation of pro-Allied, anti-Pavelich Croatian emigre organizations in the United States

OSS Report: Serb National Federation

April 8, 1942: OSS agent "SK's" report on the activities of a Serb group's reaction to the Ustase massacres in the NDH

OSS Report: Croatian Fraternal Union Affairs

April 23, 1942: OSS agent "SK's" report on internal dissension within the Croatian Fraternal Union

OSS Report: The Croatian Home Defenders

April 29, 1942: The activities of members of the banned American branch of the Ustase movement, the Croatian Home Defenders

OSS Report: The Croatian Catholic Union

May 3, 1942: Initial report on a group the OSS considered heavily infiltrated by Ustase adherents

OSS Report: Activities of Dr. A. Pavelic's Exponents

May 5, 1942: Report on the pro-Axis activities of the former editor of the newspaper *Independent State of Croatia*

OSS Report: Axis Propagandists Within the Croatian Catholic Union

May 9, 1942: Report on a meeting of the Board of Directors of the CCU, in which the pro-Allied editor is taken to task for his writing against Hitler and Pavelic

Letter: Ambassador Nikola Rusinovic on Stepinac in Rome

May 9, 1942: Letter from the NDH's ambassador to the Vatican on the conduct of Stepinac during his interviews with Pope Pius XII

OSS Report: "Pavelic's Cossacked Agents"

May 19, 1942: The Rev. Spiro Andrianich and other Pavelich adherents in America

The Efficiency of Mass Slaughter

October 9th, 1942: Maks Luburic on the efficiency of his concentration camp system

Croatian Police Report: The Slaughter of Serbs near Pokupje

October 15, 1942: Report forwarded through the Interior Ministry regarding the killing of Serbs in Kordun and Banija since the NDH's formation in April 1941, including the notorious Glina Church Massacre

Special Assignment in the Southeast

Dr. Hermann Neubacher, the German Plenipotentiary in SE Europe, on the "Croatian Crusade of Destruction"

Letter: Letter to Minister Anthony Eden

November 13, 1942: An official with the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile in London informs the British Foreign Office of reports of mass slaughter in the NDH

Letter: The Fate of Father Franjo Rihar

November 17, 1942: Artukovic sends a Catholic priest to Jasenovac for refusing to celebrate the NDH and its Poglavnik

News Excerpt: Ivo Goldstein at the Sakic War Crimes Trial

June 1, 1999: Historian Ivo Goldstein on Jasenovac and the Jewish Problem

News Excerpt: Under the Government of the Ustashi Monster

November 11, 1993: Review of the *History of the Yugoslav Jews*, by Yosef Algazi, *Haaretz*

Letter: Lobkowicz on February 1943 Meeting with the Pope

February 9, 1943: Letter from the NDH's ambassador to the Vatican detailing his interview with Pope Pius XII

Letter: Lobkowicz on Meeting with Cardinal Spellman

March 6, 1943: Letter from the NDH Ambassador to the Vatican on a meeting with New York Cardinal Spellman at the height of the war

Stepinac's Address to Pius XII

May 18, 1943: Aide-mémoire by Stepinac personally delivered to Pope Pius XII at their later meeting

Letter: Lobkowicz on Stepinac's Meeting with the Pope

June 10, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican describing the general impression among Vatican officials of Stepinac's second interview with the Pope

Letter: Lobkowicz on July 1943 Meeting with the Pope

July 13, 1943: Letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican on a July meeting with the Pope

Proposal for Decoration for Nada Luburic

1944: Proposal for a decoration for Nada Luburic, future wife of Jasenovac commandant Dinko Sakic, for bravery

Decoration for Nada Luburic, Maja Buzdon, etc.

1944: Order signed by Ante Pavelic himself bestowing a military decoration on female concentration camp guards at Stara Gradiska

OSS Report: Memorandum on Yugoslav Groups in the US

June 28, 1944: Lengthy report including extensive background information the American branch of the Ustase movement, the Domobran

Letter from Erwin Lobkowicz on Stepinac in Rome

May 1943: Letter from the new NDH Ambassador to the Vatican on Stepinac's second visit to Rome, in which he justified the persecution of the Jews as abortionists

Book Excerpt: Encyclopedia of the Holocaust

From the "Jasenovac" Entry

Book Excerpt: Evelyn Waugh on the Sarajevo Franciscans

From the Catholic novelist who spent some time as part of the Allied mission to Yugoslavia in World War II

Judicial Testimony: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann (Excerpt)

Andrija Artukovic's role in the Holocaust

Judicial Testimony: Measures Taken Against the Jews

Testimony of Holocaust survivor Alexander Arnon at the Trial of Adolf Eichmann

Judicial Decision: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Judgment (Excerpt)

"only 1,500 out of 30,000 Croatian Jews remained alive..."

Book Excerpt: Eichmann in Jerusalem

Hannah Arendt on the Destruction of Croatian Jewry

"To Maintain a Moral Reserve"

The Ratline and the Crusaders, 1945-1950

US Army File: Supreme Allied HQ to 12th and 6th Army

(Austria)

June 5, 1945: "Ante Pavelic... may be in your area"

US Army File: Judge Advocate General to Army Counter-Intelligence

November 5, 1945: Form Inquiring after Pavelic's Whereabouts

US Army File: Rome Area Allied Command to CIC

August 8, 1945: "Is Pavelic in Rome? Is San Gerolamo Monastery used as a haven..."

US Army File: Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

Unknown: Information on Draganovic, Austria, Pavelic, the Vatican and the Krizari

News Excerpt: Interview with Marija Pavelic

May 22, 1992: Interview in Croatian Newspaper *Globus* with Pavelic's Daughter on his Whereabouts in the Summer, 1945

US Army File: Rome Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) Memorandum

August 25, 1945: On News Reports of Pavelic's Arrest in Austria

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp

1946: Official comprehensive report by the State Commission in Croatia documenting crimes committed by the Ustase in the Jasenovac concentration camp

Alleged Vatican Protection of Yugoslav War Criminals

July 12, 1946: Reference to a number of Nazi-allied figures taking sanctuary in San Girolamo

CIA File: Organization of the Ustase Abroad

October 1946: Intelligence report listing names of Ustase cells throughout Italy and Austria with their area of expertise

US Army File: Background Material on Krunoslav Draganovic

October 10, 1946: One of the first and most crucial extant files tracing Krunoslav Draganovic's role in the Ratline

US Army File: Unidentified Document (Index Card)

October 12, 1946: Possibly Sent to Confirm if Pavelic Had Been in U.S. Custody in Austria

US Treasury: The Bigelow Memo

October 21, 1946: Report from Emerson Bigelow on the fate of the wartime Ustase treasury

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agent William Gowen

January 17, 1947: Re: article about Pavelic in the Swiss Press

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agent Gowen

January 22, 1947: Investigation of Pavelic's Vatican Sanctuary;
First Appearance of Krunoslav Draganovic in the Army Dossier

US Army File: CIC Summary from Special Agent Robert Clayton Mudd

January 30, 1947: Overview of Pavelic's Biography to Date; First Allusion to the "Ratline" in the CIC Files

CIA File: Background Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

February 12, 1947: Agent Robert Clayton Mudd's report on Draganovic's past and present activity vis-a-vis the Ustase and Pavelic

US Army File: Cover Letter by Ass. Chief of Staff G-2 Robert Stuart

February 25, 1947: A moment of equivocation as to the subject's whereabouts when forwarding Agent Gowen's latest report.

US Army File: CIC Memorandum from Agents Caniglia and Zappala

March 15, 1947: "In Rome Pavelic took refuge in a religious institution..."

US Army File: Unknown Document (Index Card)

April 14, 1947: An index card pulled from an unknown source. Interesting that Pavelic is classified in this one in a category of "Yugoslav Anti-Communists."

US Army File: Investigation by Capt. Marion Scott

April 18, 1947: Long investigation report on Pavelic and other Ustase in Italy

US Army File: CIC Cover Letter to Scott Report

April 21, 1947: Note included with Scott report which casts doubt on the key informant's usefulness

CIA File: The Do Marius Report

May 6, 1947: A bizarre tale of a meeting with the Poglavnik

US Army File: Information Sheet

May 19, 1947: What appears to be information acquired from OZNA, the Yugoslav secret police, on Pavelic in Italy

US Army File: Unknown Document (Index Card)

May 25, 1947: Two sentence card, quoting Belgrade Radio as saying the British let Pavelic escape, presumably from their custody in Austria

US Army File: Summary of Information from Agents Gowen and Caniglia

June 9, 1947: Report confirming Pavelic has not, as others have reported, left Rome at all

CIA File: American Agents in the Krizari Campaign

July 3, 1947: Profiles of two Krizari operatives who claim Allied-American support

US Army File: "Ante Pavelic and other Ustasha Personalities"

c. July, 1947: Dated by other researchers in early July, this document appears to have been obtained in final preparation for Pavelic's arrest

US Army File: "Hands Off"

July 7 and 14, 1947: One of the most crucial documents in the archive: a two word, handwritten note appended to the bottom of this otherwise ordinary memo

US Army File: Memorandum from the Political Adviser to Supreme Allied Commander

July 29, 1947: "...military authorities should cooperate with the Italian authorities to the extent necessary and possible..."

US Army File: Memorandum from the British Political Adviser

August 2, 1947: Response to the American Political Adviser listed above

US Army File: G-2 Brief on Pavelic's Background to Allied Headquarters

August 7, 1947: In response to their request

US Army File: Memorandum by Agent William Gowen

August 29, 1947: In just 45 days, Pavelic has gone from a criminal to be captured to a potential collaborator whose chief victims - the Serbs - want him to be free as well

CIA File: Documentary Evidence of Krunoslav Draganovic's Ustase Activity

September 5, 1947: CIC Agent Mudd's report citing evidence of Draganovic's role in the Ratline, sent without results to his superiors

US Army File: Memorandum by Agent William Gowen

September 12, 1947: "...any extradition of Subject would deal a staggering blow to the Roman Catholic Church"

US Army File: Unknown Document

October 17, 1947: Small index card-type file with a few misc claims

CIA File: The "Alter Ego" of Ante Pavelic

November 26, 1947: Intelligence report on Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic

US Army File: Telegram Received by G-2

January 7, 1948?: Telegram regarding departure of Ante Pavelic from Rome

US Army File: Unknown Document

February 16, 1948?: Another index card-type file with a quote about the "new" principles of the Ustase

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (I)

June 14, 1948: CIA report on the organization and internal dynamics of the Krizari

CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (II)

c. 1948: CIA report on leaders of the Croatian Resistance Movement, including the missing leader of the terror unit *Crna Legija* or Black Legion, Rafael Boban

News: Yugoslavs Try Fifty as Spies

July 13, 1948: News account of the Yugoslav trials of captured *Krizari*, mentioning Draganovic

US Army File: Rat Line from Austria to South America

July 12, 1948: Crucial memo from the CIC in Austria, written by the man who formed the Ratline with Krunoslav Draganovic's assistance

CIA File: Reported Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina

December 2, 1948: Appears to be a microfilm document with information on the arrival of Pavelic and other Ustase in Argentina

CIA File: Franjo Cvijic and the Ustase Treasury

June 17, 1949: Report on movements of NDH bank president Franjo Cvijic and his expected emigration to Argentina

US Army File: History of the Italian Rat Line

April 10, 1950: Comprehensive history of the Nazi smuggling program and Krunoslav Draganovic's role

Order: Maks Luburic's Proclamation

August 9, 1950: The order from General Drinyanin (aka Maks Luburic) ordering Croats to cease enlisting in the armies of foreign nations

CIA File: CIA Internal Memo

October 16, 1950: Mentions Krunoslav Draganovic's relations with Pavelic, Macek and other Croatian leaders

CIA File: Notes from the Foreign Language Press

November 8, 1950: Newspaper reports on Krunoslav Draganovic and a pointed attack on Vladko Macek

"The Call of Blood"

The Rebirth of the Ustase, 1950-1969

News: Tito Asks Peron to Yield Pavelic

May 24, 1951: News report of an early Yugoslav extradition request.

News: Exile Denies Tito Charge

May 6, 1951: United Press article dating from Artukovic's first extradition hearings

CIA File: "An Uncompromising and Dangerous Extremist"

July 24, 1952: Overview of Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic's activity from 1943 to 1952

CIA File: Irregular Activity of Krunoslav Draganovic

October 1, 1953: Report, possibly intercepted, of Krunoslav Draganovic's alleged corruption

US Army File: Unknown Document

December 4, 1950: Index card-type file with contact information for the "Croatian Catholic Union"

US Army File: Unknown Document

1950s: Index card-type file, undated, from some larger file on the Croatian Resistance Movement

US Army File: Ustasha Resurgence in Europe

December 11, 1951: This document has been pulled by the CIA. The first page is a series of references to the file, but the next two pages are still classified, 51 years later.

US Army File: Unknown Document

June 24, 1953: An index card-type file referring to another report alleging Ustase using Caritas (Catholic refugee service) offices in Austria as an "information collecting agency"

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (1)

August 23, 1954: Report sent from Munich, Germany to the US State Department on activity of the Croatian exile groups,

including the fugitive Ustase in Buenos Aires, Argentina

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (2)

c. October 1954: Second report sent from Munich, Germany to the US State Department, including information on Pavelic's meeting with Milan Stojadinovic and promises to cede Croatian territory to Italian and Hungarian rightists

CIA File: Attempt to Penetrate US Guard Companies

December 10, 1954: Summary of report detailing attempts by Krunoslav Draganovic to infiltrate US guard companies in Central Europe

Founding Declaration of the Croatian Liberation Movement

June 8, 1956: English translation of the founding document of Pavelic's Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP), signed by Pavelic and 12 former Ustase ministers in exile in Buenos Aires.

News: Pro-Nazi is Hunted

April 26, 1957: News report on the Argentine authorities' decision to revoke Ante Pavelic's asylum after the attempt on his life

Letter: "The Hand of the Ustasha"

1958: The editor of a Jewish newspaper in California reports receiving death threats after writing about Andrija Artukovic

News Excerpt: As the Surviving Jews Remember Artukovic

March 9, 1958: Transcript of an article from the Yugoslav Press on Jews' memories of Andrija Artukovic

News Excerpt: The LA Times on Artukovic's Extradition Hearing

March 11, 1958: The US Supreme Court rejects the original ruling that Artukovic's role in the slaughter in the NDH constituted a "political crime"

Letter: Artukovic in California

August 22, 1958: Report from the American Jewish Congress on Artukovic's appearance as a "featured speaker" at the Catholic Maritime Club

CIA File: Dismissal of Krunoslav Draganovic from San Girolamo

November 19, 1958: Document outlining circumstances behind Draganovic's departure from the former nerve center of the Ratline

CIA File: Summary of Activities of the SILC

November 20, 1958: Summary of the unidentified SILC, with reference to Krunoslav Draganovic's activities in Italy in 1944

Congressional Bill: "For the Relief of Andrija Artukovic"

January 6, 1961: A shocking attempt to forestall the extradition of Andrija Artukovic by a United States Congressman

Letter: The American Jewish Congress' Response to the Artukovic Bill

February 13, 1959: Response by a representative of the AJC to an earlier attempt by the same US politician to grant Artukovic permanent residency

CIA File: Request for Info, SETAF Verona

April 13, 1959: American intelligence in Verona's request for all documents relating to Krunoslav Draganovic prior to his re-recruitment

CIA File: CIC Reply to SETAF Verona

April 16, 1959: The CIC responds with an extensive description of Draganovic's Nazi-smuggling activities. Verona never mentions it again.

CIA File: The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

May 2, 1959: US Army intelligence makes contact once again with Father Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: Report by Senior Agent "SARDI"

May 29, 1959: A senior agent, codenamed SARDI, finds glaring holes in Draganovic's story in this report

CIA File: Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records from US Intelligence, 1959-1960

May 1959-July 1960: Expense sheets from American asset DYNAMO, aka Father Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: The Doctor Fabiano Statement

July 8, 1959: Signed statement by Krunoslav Draganovic to sign for all money with a code-name

CIA File: Dottore DYNAMO

ca. July 8, 1959: Linked with the "Doctor Fabiano statement," reveals another Draganovic alias in negotiations with American agents

CIA File: The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

May 2, 1959: US Army intelligence makes contact once again with Father Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: SETAF 41 Bona Fides for Krunoslav Draganovic

ca. September 1959: Instructions for agents on methods to establish contact with Krunoslav Draganovic

News: Ante Pavelic Dies in Madrid at 70

December 29, 1959: Obituary on Ante Pavelic from the *New York Times*

CIA File: Termination Files of Krunoslav Draganovic

February 7, 1962: Files under Krunoslav Draganovic's three codenames, detailing reasons for his termination from US intelligence

News: Priest, Termed War Criminal, Back in Yugoslavia

November 11, 1967: First confirmation in the press of Draganovic's defection back to Yugoslavia

CIA File: State Department File on Krunoslav Draganovic

January 9, 1968: Summary of Draganovic's public 'career' a few months after his defection to Yugoslavia

Unidentified Document: United Croats of America

September 3, 1964: Document among the papers of the American Jewish Congress on the "Second Convention of Croatian Unity" in America

"Cut from the Croatian Body"

A New Generation of Ustase Terror, 1970-1985

News Excerpt: Australian Police Raid Office Of the Nation's Secret Service

March 16, 1973: Account of Australian police raid to uncover documents relating to Croatian terrorist movements from the Australian secret service, and a plot to bomb the motorcade of Britain's Prince Philip

Appeal of Angelo Maric (Australia)

August 8, 1978: Decision by the High Court of Australia on the conviction of Odpor member Angelo Maric for several 1972 Sydney bombings

News: Two Odpor Agents Convicted of Terrorism

December 1, 1978: Two Odpor agents are found guilty on federal charges following a bungled raid on the Yugoslav consulate in Chicago

Otpor Bombing in California

June 23, 1980: Report from the US Secret Service on an retaliatory OTPOR bombing in California against two Croatian-owned businesses

FBI Tracing Report on the Murder Weapon Used to Kill

Anthony Cikoja

September 28, 1981: Copy of the FBI tracing report on one of the two murders of Croatian immigrants in the United States which Otpor was convicted of carrying out

News: Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation

February 19, 1982: UPI article laying out the prosecution's opening argument in the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

News Excerpt: 10 Croatians on Trial on Racketeering Charges

1982: New York Times article on the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Otpor Bombing in New York

July 6, 1982: Report from the US Secret Service on two retaliatory OTPOR bombings in New York City, after the sentencing of the six terrorists convicted in the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York

CIA File: DOJ/OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie

1983: First admission of the existence of the Ratline and Krunoslav Draganovic's role as a 'prime mover'

Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York

January 25, 1983: 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals decision reaffirming all but one charge against four Otpor members, including conspiracy to kill a prominent Croatian-American leader while he walked his daughter to school

Judicial Decision: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York

April 14, 1983: 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals Summarizes the Case and Denies Appeal of Original Convictions under the RICO Act

Judicial Decision: Miro Baresic as Unindicted Co-Racketeer

April 14, 1983: Miro Baresic named an "unindicted co-racketeer" charged with extorting and conspiring to kill Croatian opponents of the Ustase in the United States

FBI File: Croatian Terrorism Investigation

April 19, 1983: Heavily redacted FBI file outlining a new Otpor bomb threat and new recruiting efforts for bomb-makers

FBI File: Rumored Arrests in Germany

February 7, 1984: Report from an FBI field office on reported arrests of Otpor activists in Germany in connection with the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympics

News Excerpt: Escaped Terrorist Captured

April 18, 1987: UPI news report on the recapture of Zvonko Basic

News Excerpt: Hijacker Recaptured After Prison Escape

April 19, 1987: News excerpt on Odpor hijacker Zvonko Basic's escape from prison

FBI File: An Interview with Miro Baresic

February 17, 1988: Translated interview with freed Odpor terrorist Miro Baresic and a Chicago radio station

Judicial Decision: State of IL vs. Aleman (Extract)

March 21, 2000: More on the Ustase's Mafia Hitman, Louis Almeida

Article: Unofficial Diplomat

May 14, 2000: Ustase Attacks on the leaders of the Croatian Fraternal Union

Book Excerpt: The Extradition of Nazi Criminals

Overview of the extradition of Andrija Artukovic

Judicial Decision: The Extradition of Andrija Artukovic

August 8, 1985: Court decision denying Artukovic's eleventh hour appeal to thwart his deportation nearly 40 years after entering the country illegally

Diplomatic Cable: Baresic Paroled from Prison

June 1987: Unclassified telegram from the US Embassy, Stockholm

Diplomatic Cable: Baresic Deported from Sweden

December 1987: Unclassified telegram from the US Embassy, Stockholm

Diplomatic Cable: Baresic Arrives in Paraguay

December 1987: "Limited Use" telegram from the US Embassy, Asuncion

"Za Dom Spremni"

The Return of the Ustase from Exile, 1986-1990

News Excerpt: A Camp Called Jasenovac

Sept 26, 1992: Journalist Robert Fisk's Visit to Jasenovac

News Excerpt: Croats Honor Author of Anti-Semitic Laws

February 10, 1993: Associated Press on "Mile Budak Street"

The Ustase Croatian Liberation Movement

1997: English translation of Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP) tract describing the movement's history

News Excerpt: The Return of Bolivia's Blood-Stained Dictator

1997: Draganovic and the Butcher of Lyons, Klaus Barbie

News Excerpt: Pope's Apology to Jews an Empty Gesture

October 30, 1997: "...Ante Pavelic, the Croat Fascist leader, arrived in Argentina dressed as a priest and carrying a certificate of safe conduct from the Vatican..."

News Excerpt: Holocaust Gold Taints the Vatican

July 27, 1997: From the *Sunday Telegraph*, UK

News Excerpt: A Vow of Silence

March 30, 1998: "Did Gold Stolen by Croatian Fascists Reach the Vatican?"

News Excerpt: The Vatican Response

April 29, 1998: One of the Vatican officials with access to the wartime archives responds to criticisms in these news stories and others

State Department Report: Holocaust Assets: The Fate of the Wartime Ustasha Treasury

June 2, 1998: Report from the US committee investigating the fate of Nazi gold looted from their victims

News Excerpt: Protest Sent to the Hague

June 23, 1998: "The US Government was asked to drop the charges against Zvonko Busic and Ante Ljubas..."

News Excerpt: Peron's Bloody Ties

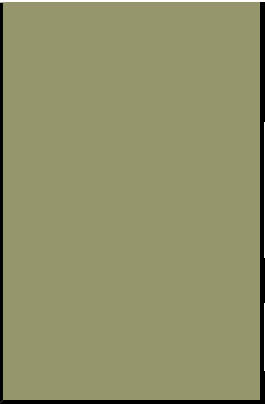
November 9, 1998: Krunoslav Draganovic and Argentina, the Last Redoubt of Nazism

Announcement Dissolving the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood

September 15, 2000: Unverified communique issued by "main revolutionary hq" dissolving the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood

US Congress: H.Res 235 IH

May 14, 2003: A resolution introduced in the US House of Representatives "urging the Government of Argentina to build upon the steps it has taken to shed light on the relocation to Argentina of Nazis and other war criminals" - including, by name, Ante Pavelic



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archive

the journal of the pavelic papers



Archive: the journal of the pavelic papers is published bimonthly, providing news and analysis relating to the Ustase movement historically, as well as news of resurgent neo-Ustase activity today.

Archive is edited by Sinisa Djuric and Cali Ruchala of The Pavelic Papers. Each issue is available in PDF as well as HTML format. We encourage readers to circulate the contents of each issue of *Archive*.

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Current Issue

Volume 1, Issue 1 - 1/28/04

The controversy around Croatian singer Marko Perkovic-Thompson's celebration of the Ustase, right-wing politician Anto Djapic's plan to visit Yad Vashem; a brief history of the HOP; and a look at the status of the convicted terrorists from "Odpor."

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By email, the editors of PavelicPapers.com can be reached at **editors@pavelicpapers.com**. This puts you in touch with Cali Ruchala, who heads the team responsible for producing and updating the website. All media contacts should be addressed to the same individual. Please read our **statement of purpose** before contacting us to see if your question is answered there.

Individually, we can be contacted at **cali_ruchala@pavelicpapers.com** and **sinisa_djuric@pavelicpapers.com**.

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about us

information on The Pavelic Papers



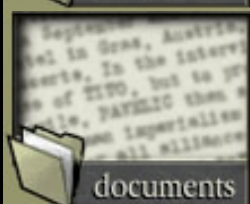
The Pavelic Papers is an independent research project exploring the history of the Ustase movement - the government of the Nazi-allied Independent State of Croatia during World War II. Our aim is to compose a narrative (and make available primary and secondary documents to the wider public) focusing on the entire history of the Ustase movement and its successor organizations, spanning more than seven decades, from their beginnings among Croat exiles in Vienna, Austria to the killing fields of the Independent State of Croatia and the fugitive shores of Argentina and America.

The Pavelic Papers is a non-profit effort working toward three distinct goals:

- to make available to the public, free of charge, declassified documents about the Ustase or their various successor organizations, many of which have surfaced due to the tireless efforts of a new generation of Nazi-hunters, along with English translations of the most infamous documents of the wartime regime of the Ustase-led Independent State of Croatia, many of which have never appeared in translation before;
- to produce original scholarship, research, introductory essays and other works to educate the public as to the history of the Ustase; and
- to stand in remembrance of the victims of the Holocaust in the Independent State of Croatia, both those who survived and those who can no longer speak.

This website, pavelicpapers.com, was launched in October 2002. More than a dozen people have contributed their work to The Pavelic Papers to date, either in translating documents to English or providing source materials for publication. The Pavelic Papers is not affiliated with any organization or entity, nor do we solicit donations from such.

The creation of this site will be measured in years rather than



months, as new materials, essays and features are added. If you're able to help in any of the above areas, please contact us.

The editors of The Pavelic Papers are **Cali Ruchala** and **Sinisa Djuric**. General feedback can be sent to **editors@pavelicpapers.com**.

A final note: Everyone associated with The Pavelic Papers would be remiss not to point out that the words "Croat" and "Ustase" are *not* synonymous, though neo-Ustase groups and their apologists today are among the first to insist that they are. To say otherwise is bigotry, pure and simple. Neither can there such a thing as collective guilt under any true and legitimate system of justice. It hardly needs to be said that not all Croats supported the Ustase, either in 1941 or today. Among the most astute scholars of the Ustase Terror was an ethnic Croat historian named Viktor Novak, whose monumental work on the history of clero-fascism in Croatia, *Magnum Crimen*, was banned in Communist Yugoslavia shortly after its publication in 1948 for stepping on forbidden ground. This site's contributors are not motivated by an imaginary desire to "punish" the Croatian people, anymore than a Holocaust scholar feels an irrational need to punish his German subjects. Our sole intention is to cast light on what has in the past been a subject sorely in need of exposure, exploration, research and remembrance.

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the ustaše movement

1929-1986: an historical overview



Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

Essay: [The Poglavnik's Family Tree](#)

1929: Head of the Croat Party of Rights **Ante Pavelic** goes into exile following the murder of Croatian politician Stjepan Radic and the imposition of the royal dictatorship under King Alexander.

1932: After a series of failures with other movements (all with himself at the head), Pavelic founds the *ustase* (from *ustanak* or "uprising"). Benito Mussolini provides training and sanctuary in Fascist Italy for the movement; Pavelic will pay him back when he cedes the entire Dalmatian coast to Italy in 1941.

1934: King Alexander of Yugoslavia and French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou are assassinated in Marseilles, France. The plot was formulated by Pavelic and carried out by a zealot "loaned" to the Ustase by their collaborators from the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (**IMRO**). Pavelic and Dido

Kvaternik are placed under arrest in Italy but allowed to go free, despite being sentenced to death in absentia in France.

1941: After a coup topples the government in Belgrade, Nazi Germany unleashes a massive bombardment of the city as a prelude to the invasion and dismemberment of Yugoslavia. Pavelic arrives from exile and is installed as *Poglavnik* ("fuehrer" or "duce") of the Independent State of Croatia. All parties by the Ustase are banned.

April 27: Massacre in Gudovac, signalling the start of the **Croatian Holocaust** of Serbs, Jews and Roma.

July 22: *Doglavnik* (deputy leader) **Mile Budak** states in a speech the Ustase's goal to murder a third, expel a third, and convert to Catholicism a third of the Serbian population.

1939: Following an agreement essentially between the establishment and the **Croatian Peasant Party**, parliamentary rule is restored in Yugoslavia and Croatia is granted autonomy. The Ustase intensify bombings inside the country and call for the heads of the Peasant Party leaders, hoping to upset the fragile state of peace. Mussolini bankrolls growing agitation by Ustase agents.

1943: Mussolini is deposed and Italy surrenders, leaving thousands of civilians unprotected from Ustase violence. Villages in the Krajina and Hercegovina (where Pavelic and other Ustase leaders hailed from) are set aflame once more. Thousands are executed and thousands more flee to Serbia.

1942: Italian and even **German** troops intervene to arrest the Ustase bloodletting in the Independent State of Croatia. Two guerrilla movements, the Communists and the Serbian Chetniks, liberate large swathes of Ustase territory. Death camps such as **Jasenovac**, supervised by Ustase militants and run with the assistance of several Croat Franciscan monks, kill untold thousands by means so barbaric that the senior German commander in the Balkans described the camps as "the peak of abomination."

1944: Pressed by the Soviets from the East, the British from the West and Communists and Chetniks from within, the Independent State of Croatia begins to disintegrate. Yet the trains to Jasenovac continue to run, and elements of the Croatian Catholic Church continue to give enthusiastic support to the Ustase regime.

1945: In May, Pavelic and the Ustase ringleaders flee for the Austrian border. Per the Communist Yugoslav government, the final death toll from the war in all of Yugoslavia is 1.8 million. The Independent State of Croatia, according to the **Simon Wiesenthal Center**, is responsible for the murder of 30,000 Jews, 29,000 Roma and 500,000 Serbs in less just over four years. The **United States Holocaust Memorial Museum** places the number of Serbian victims between 330,000 and 390,000.

August: Pavelic is believed to be hiding in the American occupation zone in Austria.

1946: Pavelic's presence in Italy is confirmed. He is living in secret under the protection of the **Vatican**, at the monastery of **San Girolamo**. US Army intelligence in Rome notes his presence and monitors his movements but does not arrest him or most of the other Ustase executioners hiding in Occupied Italy.

Spring: The **Krizari** or "Crusaders" begin a three-year campaign of commando raids inside Yugoslavia. They fail to link up with sympathizers in the country, not realizing that the entire movement has been compromised by informers. Concentration camp commandant Ljubo Milos is among the leaders arrested and sentenced to death by the Communist authorities.

1947: Cardinal **Alojzije Stepinac** is found guilty and sentenced for treason and other crimes relating to the Church's support for the Ustase. Among the convicted clergy is the notorious Father **Filipovic-Majstorovic**, a Jasenovac executioner known as *Fra Sotona* or "Brother Devil" to the death camp's survivors.

Spring: **Andrija Artukovic**, the "Yugoslav Himmler," and supreme overseer of the Ustase Terror, arrives in Ireland. He will eventually settle in California, unmolested by the authorities until pressure by Jewish organizations in the 1980s forces his extradition on war crimes charges to Yugoslavia.

1949: Pavelic lives openly in Buenos Aires. He forms a new exile movement, the *Hrvatska Drzavotvorna Stranka*, led by former Ustase, which aspires to be the leading Croat emigre organization and a government-in-exile. Hundreds of accused Ustase war criminals are now living in South America, the United States, Canada and Australia.

1948: Following in the footsteps of Eichmann, Barbie, and other war criminals, Ante Pavelic arrives by way of the infamous "Ratline" in Argentina, courtesy of notorious Ratline operative and Catholic priest Father **Krunoslav Draganovic**.

1957: In April an attempt on Pavelic's life in Argentina prompts his flight to Franco's Spain, where former Jasenovac commandant **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic** has founded the HOP's European equivalent, the Croatian Resistance Movement.

1956: Pavelic forms the **Croatian Liberation Movement**. The extent of just how many Ustase leaders have escaped to South America is shown by the co-signers to the founding manifesto, to which 12 former ministers in the Independent State of Croatia have affixed their signature.

1959: Pavelic dies in the German hospital in Madrid on December 28. His place at the head of the Croatian Liberation Movement is taken by Stjepan Hefer, former minister in the NDH. Pavelic's long-time secretary and assistant Vjekoslav Vrancic disputes Hefer's leadership and forms a splinter organization.

July: Former Ratline operative Father **Krunoslav Draganovic** begins his second stint as a US agent, overseeing a network of informers inside Yugoslavia. Accusations will later surface that he was already at this point employed as a double-agent by the Yugoslav security service.

1962: Croatian extremists connected with Maks Luburic's organization attack a Yugoslav consulate in Germany; one diplomatic worker is killed.

1967: On September 10, Krunoslav Draganovic walks over the Yugoslav-Italian border and surrenders to the custody of the Yugoslav security service. His defection has never been definitively explained.

1969: Maks Luburic's body is found in his villa in Valencia, Spain. His body is lacerated by more than a dozen stab wounds and his skull fractured by repeated blows from a blunt instrument, probably a crowbar.

1972: In one of the first crimes of its kind to hit the airline industry, Ustase terrorists hijack a Swedish airliner and demand Baresic's release and a cash ransom. Both demands are met. Later in 1972, members of an Ustase successor organization claim responsibility for planting a bomb on board a Yugoslav

1966: The third Yugoslav diplomat in four years is killed in Germany by neo-Ustase from Maks Luburic's organization.

1968: Ustase terrorists plant a bomb inside a movie theatre in Belgrade. One person is killed and 85 are injured in the attack.

1971: Yugoslav Ambassador to Sweden Vladimir Rolovic is assassinated by neo-Ustase terrorist **Miro Baresic** after gunmen force their way into the embassy in Stockholm.

airliner which explodes in the sky, killing 26 people.

1976: Four Ustase hijack an American TW plane. One police officer is killed. One of the co-conspirators will in the 1990s be exposed by the *New York Times*' David Binder as an employee at the Croatian embassy in Washington.

1980: A bomb is planted in the Statue of Liberty, though no one is injured. All told there have been more than twenty terrorist incidents on US soil attributed to the Ustase in the previous five years alone, and close to a hundred worldwide.

1975: A bomb explodes in a storage locker in New York's LaGuardia Airport, killing 11 and injuring 75 people. The attack has long been attributed by the police and investigative journalists to the Ustase.

1978: Two Croats are killed and scores wounded across the United States as Ustase begin intimidating and extorting "donations" from Croatian-Americans. Six members of Maks Luburic's Croatian Resistance Movement will be **convicted** two years later under the RICO Act statutes for the attempted assassination of the leader of the moderate Croatian Fraternal Union, a journalist and a Catholic priest, as well as more than fifty counts of extortion across the United States.

1986: Minister of the Interior in the Independent State of Croatia **Andrija Artukovic** is finally extradicted from the United States nearly four decades after his illegal entry, following extreme pressure by Jewish organizations and Holocaust survivors. Suffering from advanced senility, he dies a year after his trial in a Yugoslav prison hospital.

1982: Miro Baresic is back in a Swedish prison following extradition from the United States, after he was found working as a bodyguard and driver for a South American diplomat in Washington. Baresic, who was named an unindicted co-conspirator in the RICO trials of Croatian extremists in New York, becomes a martyr to his comrades.

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the independent state of croatia

an historical overview: 1941-1945



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1941

March 24: The Yugoslav government, after weeks of German flattery and threats, joins the Tripartite Pact. Though given assurances they will not be obliged to allow German troops to cross their territory, the primary reason for the Nazi pressure to sign was the use of the Nis-Thessaloniki railway to transport German troops for the invasion of Greece.

March 26-27: A group of mostly junior officers, led by General Dusan Simovic, carries out a coup d'etat. Regent Prince Paul is deposed and the seventeen year old heir to the throne, King Peter, empowers a new government, including Croat Deputy Prime Minister and head of the Croat Peasant Party, Vladko Macek.

March 30: Adolf Hitler issues a directive to the German Army (hereafter *Wehrmacht*) called *Operation Enterprise 25*, to "destroy Yugoslavia as a military power and sovereign state."

April 6: The German *Luftwaffe* attacks Belgrade, killing between 12,000 and 17,000 people. The attacks do not drop a payload on Croatia. Citizens in Zagreb hear the voice of **leader Ante Pavelic** broadcasting from Italy, calling for a mutiny. "Croat soldiers, use your weapons against the Serbian soldiers and officers. We are already fighting shoulder to shoulder with our German and Italian allies."

April 10: German troops occupy Zagreb. Slavko Kvaternik, deputy leader of the Ustase and soon to be named Field Marshal, proclaims the Independent State of Croatia in the name of the *Poglavnik* Ante Pavelic.

April 11: Vladko Macek makes a broadcast announcement: "I invite all members of the Peasant Party to recognize the change, to help the new Croatia, and above all, to obey all its laws." Nevertheless his party deputy, governor of Croatia Ivan Subasic, flees with the royal government on April 15, to the Middle East and onward to London.

April 16: Wearing a black fascist tunic, **Ante Pavelic** arrives in Zagreb for the first time in twelve years and assumes command of the Independent State of Croatia (hereafter *NDH*, after its Serbo-Croat acronym). He is greeted by a large congregation of officials, bureaucrats, and church officials, including Archbishop **Alojzije Stepinac** of Zagreb, head of the Croatian Catholic Church. The Yugoslav Armed Forces have not yet surrendered and are still fighting in the field, particularly to the south in Montenegro and Macedonia and even in Dalmatia. The official surrender came on April 18.

April 27: A division of the newly-minted Ustase Army attacks Gudovac, a village with an exclusively civilian population. 196 Serbs and Jews are killed.

April 30: **Ante Pavelic** issues several **decrees on race** in the NDH. Based upon his *Principles of the Ustase Movement* written almost a decade ago in exile, the *Poglavnik* calls for the "purification" of Croatia from "alien elements." Jews and Roma are to be liquidated without delay. Serbs will **wear armbands** on which the letter P (for *Pravoslav*, or Orthodox Christian) is inscribed. Jews have their own with the letter Z for *zidov*.

End of April: **Ante Pavelic** is granted a private audience with **Pope Pius XII** in Rome.

May 11: Royal Yugoslav Army Col. Dragoljub "Draza" Mihailovic and several junior officers depart for Ravna Gora, Serbia. Detachments of their "Chetnik" army are formed in Bosnia, Hercegovina, Slavonia and the Krajina largely as a reaction to the Ustase terror.

May 18: Italy and Croatia agree on precise borders. Nearly all of Dalmatia is ceded to Italy - an act which shocks many Ustase stalwarts and causes **Archbishiop Stepinac** to weep. The NDH's borders nevertheless include all of "historic" Croatia, including Bosnia, and stretches to Zemun, at the gates of Belgrade itself.

May 8: Security chief of the *Ustaska obrana* and Pavelic confidant **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic** leads an Ustase attack on the village of Blagaj.

May 12: **Maks Luburic** arrests and supervises the execution of 260 Jews, Serbs and anti-fascists from the village of Prekopa.

May 27: Prefect of Western Bosnia Viktor Gutic orders the arrest of the Orthodox Bishop of Banja Luka. His beard is shaved with a knife and his body mutilated before he is set on fire. All told 131 of 577 Orthodox priests (including three bishops) were murdered by the Ustase through the reign of the NDH, and about 60 others killed in fighting.

Early June: The German Plenipotentiary for the region, General **Edmund Glaise von Horstenau**, begins a report to Berlin with the following words: "According to reliable reports from countless German military and civilian observers, during the last few weeks, in town and country, the Ustasha have gone raging mad." Dr. Hermann Neubacher, the German Plenipotentiary in SE Europe, **refers** to the horrifying atrocities meted out to the civilian population of the NDH as "a Croatian crusade of destruction."

June 6: Ante Pavelic meets with Adolf Hitler, who signs off on the population resettlement plan. Hitler counsels Pavelic to pursue "a fifty year plan of intolerance, because too much tolerance on such issues can only do harm."

June 23: The Ustase kill 164 Serbs from Popovo Polje and execute them by throwing them into a gorge at Kotez.

June 4: The German legation in Zagreb and the leaders of the NDH discuss Pavelic's plan to replace a significant part of the Serbian population of the NDH with Slovenes and Croats from lands annexed by Nazi Germany.

June 22: Germany attacks the Soviet Union.

June 25: Massacre by Ustase units in the district of Stolac. 260 people killed.

June 26: A speech by *Doglavnik* (Deputy Leader) **Mile Budak** is printed in the official newspaper *Hrvatski List*, which for the first time elucidates the Ustase goal of "killing a third, expelling a third, and converting a third" of the Serbian population of the NDH.

June 29: A Ustase unit captures 94 Serbs from Prisoje and throws them into a gorge on Mount Grabovica.

July 1: The village of Suvaja is burned by the Ustase, killing nearly 300.

July 24: The Ustase begin a massive retaliation for a rebel ambush, executing more than 1,200 people from the vicinity of Grabovac over the next two days.

June 28: **Maks Luburic** supervises the execution of 260 Serbs from the village of Prekopa. Nearly 4,000 Serbs are expelled from the district of Virovitica altogether.

June 30: Ustase aided by **Franciscan priests** kill an estimated 90 Serbs from Capljina near the Humac monastery.

July 13: Beginning of the uprising by Cetniks and Communist-led Partizans in Montenegro, later known as "The People's Uprising." It is the first wide-scale insurrection in Occupied Europe.

July 28: In simultaneous attacks, Ustase units kill 248 civilians near Duvno, 80 people in Primislj and Slunj, and 180 people at Ivanovic Jarak.

July 29: Massacres in Livno (160 killed), Gracac (500), and an attack on a **church in Glina** (at least 700 killed), where worshippers are stabbed, beaten, and then burned alive inside after the church is set aflame.

August 2: A company of the Zagreb Ustasa battalion executes 800 hostages in Sanski Most.

August 4: A unit of the Ustase arrested 102 Serbs, throwing them into a ravine at Bivolje Brdo.

August 6: 347 Serbs are taken from Kosinj near Perisic for **conversion to Catholicism**. Instead they are led to Kosa where they are executed.

Early September: Approved by Interior Minister **Andrija Artukovic** and designed by **Maks Luburic**, the sprawling concentration camp of **Jasenovac** opens approximately 60 miles south of Zagreb. Among the guards and executioners are six Franciscan priests, including Zvonko Brekalo

July 31-August 4:

Massacres in the vicinity of Bosanska Krupa. 1,000 people are killed over the next five days.

August 3: 700 Serbian men, women and children in Prijedor are executed.

August 5: Venezia Division arrives in Montenegro and puts down the insurrection.

August 17: Beginning of the operation to "purify" Mostar. The city's Jewish population is arrested, and Serbs driven to the nearby villages.

and the notorious **Father Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic**, known as *Fra Sotona* (Brother Devil) for his cruelty.

September 5: In response to the Ustase massacres, the Italian army begins to reoccupy Hercegovina, offering their protection to the local Serbian and Jewish population. On the island of Pag they discover the bodies of 4,500 Serbs and 2,500 Jews.

Late Autumn: Peasant Party leader Vladko Macek is released from **Jasenovac** to serve under house arrest until the conclusion of the war. His memoirs include his description of the death camp.

1942

September 3: The *Crna Legija* (Black Legion) formed in Sarajevo. This was exclusively a terror unit, infamous for their brutality against the civilian population.

September 7: Italian General Vittorio Ambrosio gives his "word of honor" to protect the Jews in areas under his command.

December 12: The NDH **declares war** on the United States and Britain following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and similar declarations by Nazi Germany and Italy.

January 15: Ustase units participate in the Second Offensive against Communist guerrillas in Eastern Bosnia.

April 16: *Poglavnik Ante Pavelic* issues a decree announcing a scorched earth policy in any part of the NDH where guerrilla activity occurs. Among other things, it states that anyone in any such zone can be executed, legally and summarily.

May 9: Archbishop **Stepinac** returns from a 12 day visit to Rome. The NDH ambassador to the **Vatican** writes in **his dispatches** that Stepinac "was in fine form and took a pugnacious attitude to all enemies of the state! He submitted to the Holy Father a nine-page type-written report. He showed it to me and I can assure you it stands for our point of view. In attacking the Serbs, Chetniks and Communists, he has found things to say which even I had not thought of."

April 20: Father Franjo Rihar is **arrested** and sent to **Jasenovac** for refusing to celebrate a High Mass on the anniversary of founding of the NDH and failing to lead his congregation in a *Te Deum* on Ante Pavelic's birthday.

July: Italian units begin to withdraw once again from Hercegovina. The Ustase are prevented from resuming the full-scale massacres of the Spring and Summer 1941 on account of the large number of civilians who have joined the Chetniks or the Partizans.

August 10: The Ustase and the Gestapo begin a reign of terror in Zagreb, Osijek and other cities, arresting the few Jews remaining and whoever they deem to be a left-wing sympathizer. About 1,000 persons are executed over the next three days.

August 25: The Ustase execute 140 people suspected of harboring anti-Ustase sentiments in Vukovar.

Early September: The *Crna Legija* or Black Legion of the Ustase Army is disbanded under German and Italian pressure.

October 13: Ustase from **Jasenovac** descend on the surrounding villages on the Sava River, killing about 600 people.

August 18: German ambassador to Italy Prince Otto von Bismarck submits a written demand for the Italians to "actuate those measures devised by the Germans and Croats for the transfer of the mass of the **Jews of Croatia** to territories in the East." Mussolini has "no objection" but most Italian officers ignore the order.

August 30: About 200 men are rounded up in Sid and transported to Sremska Mitrovica on the eastern extremity of the NDH, where they are executed.

September 27: General Mario Roatta visits the main camp for Jewish refugees of the NDH at Kraljevica and reaffirms his commitment to protect them from the Ustase.

Mid-November: Ante Pavelic meets Adolf Hitler on the Eastern Front HQ in Ukraine and obtains a promise from him for assistance in smashing resistance to his rule in Bosnia.

1943

February 2: The *Wehrmacht* is defeated at Stalingrad. With them, thousands of Croatian soldiers volunteered by their *Poglavnik* to fight on the Eastern Front are annihilated.

November 1: A group of "loyal Ustase" Muslim leaders from Bosnia write to Adolf Hitler, commending his Middle Eastern policy, including his support of the anti-Semitic Grand Mufti of Jerusalem but condemning the massacre of the Serbs.

December 17: Two Jewish inmates at **Jasenovac** kill a guard and escape. They find their way to Bihac where the first account of the horror of the camp is published in an interview by an underground newspaper circulated by the Communist-led Partizan army.

January 20: *Operation Weiss* with combined Ustase, Italian and German forces begins to root out resistance in Bosnia.

Early May: Archbishop **Stepinac** visits the **Vatican**. According to the new Ustase ambassador, Stepinac "**justified in part** the measures used against the Jews, who in our country are the greatest defenders of crimes of this kind [ie, abortion] and the most frequent perpetrators of them."

May 21: Ustase torture and execute about 100 Serbs from Mandjelos, sending 300 others to Jasenovac.

July 25: Benito Mussolini is toppled in a palace coup in Rome.

March: During a visit to Zagreb, Heinrich Himmler claims to have found a few more Jews being protected as "**honorary Aryans**" and demands their deportation to Germany. The NDH will pay the Germans 30 reichsmark for every Croatian Jew deported to Auschwitz.

May 15: Ustase units participate with German and Italian soldiers in *Operation Schwarz*, culminating in the Battle of Sutjeska Gorge in which Communist units are heavily battered.

June 10: The Supreme Headquarters of the Partizan army breaks out of its encirclement after defeating the Second Battalion of the Croatian 369th "Devil's Division" at Balinovac.

September 8: Italy surrenders. Partizan units temporarily capture Split and an enormous supply depot located there before withdrawing. Ustase units occupy the Dalmatian coast.

Late September: Partizan units evacuate several hundred Jewish and Serbian refugees from the NDH from the island of Rab, where they had found sanctuary under Italian protection. Some join the fight against the remaining Ustase and the Germans, while others are taken to live underground in the Dalmatian hinterland with sympathetic Croat families.

1944

April 22: The Balkan Air Force bombs Zagreb. Seven Dominican priests are killed. Archbishop **Stepinac** denounces the bombing in the most severe terms as "a blow to the living organism of the Croatian people."

December 31: From January to December, 58 Ustase mayors of Bosnian towns have been assassinated, and more than two hundred townhalls burnt to the ground.

Spring: Thousands of members of the Croatian Home Guards, the *Domobrans* (ie, regular army) defect or desert their posts. The NDH controls little of its own territory outside of the towns and several of these fall to the Chetniks or Partizans.

August: Foreign Ministry official Mladen Lorkovic and *Domobran* Col. Ante Vokic are arrested on suspicion of plotting a coup against **Ante Pavelic**. They are imprisoned in Lepoglava and executed on Pavelic's order in May of 1945.

August 26: German Army Group E begins to withdraw from the Balkans.

October 20: Partizan units supported by Soviet armor capture Belgrade. Ustase and German units form a line for the final defense of the state, the Sremski Front.

September 6: The Soviet Red Army approaches the Yugoslav border with Romania.

December: Elements of the German SS and several Franciscan Ustase fight to the last man at the monastery at Siroki Brijeg, scene of especially bloody massacres and the place where Ustase such as **Andrija Artukovic** were educated.

1945

March 10: Several leading Montenegrin and Serbian Chetniks, including Pavle Djurisić, Petar Bacović and Dragisa Vasić, negotiate with the Ustase to allow passage through their territory to reach the British and Americans in Austria and Italy. The negotiations are carried out with Montenegrin "Green" (pro-independence) leader Sekula Drljević acting as intermediary. The Ustase later go back on their word and disarm the fighters. Even though their own state is crumbling, they take time to massacre them to a man.

Early March: Ustase massacre a hundred wounded Serbs at Knin.

March 24: In a pastoral letter, Archbishop **Stepinac** categorically denies accusations that the clergy have participated in war crimes in the Independent State of Croatia. These are lies generated as "a means of destroying those people whom the Communists consider to be an obstacle to the creation of their program."

April 10: Archbishop **Stepinac** celebrates Mass in Zagreb in honor of the fourth anniversary of the NDH.

April 15: **Ante Pavelic, Andrija Artukovic, Mile Budak**, Archbishop **Ivan Saric** and other Ustase ringleaders flee Zagreb. By final order of the *Poglavnik*, **Maks Luburic** is left in charge of the Armed Forces of the NDH and leads a two-year **guerrilla campaign** against the Communist government. Anti-Pavelic conspirators Lorkovic and Vokic are executed by the retreating Ustase.

May 8: The *Wehrmacht* surrenders. Partizan forces enter Zagreb.

March 15: **Ante Pavelic** asks Archbishop **Alojzije Stepinac** to assume leadership of the Independent State of Croatia. Stepinac considers the offer but does not come to a decision.

April 6: Partizans capture Sarajevo.

April 12: The Sremski Front falters. Vukovar is captured by Partizans.

April 28: Benito Mussolini is captured and executed by Italian partisans in Milan.

May 15: The war in Yugoslavia ends. According to the Yugoslav government, 1.8 million people died on the territory of the former Yugoslavia during the war (excluding their own victims during the tail end of it). By the **Simon Wiesenthal Center's** estimates, the Ustase was responsible for the murder of 30,000 Jews (75 percent of the total number in the NDH's pre-war boundaries), 29,000 Roma (97 percent), and 600,000 Serbs (about one-third).

May 13: The Partizan First Army is ordered to intercept and annihilate a column of Croats speeding toward the Austrian border, which is believed to contain most of the Ustase leadership. The operation is a failure and most make it through to Austria.

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April 10, 1941

a day for remembrance
by Cali Ruchala

*I cannot stay silent; the walls stayed silent
And crumbled. One, I carry them inside of me
Overgrown with my adulthood, their faces
Rotted away... I cannot stay silent
About this colony in my blood, for I am one,
And they were more than seven hundred*

*- Requiem, "for the seven hundred
from the church in Glina"
by Ivan V. Lalic*

APRIL 10, 1941 IS day of infamy on the calendar of humanity. It is the date of birth for an inhuman state, and on that day a death sentence was passed on at least a half-million human beings. Sixty-two years ago today, in the wake of German destruction, the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatske*, or NDH) was formed, a Nazi satellite carved from the body of Yugoslavia.

It is not an exaggeration to say that a more foul, criminal, and murderous state than the NDH has rarely appeared on the world stage. They racked up their appalling death toll in a mere four years: at least a half-million Jews, Roma, leftists and other dissidents, and most of all the large Serbian minority. In an age of mechanized mass murder, the Ustase resorted to **sheer brutality** to dispose of their victims, using bullets, clubs, knives, axes, even their bare hands.

In a 1990 interview, Simon Wiesenthal confessed, "I must admit that I have been obsessed with the criminal character of the Independent State of Croatia. Even the Germans were appalled by the crimes committed in it." This is true. High-ranking **German officers**, such as General

Edmund Glaise von Horstenau, repeatedly expressed their feelings of anger, outrage and disgust, provoked by Ustase atrocities. After an inspection of one of the Ustase's concentration camps, Glaise von Horstenau **wrote** that "Such places have reached their peak of abomination here in Croatia, under a *Poglavnik* installed by us. The most wicked of all must be **Jasenovac**, where no ordinary mortal is allowed to peer in."

Nowhere in the world will ordinary men and women celebrate February 27, the day of the Reichstag Fire, or October 28, the day of Mussolini's March on Rome. Public support once enjoyed by Hitler and Mussolini has long since evaporated in light of their crimes and the defeat of their criminal regimes. And yet, among a small but vocal minority of the Croatian emigre community, April 10th is an unofficial independence day. From Australia to the United States, several Croatian emigre organizations will pull their flags from storage, march and share a toast in honour of a barbarous, genocidal regime and its founding fathers.

Among these misguided patriots, prominent right-wing extremist Tomislav Sunic, a former official in the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and diplomat, speaks for many. In interview in *The Voice of Saint George*, a British skinhead publication, Sunic explains that "After a millennium of nonexistence, Croatia resurfaced on the land map under Ante Pavelic in 1941. Alas, this was the wrong time and wrong place, because Croatia chose a losing side! The second time, the late Franjo Tudjman in 1991, played a smarter and more realistic game. Hence the need all over Croatia today to drum up chest [sic] with slogans of 'democracy' and the religion of 'human rights,' and occasionally recite the Liberal Credo in order to preserve a modicum of sovereignty."

Sunic, now a private citizen, represents a new trend among the Ustase's Croatian apologists, in that he has formed a dangerous alliance with neo-Nazis and White Supremacists in the United States. Sunic has recently traveled to America to make appearances at white nationalist rallies (one at "Euro-Fest 2003," described as "a formal family event to celebrate White heritage") as well as being a featured speaker at the anti-Semitic Institute for Historical Review, "intellectual" neo-Nazis dedicated to forwarding the agenda that the Holocaust - and, it follows, the Ustase Terror - never really happened.

There are two reasons why we must remember April 10th, 1941, and why we must never forget the nightmare which descended across the territory of the Independent State of Croatia on this day, sixty-two years ago.

First, we honour the memory of the **victims**, including the survivors we are fortunate enough to still have among us. Those who survived the NDH were not given much benefit in Tito's Yugoslavia: in a nation decimated by war and force-fed a diet of Soviet socialism, little care and consideration was paid to the few who managed to outlast their Ustase captors. Later, a curtain of "Brotherhood and Unity" was thrown over the

slaughterhouse of Jasenovac, and study of the Ustase was discouraged as an unwelcome intrusion of the past into contemporary Yugoslav life.

Secondly, we must remember April 10th because of those, like Tomislav Sunic, who have the perversity to revere mass-murderers and weep bitter tears on this date for a state built on a cornerstone of genocide. Those who would like to transform the sadistic and cruel Ustase into the moral equivalents of America's founding fathers have made many inroads in the last decade in trying to convince the public that Ustase founder **Ante Pavelic** was "a good Catholic" or even a man forced by circumstances to reluctantly throw his lot with the most evil movement that the world has ever known.

"Mainstreaming" the Ustase represents more than a gross falsification of history: it is an insult to the hundreds of thousands of innocents who perished at the hand of Ustase brutality, to their families, and those who remain among us today as living witnesses to a terror that most of us can only imagine - with a shudder.

The **Simon Wiesenthal Center**, which has devoted more time than anyone to the study of the Holocaust, estimates the Ustase murdered 30,000 Jews (75% of the total number in the NDH's pre-war boundaries), 29,000 Roma (97%) and some 600,000 Serbs (about one-third). These were people with faces, with names, with families and aspirations. Their stories, and their fate, must be made known.

The fact that eugenics - "balanced breeding" - was among the **founding principles** of the Ustase movement as written by Pavelic's own hand more than a decade before the hideous nightmare of the NDH began must be also be known. The fact that Jasenovac preceded Auschwitz in making the jump to a full-fledged extermination camp must be known. And the story of how these executioners, the camp guards and the ringleaders of the Ustase Terror managed to **escape from justice** for all these years - **hidden in Italy** and spirited away with American assistance to South America, Canada, and even the United States - must also be told.

That is why April 10th is an important day, sixty-two years later. "Never forget" is not a slogan, or even a command. It is a warning, a call to action.

Poet Ivan V. Lalic, whose words precede this article, feared what would happen if the seven hundred Serbian victims of the Glina Church Massacre - stabbed and then left inside as their church was burned to the ground by the Ustase in July 1941 - were forgotten:

*I cannot stay silent; the walls stayed silent
And crumbled. But the ones from the church, the ones
Who are dead, have not yet fallen asleep. They lie awake,
Unbidden, in one who was once a boy. I cannot evict them
Into the space of wind where the church once stood,*

*Where the weeds grow red with their blood.
So let them stay awake, unbidden, for they would despise me
If I were to try to sing them to sleep.*

Cali Ruchala

April 10, 2003

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Unraveling the Ustase Successor Organizations by Cali Ruchala



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FIFTY-FOUR YEARS AGO, THE *poglavnik*, or *fuehrer* of the Nazi puppet state of Croatia, Ante Pavelic, **arrived** in Buenos Aires, into the welcoming arms of the *Peronistas* and a large contingent of his former underlings. Though he was a wanted man for war crimes and atrocities carried out on his orders in the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatske*, or NDH), Pavelic had eluded arrest for more than three years with the assistance of a **network** of Catholic priests dedicated to preserving the remnants of Hitler's New Order, with the approval and often collaboration of the British and American authorities. [1.]

Pavelic was one of the last but most important leaders of the NDH to arrive in a country which was already achieving notoriety as a safe-haven for Nazi fugitives. Other Ustase officials had escaped to Spain and Portugal; more would travel onward to democratic countries such as Sweden, Norway, Australia, Canada and the United States. They brought with them the kernels of a new movement and the tacit blessing of several Allied intelligence agencies who saw the blood-covered Ustase as useful tools in the coming war against Communism. [2.]

The ideological base of the Ustase exiles was unchanged from what it had been before the war: virulent anti-Semitism surpassed only by their anti-Serbianism, and the celebration of a personality cult dedicated to Pavelic and a select group of "martyrs," which no living Croat could penetrate. Though the rhetoric of the more loquacious Ustase spokesman would give the movement a varnish of democratic and pro-Western appeal, a quick perusal of any of the literature or statements they later produced indicates that the Ustase movement in exile retained

it's neo-fascistic core, lacking the dullest gleam of self-examination or repentance. [3.]

Unlike many other exile movements which formed as the Iron Curtain descended across Eastern Europe, the NDH fugitives could look within the Ustase's own history for a model of organization and tactics as an exile movement. The Ustase had been an exile movement before the war, operating training camps for assassins and terrorists to be unleashed on the Royal Yugoslav government under the House of Karadjordjevic. Indeed, as their catastrophic recklessness and mismanagement of the NDH illustrates, Pavelic and the Ustase were far better suited plotting and conspiring on the fringe of the political landscape than coping with the day-to-day banalities of statecraft. The return to their roots as an exiled terrorist organization was a natural succession, and a comparatively easy one as nearly all of the political organizers and ideologists of the movement had by hook or crook evaded arrest when Hitler's European satellites collapsed with the Third Reich.

The Ustase would make this transition rather successfully, enjoying a greater longevity than almost any other ethnic-based movement in Europe and the West [4.], and becoming one of the most persistent extremist groups of its kind. Founded as a terrorist organization by Ante Pavelic in Vienna after he went into exile in 1929, the Ustase had been placed atop a Croatian puppet state of the Axis Powers in April, 1941 thanks to Pavelic's **long-standing contacts** with Benito Mussolini. The party then consisted of, at most, a few hundred disaffected Croats, "representing the lunatic fringe of Balkan life" according to one post-war investigator [5.] The movement mushroomed in the ferment of wartime hysteria and atrocity, growing to include several thousand Croats and Bosnian Muslims [6.]. By war's end, many lukewarm members of the Ustase had deserted, but thousands of other Croats joined in a greater exodus from Yugoslavia in fear of Communist persecution. It was this field of new arrivals that Pavelic exploited above all, drawing on their poverty and bitterness to refurbish the ranks of his reborn Ustase, and carry the movement through three successive generations.

THE NEW CRUSADE

Three years before Ante Pavelic landed in Argentina, the Ustase were already in the process of shedding their skin as bureaucrats and ministers and reorganizing along their former lines [7.]. Most of the Ustase die-hards had fled as part of a large column which crossed the Austrian border at Bleiburg. British authorities in the area first interned them, then turned most - but not all - of the column back into Yugoslavia. Scores died at the hands of the Communists on forced

marches and the like, with expectedly harsher sentences meted out to members of the Ustase Army and party activists and officials as compared to conscripts in the *Domobrans*, the NDH's regular army. As for their leaders, most of the Ustase party officials who had fallen into British custody - including Ante Pavelic - escaped (or "escaped") before the mass was turned back into Yugoslavia.

In one of his last official acts before Zagreb was declared an Open City and he and his closest collaborators joined this dash for the border, Pavelic named his long-time associate, **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic**, head of all armed forces of the Independent State of Croatia. It is known that Luburic and his remaining charges followed the column headed toward Bleiburg, conducting rear-guard skirmishes with the Communist army, ordering the liquidation of the remaining inmates at the **Jasenovac** concentration camp (which Luburic had designed himself), and executing two former Ustase ministers who had been arrested after conspiring to overthrow Pavelic in 1944. At some point, however, they fell back, establishing hideouts in the cities and country, just as the Communists had done before.

Pavelic was undoubtedly hiding while he was in Austria - a separation from his family, who hid at a separate address, suggests as much. But he was also working - reorganizing these Ustase refugees with a stomach to keep fighting into a guerrilla army, which in **characteristic fashion** he named the *Krizari*, or "Crusaders".

This was the first reincarnation of the Ustase in the post-war period. For more than three years the *Krizari* conducted raids into Yugoslav territory from Austrian bases. However, most of the missions failed to link up with Luburic's forces inside the country. The commando units were quickly neutralized or arrested by OZNA, the Yugoslav secret police, shortly after arriving crossing the border and unwittingly leading Yugoslav Counterintelligence to their contacts inside the country. The operational planning of the entire operation leaked like a sieve, thanks to aggressive OZNA counter-espionage measures, including the use of double-agents, and a Soviet spy who was involved in the highest levels of American and British intelligence, Kim Philby.

The *Krizari* Campaign, ineffective as it was, didn't suffer from lack of leadership. Luburic was operational coordinator of the units left behind inside Croatia and any commandos from Austria who managed to evade the OZNA dragnet. Major Ljubo Milos, previously an Ustase commandant at the Jasenovac and Lepoglava camps, served as a commander up until his capture by Yugoslav authorities in 1947. Overall planning for the *Krizari* Campaign rested with Pavelic. After his departure from the American Zone of Austria to Italy in late 1945 or '46, he remained in contact by wireless set operated by his secretary, former Ustase minister Vjekoslav Vrancic. [8.]

The Yugoslav authorities decimated the new *Krizari* arrivals, and resistance inside the country was gradually snuffed out. Ljubo Milos was

tried with a few dozen other Krizari and gave a lurid confession from the dock, making reference to **Vatican** spies, British secret agents and an enormous **treasure lode of gold** looted from Ustase victims that was paying for the Krizari Campaign. Maks Luburic quietly slipped out of the country, reappearing in Spain a few years later.

That this anti-Communist operation - designed to destabilize the country that was then referred to in the press as "Soviet Satellite Number One" - had American backing is not surprising. Similar operations were underway in other Balkan countries, such as Albania. (Philby betrayed this operation as well, passing on information about the missions to the Soviet authorities, who in turn informed their Albanian counterparts of the commando units' place and time of arrival.) [9.]. However, the operatives trained by American and British intelligence for the Albanian campaign were members of a movement known as *Balli Kombetar*, which as a whole had none of the baggage of men like Luburic or Pavelic or their bloody underlings. The Americans and British were essentially sponsoring the men who had orchestrated and carried out the murder of at least several hundred thousand civilians over the previous four years through the most abominable means of execution they could devise.

The Krizari Campaign was the last time the old leaders of the NDH were physically together, though, as we shall see, they never entirely split from each other in spirit. Instead, a legion of acronyms, movements and publications followed in their wake as the Ustase reorganized themselves into cells spanning four continents and more than two dozen countries.

DEJA VU: THE HOP

Upon his arrival in Argentina, the Poglavnik was met by his loyal secretary, Vjekoslav Vrancic, former Ustase minister Ivica Perovic, and a dozen other ministers and important figures in the NDH, as well as several Croatian Catholic priests active in or sympathetic to the Ustase movement [10.]. He wasted little time in orientating himself to his new surroundings before issuing the first public declaration the world had heard from Ante Pavelic since the end of the war. The Ustase was a force which was, he said, irrevocably opposed to Bolshevism. Since the Croat nation had not voted for Bolshevism (neither, can it be said, had they voted for Pavelicism), the new regime would naturally be overthrown from within.

To that end, the years 1948-1955 were chiefly concerned with the continued organization of commando-style operations inside Yugoslavia with their legacy in the Krizari Campaign, and internally with building a worldwide Croatian movement in emigration, with the exiled Ustase at the center. The pre-war Croatian leaders in exile who had managed to

remain relatively free of taint from the Ustase were either unable or unwilling [11.] to form organizations which would repudiate the NDH in favour of a democratic and free Croatia, opposed to Ustasism as well as Communism. The exiled Ustase stepped into the chasm.

Internationally, Pavelic's government-in-exile made little headway in the late 1940s and early 1950s. More time would have to pass, and new leaders would have to replace the hangmen at the top of the organization before the West would publicly deal with the Ustase, regardless of whatever relationships and cooperation existed behind the scenes. A series of organizational names and publications were christened with august reverence and buried without rites. From the claims of his intimates, Pavelic had expected quick, pre-emptive war by the Americans against the Soviets which would restore the Ustase in Croatia, and the Ustase leader was off-balance when such a mighty conflagration never materialized [12.]. It was not until the **founding declaration** of the *Hrvatski Oslobodilacki Pokret* (Croatian Liberation Movement - the original name Pavelic gave to the Ustase in the 1930s) was released on June 8, 1956 that a definitive and official successor movement to the Ustase was proclaimed.

The founding declaration of the HOP is notable for a number of reasons, first for what it says - defining Croatia not in the rhetoric of the pre-war era, as a "historical continuity," a kingdom hundreds of years old, but as a state with the same physical boundaries as the NDH - and second for what it does not. It is undeniable that the HOP, founded as it was by the Poglavnik of the NDH and calling for a return to the NDH's boundaries, and making no reference to or distancing itself from the nightmare of concentration camps and massacres that the Independent State of Croatia represented, is both the organizational and the ideological successor to the Ustase. In spite of later claims [13.] that most of the Ustase were killed after the British turned back the refugees from Bleiburg, the HOP's founding declaration is signed by twelve of them, all ministers or other high officials in the wartime NDH, *in their name as ministers of the NDH*, and does not include a dozen *other* high officials in the Ustase who had evaded justice after the war and were then at liberty, including Maks Luburic, Interior Minister **Andrija Artukovic**, Jasenovac commandant Dinko Sakic, or even Pavelic's son-in-law and future leader of the HOP, Srećko Psenicnik.

The HOP was led by Pavelic until his death three years later, from complications of a mysterious assassination attempt in Argentina as well as old age (the *Poglavnik* was seventy years old when he died). His appointed successor was Stjepan Hefer, a former deputy from the Croatian Peasant Party of Vladko Macek. Hefer took Macek's declaration of support for the Ustase in 1941 to heart, abandoning the Peasant Party for the Ustase and holding several minister-level portfolios in the last three NDH governments. Hefer had the demeanor of an intellectual, but his books on what he called "the Croatian Problem" are little more than half-baked propaganda tracts in which he makes such claims as that the Ustase was a "progressive, liberal" movement which would have bowed

down to the forces of democracy in April, 1941 had it not been for the Chetnik and Communist revolts. Ante Bonifacic took control of the HOP in the mid-1970s and moved the organization's base to North America. The HOP enjoyed the unqualified support of certain American conservatives [14.], even as the Croatian emigrant community was torn apart by Ustase-led violence against moderate Croats and a string of terrorist incidents which somehow left Bonifacic's reputation unblemished. Bonifacic was followed by Pavelic's son-in-law, Srecko Psenicnik, in 1981.

LICENSE TO KILL: MAKS LUBURIC AND THE HNO

There has been some confusion over the connection between acts of terrorism committed by Croat extremists and the political movements set up by the principle Ustase exiles. Given the flexibility of the terrorists themselves in assigning one or several organizations' names to their deeds after the fact, it's counterproductive to separate the different groups between solid partitions. There was constant movement of activists between them, and papers aligned with one movement would invariably praise and commend acts undertaken by the others.

Maks Luburic was the driving force behind the Ustase's return to high-profile violence of the sort which put them on the map in 1934 with the assassination of Yugoslav King Alexander and French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou in Marseilles, France. He was also the one responsible for creating the maze of organizations, movements, operations groups and acronyms which litter the texts of most post-war Ustase studies. By his own hand, Luburic formed the *Hrvatski Narodni Odpor*, or Croatian National Resistance, also known by various translations as the Croatian Popular Resistance, the Croatian People's Resistance, and within the movement itself as *Odpor* or *Otpor*. Principles from the HNO later went on to form the *Hrvatski Drzavotvorni Pokret* (HDP), or the Croatian Statehood Movement, and seed a dozen other organizations from West Germany to Australia, such as the United Croats of West Germany (UHNj), Croatian Youth (HM), and eventually an umbrella of neo-Ustase terrorism in the 1970s, the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood (CRB).

The HNO published a magazine called *Drina* and a newspaper called *Obrana*. In the latter, alongside screeds that called for the violent destruction of Yugoslavia, the editors included helpful instructions on bomb-making and sabotage, descriptions of the firing range of several shoulder-held rifles, and advice on the optimal location to plant a bomb in a public building in order to cause the most structural damage.

Luburic and HNO agents set up cells in Switzerland, Italy and Glasgow, but Australia and West Germany became their true strongholds. In 1962, twenty-five HNO commandos occupied a Yugoslav consulate in Bad-

Godesberg, led by Josep Stjepan Bilandzic. The HNO also conducted numerous raids into Yugoslav territory, the extent of which are not known and probably won't be until full access is granted to UDBA (the Yugoslav security agency and successor to OZNA) archives in Belgrade.

Luburic's HNO set the tone for the Croatian extremist movement as a whole, in that they declared that they "consider[ed] every direct or indirect help to Yugoslavia as treason against the Croat Nation." [15.] This included anyone doing business with the Yugoslav government, foreign embassy staff, and all Croats who were sympathetic to the Communist government or simply disagreed with the tactics of the HNO and its alter ego organizations. This strain of intolerance among other Croats (including the novel distinction between "real Croats" - i.e., those who support the Ustase - and, presumably, false ones) can be traced back to the pre-war Ustase movement when disputes within the organization were settled quickly and violently, as in the case of the former commandant of the Ustase training camp at Janka Puszta who was executed when a jilted lover became an informer for the secret police. A precursor to their intolerance of competitors, real or imagined, can be seen in the wartime treatment meted out to Vladko Macek of the Croatian Peasant Party, who had been regarded as too much of a potential threat by Pavelic to be allowed his freedom, despite of his public support for the Ustase and the Independent State of Croatia. Macek was sent to the Jasenovac concentration camp before being remanded to house arrest, and left a chilling description of his time there in his memoirs.

Luburic's body was found in his villa in Spain on April 20, 1969. His skull had been crushed by repeated blows to the head with a blunt object, and his chest lacerated by more than a dozen stab wounds. Yet the grisly death of one of the most noxious killers of the 20th century did little to change attitudes among the Ustase exiles and their younger proteges. If anything, the violence became even worse.

THE CROATIAN (R)EVOLUTIONARY BROTHERHOOD

The differences between the HNO and the HOP were geographic rather than ideological. The oath taken by HNO recruits included a commitment of allegiance to the HOP's founder, a pledge to "remain loyal to... the principles of the Ustase movement of the *Poglavnik*, Dr. Ante Pavelic." [16.]

This is a crucial point: though HNO and HOP were separate organizations operating on opposite sides of the world, they both considered themselves - and recognized each other - as Ustase. There was nothing which ideologically distinguished HNO from HOP, and in tactical matters

there was only HNO's slightly more effervescent praise for the use of explosives in pursuit of their political goals. Luburic split from Pavelic toward the end of the latter's life on minor ideological grounds, but their organizations continued to cooperate.

The 1970s completely obliterated the already opaque lines between the two organizations. HNO's Australian branch evolved into the Croatian Statehood Movement (HDP), while its West German members shifted to the United Croats of West Germany. Meanwhile, new acts of terrorism in Australia, Europe, the United States and South America occurred with appalling regularity. No study has tabulated the precise number of Ustase terrorist incidents in the decade, but a fair-minded estimate would reveal at least 50 attempted assassinations, 40 successful bombings of public buildings or monuments, two successful airplane hijackings and another in which an airliner was destroyed in mid-flight by detonation - just under one incident every month of every year over the course of the decade. Many of the attacks were attributed to a shadowy, hither-to unknown group which called itself the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood (CRB).

Several HDP-connected journals claimed that the CRB emerged in response to the Yugoslav suppression of the "Croatian Spring," a flowering of nationalistic politics and culture in Zagreb in the first two years of the 1970s. In fact, the leaders of the Croatian Spring distanced themselves at every opportunity from the extremist movement and explicitly condemned the neo-fascist pageantry of the emigre organizations, including the continuation of Pavelic's personality cult and the marking of April 10th - the day the NDH was founded after the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia - as Croatia's independence day. Less symbolic activities which the Croatian Spring activists condemned included the murder of the Yugoslav Ambassador to Sweden, Vladimir Rolovic; the subsequent hijacking of a Swedish SAS jetliner by Ustase demanding the release of Rolovic's assassins; and the murder and extortion of scores of moderate Croats who refused to pay "contributions" to fund Ustase violence. [17.]

Today, there is some speculation that the Brotherhood was fictional front and a convenient cover to shield the by-now more respectable HDP and HOP from direct links with terrorists. This alibi was essential, as a fair share of Ustase crimes were now taking place on Western European and American soil, including the Statue of Liberty. There was seamless cooperation between one-time members of the HOP and HDP working under the guise of the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood - or, just as often, working under no guise at all, and only claiming responsibility in the name of the CRB after a successful operation. [18.]

By willful blindness or cynical politics, the ruse worked. The HOP under Ante Bonifacic, who presided over the Croatian extremist movement at a time when a group of Croats organized from Chicago were convicted of more than fifty counts of extortion, racketeering, murder, attempted murder, and using the United States Postal Service for sending bombs in

hollowed out books to dissident Croats, including a Catholic priest [19.], was classified by the FBI as a benevolent, non-violent political organization - certainly the only party founded by a World War II war criminal to earn such a distinction. [20.] The United States government was unmoved by the convicted defendants' connection with international terrorist **Miro Baresic**, and the fact that a mysterious Croatian group in Chicago - where Bonifacic and the HOP were now based - made a monthly payment to Baresic, who was then an international fugitive from justice that had entered the United States with forged documents before he was eventually arrested and deported back to Sweden to serve out the rest of his sentence for the murder of Ambassador Rolovic in Stockholm. [21.]

Similarly, in Australia, HDP officials like Nikola Stedul and *Spremnost* publisher Fabian Lovokovic found themselves courted by members of the left and the right of Australian politics, even as the police uncovered three separate Ustase training camps over the course of three years where lessons were given on long-range shooting and bomb-making and -handling. Stedul, who had emigrated from Yugoslavia to Germany in the 1950s, is alleged to have been an HNO representative in Australia from 1966 to 1971 before becoming a high official in the "new" HDP. [22.]

THE RED REPUBLICANS

Of the Ustase leaders abroad, mention should be made of Branimir (Branko) and Ivan Jelic, two brothers involved in the pre-war Ustase movement who later parted ways with their fellow exiles. Branko had occupied one of the highest positions in the pre-war Ustase, and headed a radical Croat youth organization before Pavelic had even formed the Ustase. He was arrested with Eugen-Dido Kvaternik and Ante Pavelic in Turin in connection with the assassination of King Alexander in Marseilles in 1934. Jelic was interned in England during the war, thus escaping scrutiny as he was in no way implicated in the atrocities of the NDH. He emigrated to Germany afterward, and headed the Croatian Committee and the Croatian Socialist Party, which published the journal *Hrvatska Drzava* (The Croatian State).

The Jelic brothers differed radically from other post-war Ustase-led movements in that they allied themselves with the Soviet Union, offering the Red Army access to naval and air bases in a free and independent Croatia, whereas Tito allowed them none in Federal Yugoslavia. [23.] "Finlandization" was a word on the lips of Czech democrats, Polish intellectuals and Latvian dissidents, and the Jelic brothers too believed a Soviet alliance against the Socialist heretic Tito would create an opportunity for Croatia's independence. Treating the Croatian situation in the context of a national liberation struggle, the Jelic brothers were able

to gain some sympathy for Croatian independence among left-leaning editors, publicists and political activists. Nevertheless their movement was the weakest of those mentioned here, partially due to a bizarre competition spread by the HDP when the Jelic brothers attempted to expand the Croatian Socialists from their West German base. [24.]

THE POGLAVNIK'S FAMILY TREE

All of the various Croat extremist organizations mentioned herein, both real and sham, can trace their lineage back to the NDH and, further, to Ante Pavelic himself. Clear branches of descent can be drawn from the furthest extremity - Pavelic's founding of the Ustase movement in Vienna in 1929-30 - through era of pre-war terrorism, through the NDH and the Krizari Campaign and finally to the two progenitors of all subsequent Croatian extremist organizations, Pavelic and Luburic.

Croatian terrorist groups never truly "split" from the Ustase or from one another, in the sense of the violent fragmentation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and Abu Nidal, or the two factions of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) in Lebanon after 1983. The difference between Pavelic's HOP and Luburic's HNO, whose members paid homage to Pavelic in their loyalty oath, could not be measured by ideology or tactics, but only in geography: one operated in the Americas, the others primarily in Europe with an outpost in Australia. By the time the two principles were dead, the groups had spun off "respectable" fronts for political agitation and presentation to the anti-Communist international community, while continuing to nurture an even more radical, violent and reckless element within. There were moments of blatant collaboration between members of the separate groups in terrorist acts and, after 1972, the total evaporation of any distinction between them.

The attention of the reader is drawn to the scope of this brief inquiry, but one shouldn't lose sight of the uncertain terminus of the Ustase movement abroad. Indeed, the racketeering trial against several Croatian extremists in the United States was concluded only in 1983 when appeals by the defendants were rejected. In recent years, right-wing Croatian organizations in Zagreb have **called for the defendants release** from prison as patriots, in spite of their record of extorting, threatening, and attempting to kill other Croats in the United States.

Another prominent Croatian terrorist, Miro Baresic, unindicted co-conspirator in the racketeering trial mentioned above, the assassin of Ambassador Vladimir Rolovic and later advisor to the military death squads of Paraguayan dictator Alfredo Stroessner, was paroled in Stockholm in 1987 and three years later enlisted in a paramilitary unit

fighting for Croatia against the Krajina Serbs. His conspirators in the Rolovic assassination bypassed Interpol warrants and also returned home to enlist in the Croatian War. Nikola Stedul is now president of the HDP, based in Zagreb. Without submitting the reader to *bathos*, it is worthwhile to point out that the crimes of the Ustase-led extremist organizations against individuals, both Croat and Serb, communist, nationalist or apolitical, are not relics of ancient history, but are fixed within the living memory of most people alive today.

Footnotes

1. See the archive of CIC documents posted on this site, particularly the file titled "**Ante Pavelic and Other Ustasha Personalities**," and Memoranda from Agent William Gowen dated **August 29** and **September 12, 1947**. [[back](#)]
2. **ibid.** [[back](#)]
3. See Butler, Hubert. *The Sub-prefect Should Have Held His Tongue and Other Essays* (London, 1990), for a vigorous account of a Pavelic speech in Buenos Aires. [[back](#)]
4. A notable except is the *Dashnaktsutiun*, or Armenian Revolutionary Federation, founded in Tbilisi in 1890 and active to this day as an emigre organization and a political party in post-Soviet Armenia. [[back](#)]
5. CIC Report by Special Agent Robert Clayton Mudd titled "**Present Whereabouts and Past Background of Ante PAVELIC, Croat Quisling**," 30 January 1947. [[back](#)]
6. Bosnian Muslims were considered "Islamic Croats" according to the Ustase's Goebbelian propagandist, Mile Budak. See Novak, Viktor. **Magnum Crimen, p. 603**. [[back](#)]
7. According to an editorial in the Fascist controlled *Gazetto del Popolo* in October, 1941, the Ustase had never become "respectable" members of government anyway. "It would be ridiculous to deny that the acting powers-that-be in Croatia are former terrorists. These criminals have become generals, ministers, ambassadors, newspaper editors and chiefs of police. In spite of their promotion to higher rank, they have not changed fundamentally. In fact they are exactly what they used to be, including Pavelic and the members of his government." See Paris, Edmond. *Genocide in Satellite Croatia* for the full text. Mussolini had already turned against his former proteges, and his troops re-occupied Hercegovina after their initial withdrawal in order to put a stop to the Ustase massacres in the Spring and Summer of 1941 - which caused

Pavelic and the Ustase, in turn, to move closer to Adolf Hitler. [\[back\]](#)

8. CIC memorandum from Agent William Gowens, quoted in Aarons, Mark and Loftus, John. *Unholy Trinity*, (1991 St. Martins Press, New York) p 123. [\[back\]](#)

9. This was also in the era of the Truman Doctrine, and Allied operations against Communist regimes in Croatia and Albania must be seen in the proper context, which includes the April 18, 1948 tainted elections in Italy which defeated the Communists at the polls with considerable American subterfuge; the Yugoslav-Italian crisis over Trieste; American support for the anti-Communist faction in the Greek Civil War; the takedown of an American plane for violating Yugoslav airspace and the mining of a British ship off the coast of Corfu by the Albanians. [\[back\]](#)

10. See CIA document, "**Reported Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina.**" [\[back\]](#)

11. One candidate, Ivan Subasic, had been governor of Croatia in 1941 when the war began, and ignoring orders from his party leader Vladko Macek, fled with the Royal Government. He served for a time as the head of the government-in-exile under British pressure and signed the Tito-Subasic Agreement, recognizing the Communist partizans as the official army of Yugoslavia and Tito as head of state, with the monarchy's fate to be decided in a referendum after the war. Macek himself, also a member of the government at the start of the war and head of the Peasant Party for a period spanning two decades, recognized the NDH but declined a German offer to lead it himself. German and Italian overtures to take a role in government to moderate the policies of the Ustase were ineffective and after a short time in the concentration camp of Jasenovac he spent the rest of the war under house arrest. Macek lived in Washington after the war, but never challenged the exiled Ustase's grab for power among the new emigres or the long-standing Croat diaspora. Older ethnic Croatian groups such as the Croatian Fraternal Union continued to operate, and eventually became the Ustase exiles' chief target in the United States. [\[back\]](#)

12. See Butler, *Sub-prefect*. [\[back\]](#)

13. See McAdams, Michael. *Croatia, Myth and Reality*. This piece claims, remarkably, that only three high-level Ustase escaped from Tito's forces after the war. Among the signatories of the **HOP founding declaration** are six ministers of the final (seventh) NDH government: Ante Pavelic (head of state), Dzafer beg-Kulenovic (Vice-President), Vjekoslav Vrancic (Minister of Trade and Industry), Stjepan Hefer (Minister of Village Economy), Jozo Dumandzic (Minister of Traffic), and Ivika Frkovic (Minister for Forestry & Mining and City Administrator of Sarajevo). [\[back\]](#)

14. See **US vs. Bagaric, et al** [\[back\]](#)

15. Quote from the HNO founding declaration and constitution: "We regard Yugoslavism and Yugoslavia as the greatest and only evil that has caused the existing calamity... We therefore consider every direct or indirect help to Yugoslavia as treason against the Croat Nation." Private collection. [[back](#)]

16. Undated excerpt from *Obrana*, appears to be June of 1964. [[back](#)]

17. Clissold, Stephen. *Croat Separatism: Nationalism, Dissidence and Terrorism*, Institute for the Study of Conflict, London, 1979, p. 7. [[back](#)]

18. Other probably fictitious organizations to claim responsibility for Ustase attacks are the Croat National Liberation Force, the Croatian Freedom Cause, and the Croatian Committee for Salvation and Justice. [[back](#)]

19. See [United States vs. Bagaric et. al.](#) [[back](#)]

20. See FBI File on Ante Bonifacic [coming soon to this site] [[back](#)]

21. For the defendants' connection to Baresic, see this [excerpt](#) from US vs Bagaric, et al. [[back](#)]

22. See Aarons, Mark. *Sanctuary: Nazi Fugitives in Australia*, Heinemann, Australia. Melbourne, 1989. [[back](#)]

23. Jelic, Branimir. *Fight for the Croatian State.* [[back](#)]

24. Considerable confusion was caused in Australia, where the HNO/HDP's Nikola Stedul registered the Croat Socialist Party as a shell organization for supposedly left-wing Croat emigres. Despite the HDP's right-wing flourishes, a group of HDP activists attempted to march on May Day with other Australian left-wing parties, who were invited to contribute to Croatian publications on "independence day" and support the "revolutionary" Croat cause of the HDP. [[back](#)]

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Report by Laxa on Unrest in Hercegovina

Assigned as "special representative of the *poglavnik*" for part of Hercegovina, General Vladimir Laxa submitted the following report (misdated June 5, 1941, instead of July 5, 1941), at once confirming and boldly emphasizing the role of the Ustase (or, as he calls them, "so called Ustase") in the massacres which began almost immediately after the formation of the Independent State of Croatia. Laxa had been an officer in the Austrian army, and later the Yugoslav army. As the second-in-command of the *Domobrans*, or Croatia's regular army, he protested vigorously against the rampage of the Ustase Army in Bosnia and Hercegovina and eventually resigned in protest when the political authorities in Zagreb refused to rein them in. His recommendations below are clear: the entire Ustase Army (acting as the NDH's equivalent of Hitler's SS) should be completely dissolved and then reorganized, and a military administration (by the *Domobrans*) should be instated throughout Bosnia and Hercegovina if the NDH is to have any chance at survival. The capitalization and punctuation are preserved as in the original; the appendices mentioned herein are not available.

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE POGLAVNIK

V.I. Number 40

5. June 1941. [*sic* - July 5, 1941]

Mostar

DIRECTED TO THE COMMANDER OF LAND ARMY COLONEL LULIC

Consistent with my previous oral and written reports I communicate the following:

Several days after I took over the military administration given to me by the Poglavnik in the greater regions of Hum and Dubrava, by common sense deductions and apart from any foreign influence I was able to gain the following impression of recent events.

Unrest in Herzegovina, the anger and desperation of the population was, according to statements from all sectors of the population,



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Who's Who: Vladimir Laxa

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mostly a result of the savage and inhuman actions of the "SO CALLED USTASE".

During the organization of Ustase army units men were assigned without any diligence. Communists, chronic alcoholics et cetera were made into Ustase overnight, so we shouldn't be surprised that such things have occurred.

As a result, in the first few days I ordered that these men /Ustase/ must be disarmed, and that their weapons should be given to them only when they are on duty.

These "SO CALLED USTASE" crushed the noble ideals of Ustase movement, undermined its reputation and brought the hatred of the population against it.

Under this "Ustase regime" not one clerk, not one officer, not one woman nor child was safe, day or night. These Ustase ravaged everything wherever they went. Many of these Ustase-men [*ljudi-ustasa-hvalili*] bragged about how many people they killed, how many people they have beaten and tortured to death. Men and women were without appeal dragged to prisons, even though the least offense could not be attributed to them. "SO CALLED USTASE" arrogantly claim that they "cleansed the area" of Gacko-Avtovac-Bileca-Nevesinje and that in this way did a great favor to Independent State of Croatia. They believed they accomplished this task by bloodshed, but they didn't realize that they only removed just one part of the people, and that on the contrary the largest part of the Serbian population fled out of fear with their weapons to rocky terrain, to the mountains and the forests, determined to die a death worthy of a man, than to be tortured and beaten without mercy at home.

The Ustase bear the greatest part of the blame for the current unrest, which has had to be suppressed by a young Croatian army, which has required many sacrifices and will require many more.

State officials and other authorities, members of the police and others were pushed aside by the Ustase, scared and thus discouraged from resisting the murder of these people.

The Ustase claim that they do everything according to orders coming from the organization from Zagreb and that everything must be subjected to them. State officials and others were so morally discouraged by their fear of the Ustase that they didn't dare send any reports about these events. In an appropriate and tactful manner I made these representatives acknowledge their unworthy and unmanly attitude as chiefs, and with great effort I managed to convince them that instead of a regime of force we live under a regime of laws and rights, and that if they in the future do not take

special measures and steps to prevent tyranny and anarchy I would act even against them in the spirit of my declaration and by the laws of war. /appendix number 1/

Respectable citizens, priests, clerks, even serious Ustase complain about the actions and attitude of these "SO CALLED USTASE", who are completely undisciplined. The real Ustase say that there is no discipline among them and that they will accordingly disarm and discharge these hastily recruited men.

I believe I must also emphasize that these actions by the Ustase also made a trying and burdensome impression on our young army. In the basement of one building in Nevesinje people were beaten until they were unconscious and then shot by a machine gun in prison by Ustase /lieutenant Franjo Sudar/. It wasn't easy to convince our young soldiers not to use force themselves against these bloodthirsty people.

With the declaration of the state of siege and court martial things got better, though during the night 30/VI [June 30] and the daytime of 1/ VII [July 1] there was a sad event in Ljubuski when a large number of people were murdered again /as it can be seen from the transcript of a letter appendix number 2/. One butcher named Osmic from Ljubuski was arrested and the case was handed over to an investigative judge.

Consistent with everything expressed here may I be allowed to state the following:

1/ I am deeply convinced and it is confirmed from many places that if the state of siege and court martial weren't executed in the spirit of Poglavnik's order, there would have been a general bloodletting on Vidovdan 28/VI [June 28], which would have had the most unpleasant consequences.

2/ It is necessary to further reinforce the Adriatic division area with: 2 battalions of infantry, several batteries of artillery, companies with heavy machine guns and mortar canons. Batteries and mortar canons can easily cleanse the nests of rebels and suppress their resistance.

3/ All actions against the rebels must be executed in a slow and methodical manner, to reduce losses to the least possible number.

Our Domobrans who come from plains, after their brief training, not knowing the difficulty of the local terrain nor the guerrilla way of warfare against organized troops, can succumb to panic by even the slightest of surprises.

4/ It is in the interest of the state to leave the military administration

set up for a longer period of time in the Adriatic division area because of reasons I already mentioned, but also because the army enjoys the trust of the population there.

In the interest of popularizing the regime and the state authorities, a military administration should be established across the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

5/ To establish a complete peace in these parts the present ad hoc organization of the Ustase should be disbanded and organized all over again, by people who are worthy of the ideals of the Ustase movement in every aspect.

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE POGLAVNIK
DEPUTY MARSHAL
Laxa

DELIVERED TO:
Military office of the Poglavnik,
Commander of land army, and to
Military office of the headquarters
directly to Brigadier Babic Ivan

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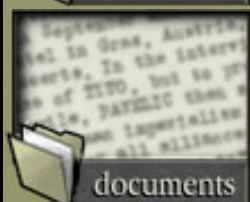
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Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp

The 1946 Report by the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators



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THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT, *Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp*, was published by the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators, a body formed by the Communist government of Yugoslavia one year after the end of World War II. It contains numerous statements from the handful of inmates who survived Jasenovac and its demolition by the Ustase just before their defeat and retreat from the country in May 1945, as well as an extensive overview of the four year history of the largest concentration camp in Southeast Europe.

This version of *Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp* was translated by Sinisa Djuric, who also composed an introduction to the report, and is published by The Pavelic Papers. We have made the document available in **PDF format** as well as on the web in multipage **HTML**.

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Two Bullets for Pavelic

The Story of
Blagoje Jovovic

by Tihomir-Tiho Burzanovic
translated by Sinisa Djuric



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ON THE NIGHT BETWEEN April 9th and 10th, 1957, one of the most infamous figures of the 20th century was shot by unknown assailants near Buenos Aires, Argentina. His name was Ante Pavelic, the *poglavnik* or "fuerher" of the Nazi-aligned puppet state called the Independent State of Croatia. Argentina was his place of refuge, a sanctuary for the highest ranking war criminal to escape from justice after World War II.

Pavelic had been hit by two bullets, one of which was lodged near his spine. The sensational story of the attempted assassination made news around the globe, and brought intense pressure to bear upon the Argentine authorities. The government ordered his arrest, though the *poglavnik* had already left the country for Franco's Spain, where he succumbed due to complications sustained in the attack two years later.

For years, blame for the attempt on Pavelic's life was laid at the feet of Tito, the Communist dictator of Yugoslavia, and his fearsome secret police. Then, in 1999, a Montenegrin returned to his homeland for the first time in fifty-five years and made a startling confession to Archbishop Amfilohije at the famous monastery at Ostrog. His name was Blagoje Jovovic, a Montenegrin Chetnik who had emigrated to Argentina after the war. He, Blagoje told the Archbishop, had fired the two bullets which killed Ante Pavelic.

Archbishop Amfilohije encouraged Blagoje Jovovic to tell his story to Tihomir-Tiho Burzanovic, a journalist. The subsequent book was published in Yugoslavia under the title *Two Bullets for Pavelic*.

The editors of The Pavelic Papers are pleased to announce the release of the first English language translation of "the story of Blagoje Jovovic," undertaken with the kind permission of Mr. Burzanovic and made available to our readers free of charge. The book was translated by the co-editor of The Pavelic Papers, Sinisa Djuric.

The first section of the book, "Royal Emblems and Red Stars," is almost entirely concerned with the internecine struggle between the Royalist Chetniks and the Communist-led Partizans - the "civil war within a war" that followed the Nazi dismemberment of Yugoslavia. The account of the wartime fighting also sets *Two Bullets for Pavelic* apart as the only memoir of a participant on the Chetnik side currently available in English.

Two Bullets for Pavelic will not end the intense debate about the identity of the man who killed Ante Pavelic, but it offers an intriguing possibility that cannot be ignored.



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The Return of the Golden Priest

The Verona Reports
and the Second
Recruitment of
Krunoslav
Draganovic, 1959
by Cali Ruchala



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What is not written doesn't exist; it's past and gone.

- Mesa Selimovic

"FASCIST, WAR CRIMINAL, ETC."

In early October 1958, the Vatican Secretary of State ordered Father **Krunoslav Draganovic** to vacate the Catholic College of San Girolamo, the base from which the man dubbed the "Golden Priest" had overseen an intense and far-ranging Nazi-smuggling operation in the decade following World War II. [1.]

Nine years later, Draganovic appeared at a press conference in Yugoslavia itself. The defection (often referred to as a "kidnapping" by Draganovic's former supporters) was a bombshell. In a *coup* for the communist regime, Draganovic praised his Communist hosts and denounced those he had given (and taken) so much to help - the Ustase. [2.]

The nine years between Draganovic's dismissal and his defection to Yugoslavia have often been considered lost. Information that could be gleaned from declassified government documents, released in the aftermath of the Klaus Barbie scandal [3.] was scarce and elliptical after

1950. There was evidence that Draganovic's employment as an intelligence asset had been terminated as late as 1962, but no way to discern the extent of the priest's involvement through the late 1950s and '60s.

However, in 2001, lawyers for the Central Intelligence Agency settled *Levy vs. CIA*, a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit brought by Attorney Jonathan Levy seeking the declassification of US Army and CIA files relating to Krunoslav Draganovic. As a result, a dossier of new documents was approved for release, most of them dating from 1959 and 1960. [4.]

The reason why these documents were not released earlier, and why it took a lawsuit to secure them, may be inferred from their content. A series of reports by US intelligence agents in Verona reveal that within months of his termination from San Girolamo by the Vatican, Draganovic was "re-recruited" by a new generation of American agents in Italy. This is shocking; it is also verifiably true.

The first recruitment of Draganovic in 1947 as "one of the prime movers" in the "disposal ratline" [5.] was indicative of the depths of immorality to which US intelligence had sunk to in the post-war years. Draganovic was an Ustase official as well as a priest; in the peculiar phrasing of the man

responsible for his first recruitment, a "Fascist, war criminal, etc." [6.] The existence of the Ratline and Draganovic's part in it was confirmed by the United States government in 1983. [7.] But until the "Verona Reports" were declassified, little was known of the attempt by US intelligence agents in 1959 to bring their chief operative in that program back into the fold.



THE RATIONALE

The Americans happened upon Draganovic in the Spring of 1959, six months following his eviction from the College of San Girolamo. At first glance, the second recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic appears to be senseless. The Verona Reports reveal that Americans were interested "primarily in OB [Order of Battle, or military] information, then secondary economic and political," [8.] later specified as concerning:

- a. arms dispersal within Yugoslavia;
- b. the organization of the army;

- c. the location of radar sites;
- d. ciphers used by the Yugoslav army;
- e. Yugo-Soviet relations, and Yugoslavia's relations with Romania, Bulgaria, and other neighbouring countries; and
- f. the political posture of senior Yugoslav officials. [9.]

The agents were flirtatious in their courtship of Draganovic, entertaining his most fanciful notions and demands that, in the words of one, would have the Americans "working for Draganovic and his organization rather than they working for us." [10.] The agents considered themselves at liberty to look beyond the priest's past and his connections with the Ustase in order to obtain this sensitive information on a target country. Yet Draganovic had not seen the territory of Yugoslavia since the Summer of 1943, and his activities in the interim were not likely to put him into touch with the competent authorities, to say the least.

The Verona Reports indicate that Draganovic managed to convince the Americans that he controlled a vast Croatian intelligence-gathering network which he could place at their disposal to gather this type of information. The credulousness of the Americans would almost be laughable, until one concludes (as one agent eventually did) that the only "network" of this scale that Draganovic could be connected with was the Ustase.

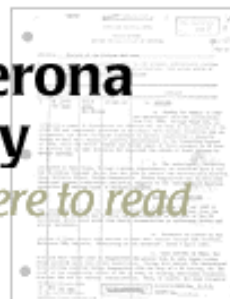
THE MISSING INQUIRY

Draganovic had come highly recommended to the Americans at Verona by an informant (identified only by a codename, "Orval") in the Spring of 1959. Orval mentioned Draganovic's value as a potential informant more than once to his American chief, which prompted the Verona office to check into the priest's background. [11.]

After a cursory search of files on hand, on April 13th the Verona office wired the US Army's Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) branch in Bad Cannstatt, Germany with a request for "any info [in] your files, or negative reply, concerning subject first name Krunoslav, last name Draganovic." The request gives Draganovic's residence as the College of San Girolamo. [12.]

The Verona Inquiry

► *click here to read the file*



Three days later, CIC-Bad Cannstatt replied with an extensive biography

of Draganovic culled from files on hand. [13.] Verona was informed that Draganovic was "one of the leading figures in the Bureau of Colonization," [14.] a reference to the priest's post in the Independent State of Croatia in which he was responsible for the confiscation of Serbian and Jewish property and its reallocation to Croatian and Slovene deportees from the German Reich.

The reply further mentioned that "Draganovic's sponsorship of Croat quislings and war crim[inals] reportedly linked him with Vatican plans to shield these ex-Ustashi nationalists until such time as they acquired proper documents to enable them to go to South America." [15.]

Bad Cannstatt CIC's Reply

► [click here to read the file](#)



CIC-Bad Cannstatt's reply was declassified in 1983, but, importantly, Verona's initial inquiry was not released until *Levy vs. CIA* in 2001. On the basis of the restored inquiry and reply, we are now able to establish that the agents in Verona responsible for the "re-recruitment" of Draganovic knew precisely who they were dealing with, his notorious background, and the crowd that he ran with: the Ustase. There is no further acknowledgment in the Verona Reports of the information contained in the CIC-Bad Cannstatt reply.

THE FIRST MEETING

On April 28, Orval's handler, an American agent identified by the codename "Franco," [16.] departed from Verona for Rome to meet his target. From his initial destination - the College of San Girolamo - it appears that word had not yet reached the Verona office that Draganovic had been evicted from San Girolamo, though US intelligence received word of Draganovic's dismissal about a month after his departure. [17.] The reply from CIC-Bad Cannstatt had not contained the information.

On the grounds of San Girolamo, Franco was intercepted by a resident priest, one of Draganovic's confidants. The priest "greatly admired" Draganovic and offered to put Franco into contact with him, though not before upbraiding the "Anglo-Saxons" who were "responsible for the Tito regime in Yugoslavia" - a reference to the American aid package sent in 1948 after the Tito-Stalin confrontation and Yugoslavia's subsequent withdrawal from the Soviet Bloc. [18.]

Draganovic paid the agent a visit at his room later that evening. He

Report on the First Meeting



began by mentioning his "pleasant relations" with **William Gowen**, a Special Agent of the Rome CIC branch in 1947 charged with investigating and arresting Ustase leader **Ante Pavelic** - and, in pursuit of his target, Krunoslav

Draganovic as well. Considering that Draganovic must have been apprised of Gowen's intention to arrest him [19.], the priest was probably trying to find out how much Franco knew about his past relations with the Americans - there is no mention in Franco's report of Paul Lyon or any of the other personalities from the Vienna CIC branch that Draganovic knew much more intimately than Gowen from his work on the Ratline. Draganovic then launched a passionate condemnation of Tito and the persecution of Croats inside Yugoslavia. He also echoed the priest who had led Franco to him by claiming to possess inside information about Yugoslav misappropriation of American military aid.

Draganovic was carefully baiting his hook. He claimed to have been engaged in intelligence activities since 1943 and that "in the past 12 years he has never lost a source." He had "excellent sources in almost every part of Yugoslavia," though he avoided going into any detail as to how high-profile they were. Draganovic was willing to put this extensive network to use by the Americans but "at the first sign of insincerity, he, Draganovic, would cut off the relationship."

The price for this gift? Draganovic would "never accept one cent for his collaboration." However, if the Americans wanted to pay him, he would use these funds to "defray printing expenses" of leaflets that his network smuggled into Yugoslavia. This from the man later terminated, among other reasons, for "demand[ing] outrageous monetary tribute." [20.] The subject of payment was not the only issue on which Draganovic would soon change his tune.

But the American ate this swill eagerly. "Draganovic impressed Franco as being very astute, very intelligent, sincere and straightforward," with an "emphasis on sincerity." He urged his supervisors to make haste; Draganovic "will prove to be of extreme value" to the Verona unit. In an attitude which permeates from all of the Verona Reports, Franco felt that the United States had "nothing to lose" by employing a man he knew to be heavily involved with fugitive Nazi and Ustase war criminals.

THE SECOND MEETING

A second meeting with Draganovic was approved. On May 28, 1959, Draganovic made the trip to Verona to Franco's private residence,

Report on the First Meeting

► *click here to read the file*



though the agent would discretely excuse himself so that the priest could talk privately with one of the Verona office's senior agents, codenamed in the report as "Sardi." [21.]

Sardi's contribution to the Verona Reports is by far the most interesting. It is an antidote to the optimistic, credulous report filed by Franco after the April 28th meeting. He catches Draganovic in several misstatements, and is skeptical as to what use the priest is for gathering intelligence on

Yugoslavia. He also suggested that Draganovic's "network" was in fact the **Croatian Liberation Movement**, the Ustase successor organization led by the highest-ranking official to benefit from Draganovic's Nazi-smuggling program, Ante Pavelic. But Sardi did not believe that Draganovic was too unsavoury to use as an agent; he simply doubted the priest could deliver all that he promised.

**Report on the
Second Meeting**
▶ *click here to read
the file*



Draganovic, perhaps gauging the man across from him no less shrewdly than he had Franco, began to backtrack on his earlier statements as to the extent of his "network" inside Yugoslavia. The priest claimed he did not "control the men," but that they were part of his organization. They would need training if they were to obtain the sort of military information Sardi was interested in obtaining from Yugoslavia. Perhaps Draganovic's mind was alight with thoughts of the **Krizari** operation - guerrilla raids by former Ustase soldiers into Yugoslavia from Austria which was overseen by the British and Americans between 1945 and 1948.

Draganovic, however, interrupted this discussion and launched into a monologue on Tito and the persecution of Croats, as he had with Franco. He and his organization, he said, had three objectives: a free Yugoslavia, to defend the needs of the people, and to see to the self-determination for all of the Yugoslav republics. In a revealing rebuttal, Sardi asked him, point-blank, why these (rather inaccurate) goals should be of interest to him. The Americans were merely "utilizing the services of Draganovic or his organization in obtaining information" - they didn't care what he believed in. He may have added that if they were at all concerned with Draganovic's beliefs, they wouldn't have been talking to him.

According to Sardi's report, Draganovic made two extremely unusual requests during their meeting which, as the agent noted, cast serious doubt on his claims of the wide-ranging and vast extent of his "network." But there's more: the answers to these questions would seem not be of particular use to Draganovic or the neo-Ustase around Pavelic, but they would be of *great* value to the Yugoslavs secret police.

Draganovic states, first, that "he knows we have Agents operating in Yugoslavia, traveling from and into Yugoslavia." He asks that these covert operatives mail items for him from inside the country, ostensibly

to put Draganovic into contact with individuals under watch by the secret police.

He described an example that we may have a man going to Belgrade, Sardi would inform Draganovic that we do have a man going, thereupon, Draganovic would give Sardi several letters to be given to this traveller to be mailed upon his arrival in Yugoslavia.

These letters, needless to say, would be a virtual red flag to UDBA, the Yugoslav secret police, who could use them to unmask and then track the agent's activities inside the country.

Even more suspicious is Draganovic's second request. The priest demands that the Americans put him in touch with their consulates throughout Europe. Whenever a Yugoslav citizen would try to emigrate to the United States, Draganovic would be notified "and would inform the Consulate *[sic]* whether the individual was qualified to emigrate *[sic - here and below]* or not." Too many of the emigres, Draganovic explained, were "no good" and "all the good ones" were being left inside the country. As Sardi noted, "In other words he would be the one to pass judgement as to which or what Yugoslav refugee would emigrate to the United States." Knowledge of which citizens were deciding to emigrate - including defectors - would be as important for UDBA to know as the identity of CIA agents in the country.

Finally, in reaction to a statement Draganovic made to the effect that his "network" was based outside of Italy, Sardi reveals an attitude sadly characteristic of the Americans in the Verona Reports. Draganovic had also mentioned that there are several parallel heads of his organization, and that he had recently returned from a trip to South America. These three facts, taken together, led Sardi to believe "that the organization with which Draganovic is connected is the Anton Pavelic Croatia *[sic]* Liberation Movement."

Pavelic is the ex-Ustashi quissling leader of Yugoslavia. He is wanted as a war criminal by the Yugoslav government.

The American's reaction to this is curiously muted. If Draganovic's "network" existed at all, Sardi was probably correct in believing it was the reborn Ustase, led in Europe by **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic**, one of the most vicious and sadistic Ustase leaders during the war. Yet this is the degree of debasement that US intelligence had fallen to: neither Sardi nor Franco question the advisability of working hand-in-glove with some of the century's greatest mass-murderers.

Sardi was on the whole pessimistic regarding the prospects of any future cooperation. Yet it had little to do with Draganovic's past or his current associations, but rather whether the Americans could use him, and if they would adhere to his strange demands. If not, then "we shake hands and depart *[as]* friends."

The operational comments attached to this report by Sardi's superior in Verona note that the agent has pointed out some of the "various ramifications" of cooperating with Draganovic. In fact, the greatest danger, at least as far as the Americans were concerned, was that they were wasting their time.

THE THIRD MEETING

Within two months of this meeting, in spite of Senior Agent Sardi's caution, Draganovic was fully employed by US intelligence under a codename which perhaps signifies the importance they assigned to him: "Dynamo." Records obtained via the Freedom of Information Act indicate that Draganovic was paid, on average, approximately 100,000 Italian *lire* per month. To put this into perspective, the average Italian salary in the same period was 47,000 *lire* per month. [22.]

Draganovic's Pay Records

► [click here to read the file](#)



Only one report is extant from this period, and one or more pages of the document are missing. On July 8, Draganovic and Franco met to discuss the terms of the priest's cooperation. Franco's mood is decidedly less ebullient than it was in their first meeting; he is considerably less impressed by

Report on the Third Meeting

► [click here to read the file](#)



Draganovic's sincerity than his no-nonsense approach. "He does not act like a priest when engaged in intelligence conversations," Franco notes, "but assumes the attitude of a business man who has a product to sell and who is talking to a potential buyer." The American, perhaps as a result of Sardi's influence, began to revise his earlier opinions. Draganovic insists on traveling first-class by train carriage and the two joke about buying the priest a new pair of shoes. Franco is "convinced that *[Draganovic]* is in this business not only for his conviction but also because of the personal comforts an extra income can provide him with." [23.]

At this meeting, Franco and Draganovic agreed that all future payments would be signed for by Draganovic, referred to in the first two reports by his true name and herein as "Dynamo," under yet another codename, "Dottore Fabiano." [24.] On September 2,

1959, Franco and Draganovic

decided on the priest's "bona fides," the method by which he could establish the legitimacy of American agents. Draganovic

Draganovic's Bona Fides

► *click here to read the file*



is in possession of one-half of the nine-of-diamonds playing card which has been cut diagonally across. Agent Handler will present himself and say to DYNAMO "VINCIT QUI SE VINCIT" (He conquers who conquers himself). DYNAMO will answer "VERBUM SAT SAPIENTI" (A word is enough for a wise man). Agent Handler will then ask DYNAMO for his half of the bona fides which will match with the half in possession of the Agent Handler. [25.]

According to the pay records, reports from Draganovic began arriving shortly thereafter. By April 1960, he was no longer being paid on the basis of his output but at a fixed "salary" of some 60,000 *lire* per month. He was now a fully-established American operative, once again.

A DOUBLE-AGENT?

The fall-out from the second recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic was potentially enormous. It is plausible that Draganovic intended to exploit his relationship with the Americans to re-establish links between America and the Ustase, reborn under the guidance of Ante Pavelic as a neo-Fascist political movement in Buenos Aires by the same concentration camp guards, cut-throats and ideologists who escaped through the good priest's offices on the Ratline ten years before. As Sardi noted, if the Americans acceded to the priest's demands, it was the Americans that "would be working for Draganovic and his organization rather than they working for us." As for secrecy, the Yugoslavs knew everything about the renewed collaboration within a year. [26.]

Only five years before he was approached by Franco, the Army had obtained information that Draganovic was attempting to infiltrate US Guard Companies (squads of foreign nationals, usually Polish or German, which guarded American installations in Central Europe) with "Croatian

refugees from Italy" whose visas he would obtain from Rome. [27.] Given his background, there's good reason to believe these were still more members of the Ustase he wanted to sneak in through the back door into sensitive positions. From the information contained in the Verona Reports, it appears that he merely had to wait long enough for an invitation.

The possibility of infiltrating American intelligence operations with still more Nazis and Ustase was not the only risk, however. There were persistent allegations throughout the 1950s and '60s that Draganovic had begun to cooperate with the Soviets or even his *bete noir* - the Yugoslav UDBA.

Most allegations of Draganovic's cooperation with the UDBA were made after the fact, in an attempt to comprehend the enigma of his inexplicable defection to Yugoslavia.

In *Unholy Trinity*, investigative reporter Mark Aarons and former Department of Justice investigator John Loftus quote a "former British intelligence officer" speaking on condition of anonymity that "If [the Yugoslavs] didn't kill him, it means he was a double agent. There's no two ways about it." Yet this source's words are somewhat unconvincing, despite the emphatic tone. [28.] In the aftermath of Draganovic's defection, the US State Department ordered an investigation of the priest's background and while the resulting memorandum alluded to allegations that "subject has been accused of working for the Soviet Intelligence Service," the author also stresses that there is "no proof that he ever worked for the Soviets or any Communist intelligence Service." [29.]

State Dept. Memorandum

► *click here to read
the file*



The Verona Reports indicate that the agents were often frustrated by Draganovic's refusal to name his sources, or even the name of his "network." This doesn't necessarily mean his information was in fact *disinformation* from the KGB or UDBA. As stated, Draganovic could have been stringing the agents along about an organization that was a complete fabrication, or feared naming his organization as Pavelic's neo-Ustase Croatian Liberation Movement or Luburic's sister organization, the **Croatian National Resistance**. But none of these (more likely) possibilities were explored by the Americans, either.

RATLINE REDUX

The Verona Reports obtained as a result of *Levy vs. CIA* present yet

another twist in an already shocking story. It is, on the whole, a rather depressing sequel. In July of 1947, as William Gowen and other agents of the Rome branch of the CIC made their final preparations to arrest Ante Pavelic as well as Krunoslav Draganovic, a mysterious intervention on behalf of the leader of the Independent State of Croatia canceled the entire operation. The source of the order was ambiguous; the order itself ("Hands off") was not. [30.] Twelve years later, Draganovic was orphaned by the Vatican, and once again the Americans came to his rescue.

Draganovic was not the only ghost of the Ratline on the Army's mind in the 1960s, however. His old charge, Klaus Barbie, Gestapo chief of Lyon, was considered for reactivation in 1965. [31.] In Barbie's case, after several lengthy discussions the Army decided against it; the "potential gain" of re-recruiting the Butcher of Lyon in his new home in Bolivia far "outweighed the manifest risks." [32.] The lost soul was untouchable; the boatman who led him across the River Styx, by some leap in logic, was not.

Franco and Sardi were not "rogue" agents, and the notion that they brought Draganovic back under the wing of the Americans on their own initiative is dismissed by the "Operations Comments" appended to the bottom of two of the Verona Reports. For the July 8 meeting, the comments, presumably by an agent senior to Sardi and Franco, warn them not to "make any commitments that we can't break away from," but adds that the entire operation "looks promising." [33.] Either an entire office had gone rogue, or the second recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic was acknowledged at a higher level. As long as the Ratline remained a secret, the ramifications of Draganovic's renewed employment were minuscule - certainly not the public relations disaster of the recruitment of Klaus Barbie.

Security, of course, was another matter. The puzzle of Draganovic's ultimate allegiance in the 1950s and '60s, in light of his eventual defection to Yugoslavia, remains unsolved. How could the man who threw a lifeline to the bitterest enemies of the communist regime willingly return and live at peace until his death in 1983, as appears to be the case? Barring any future revelations from future Freedom of Information Act suits, only the files of the UDBA, presently gathering dust in the state archives in Belgrade, can shed light on the issue. But with the Verona Reports, the window of Draganovic's "lost years" has grown much smaller.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted, first and foremost, to Jonathan Levy for his tenacity in

pursuing the Verona Reports and for making them available to this site. Writing on this subject would not be conceivable without the efforts of Allan A. Ryan, Jr, John Loftus and Mark Aarons, and of William Gowen.

FOOTNOTES

1. **"The priest Krunoslav Draganovic being asked to leave the College of St. Jerome of the Illirici,"** declassified CIA document, November 19, 1958. [[back](#)]

2. **"Dr. Krunoslav Stjepan Draganovic,"** State Department Memorandum for the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security Department of State from the Deputy Director for Plans, c. January 8, 1968; Mark Aarons and John Loftus, *Unholy Trinity*, pp. 143-150. Aarons and Loftus state that at the time of his press conference, November 15, 1967, Draganovic had been "in Yugoslav hands" for "over two months." "His previously bitter denunciations of Serbian and Communist domination of Croatia had completely disappeared, replaced with glowing praise for the 'democratisation and humanising of life.'" *Ibid*, p 143. There has never been any evidence presented that he was kidnapped. At most, Draganovic's former collaborators on the Ratline alleged that he was tricked by a UDBA agent that infiltrated San Girolamo named Miroslav Varos; the scenario is unconvincing. *Ibid*, p. 145. [[back](#)]

3. Former Gestapo chief of Lyon, Klaus Barbie, known to the French Resistance as the "Butcher of Lyon," was exposed at a press conference in La Paz by French Nazi hunters Beate and Serge Klarsfeld in 1972 as the true identity of a Bolivian businessman going by the name of Klaus Altmann. Barbie managed to fend off his extradition until February 4, 1983, when he was expelled and brought to France for trial. Barbie had worked for the US Army's Counter Intelligence Corps and was handed over by the Americans to Draganovic to secure his transport to South America.

The ensuing firestorm led Allan A. Ryan, Jr., director of the US Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, to reveal the existence of the Ratline and Draganovic's role as the Ratline's "prime mover." See **"DOJ/OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie,"** declassified CIA document, 1983. This was the first explicit acknowledgment by the United States government of the Ratline and their employment of Draganovic, thirty-six years after the fact. [[back](#)]

4. The epithet "Verona Reports" refer to the documents written by the agents of SETAF Verona, not those written by Draganovic. [[back](#)]

5. **"DOJ/OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie."** [[back](#)]

6. "**History of the Italian Rat Line**," declassified report by Special Agent Paul E. Lyon of the 430th Detachment of the US Army Counter Intelligence Corps (Austria), April 10, 1950. [[back](#)]

7. *Klaus Barbie and the United States Government: A Report to the Attorney General of the United States* by Special Assistant to the Assistant Attorney General Allan A. Ryan, Jr., August 1983. [[back](#)]

8. "**DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav**," field report by Senior Agent "Sardi" dated May 29, 1959, XOR: 0-0271. [[back](#)]

9. **Partial field report** signed by Agent "Franco," dated to c. July 8, 1959. "Dynamo" is a codename for Draganovic; see editor's introduction to *ibid.* [[back](#)]

10. **Field report by Senior Agent "Sardi"**; see Note 8 above. [[back](#)]

11. "**DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav**," field report by Agent "Franco" dated May 2, 1959, XOR: 0-0214. [[back](#)]

12. **Untitled cable** from CG SETAF VERONA to 66th CIC Group and five other recipients, received April 13, 1959. [[back](#)]

13. CIC-Bad Cannstatt was the informal name for the 66th CIC Detachment - the same organization responsible for shielding the Gestapo Chief of Lyon, Klaus Barbie, from extradition by the French in 1950. Agents from the 66th then contacted the 430th CIC Detachment based in Vienna, who agreed to ship Barbie down the Nazi-smuggling network they had established with Draganovic. Ryan, *Klaus Barbie and the United States Government*, pp. 151-160. Lyon, "**History of the Italian Rat Line**." No mention of Draganovic's work for the 430th CIC or, indirectly, the 66th CIC is mentioned in the CIC-Bad Cannstatt reply. The CIC's files had been removed from Europe to be microfilmed in the United States and the information on Barbie was still highly classified; it is unlikely that Draganovic's role in the Barbie Affair would be discernable from the information on hand. [[back](#)]

14. **Untitled cable** from 66th CIC Group to CG SETAF Verona by Edward E. Costello, April 16, 1959. [[back](#)]

15. *Ibid.* [[back](#)]

16. "Franco" signs his name alongside Draganovic's in a contract as "Bruno Francazi" or "Francozi." See the "**Doctor Fabiano Statement**" (untitled contract), July 8, 1959. According to a subsequent report, Draganovic suggests that the American use the "common name Franco" in their correspondence. However, one previous letter and two which were written by Draganovic to Franco subsequent to that meeting all address the recipient as "Bruno." **Partial report** of July 8, 1959; and

"SETAF 41: Handwriting Specimens and Signatures and Bona Fides," declassified CIA document. [\[back\]](#)

17. **"The priest Krunoslav Draganovic being asked to leave the College of St. Jerome of the Illirici."** See Note 1 above. [\[back\]](#)

18. This and subsequent information concerning the initial meeting comes from **"DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav,"** field report by Agent "Franco" dated May 2, 1959. [\[back\]](#)

19. "Declaration of William E. W. Gowen," obtained from the court record in San Francisco in Case No. C99-4941 MMC (EDL), dated January 16, 2003. [\[back\]](#)

20. **Untitled database files** for Krunoslav Draganovic, declassified CIA files. It had been thought, before the release of the Verona Reports, that the reasons for Draganovic's termination related to his charging exorbitant fees for moving fugitive Nazis like Barbie on behalf of the Americans back in the late 1940s and early 1950s. But the files state that Draganovic was terminated "with prejudice/23 Jan 62" for reasons of "security and lack of control; too knowledgeable of unit personnel and activity; demands outrageous monetary tribute and US support of Croat Orgs. as partial payment for cooperation." The date must refer to Draganovic's second tenure, and Draganovic made his demand for "US support of Croat Orgs. as partial payment for cooperation" to Senior Agent Sardi. **"DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav,"** field report by Senior Agent "Sardi" dated May 29, 1959, XOR: 0-0271. With the release of the Verona Reports, we can now state that the specific reasons given in the termination files for the Draganovic's firing date from his second tenure - even though the record had been carefully shorn of any reference to it when the termination files were declassified in 1983. [\[back\]](#)

21. This and subsequent information concerning the May 28, 1959 meeting comes from **"DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav,"** field report by Senior Agent "Sardi" dated May 29, 1959, XOR: 0-0271. [\[back\]](#)

22. **"SETAF 41 Source Accounting Sheets,"** declassified CIA file. [\[back\]](#)

23. **Partial field report** signed by Agent "Franco," dated to c. July 8, 1959. [\[back\]](#)

24. The **"Doctor Fabiano Statement,"** a contract between Franco and Draganovic signed on July 8. Draganovic's **termination files** indicate he was known by yet another codename, "The Professor." [\[back\]](#)

25. **"SETAF 41: Handwriting Specimens and Signatures and Bona Fides,"** declassified CIA document. [\[back\]](#)

26. Denunciations of Draganovic in the Yugoslav press began again in

1960 after several years, along with several "show trials" in which the accused implicated the priest as an American agent. *Unholy Trinity*, p. 147. [[back](#)]

27. Carded index file titled "**DRAGANOVIC, Fnu, Professor**," Ref: D-281026, Ops Memo dtd 29 Jun 54, File: IV-0926. The original report has not been found. There is no reference to this incident in CIC-Bad Canstatt's reply. [[back](#)]

28. *Unholy Trinity*, p 145. The quotation of the source begins with the statement that "I think he was very much a realist, and I'm not certain to this day whether he was not a double agent," and yet concludes with the seemingly emphatic statement that he was, with "no two ways about it." [[back](#)]

29. "**Dr. Krunoslav Stjepan Draganovic**," State Department Memorandum for the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security Department of State from the Deputy Director for Plans, c. January 8, 1968. However, this document neglects to mention a good deal of what US intelligence knew about Draganovic, and flatly denies that the Yugoslavs had put Draganovic "on display," which we know to be true. [[back](#)]

30. Handwritten notation by CIC Agent Gono Morena on the same page as "**Pavelic, Anton**," memorandum by Special Agent Bernard J. Grennan, July 14, 1947. [[back](#)]

31. *Klaus Barbie and the United States Government*, p 168. [[back](#)]

32. *Ibid*, p 177. [[back](#)]

33. **Partial field report** signed by Agent "Franco," dated to c. July 8, 1959. [[back](#)]

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ACCORDING TO PARTISANS of the movement today, the Croatian Ustaše (alternately, to an English audience, Ustasha, Ustashe or Ustashi from *ustanak* for "uprising") trace their ideological lineage back to the Croatian Party of Right, a 19th century political construct in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Party of Right was formed by Ante Starcevic, an early devotee of what later became known as the Yugoslavist movement, which favoured the union of the Southern Slavs into a common state to stave off German, Turkish, and Italian imperialism in the Balkans.

Founded after his defection to extreme, chauvinistic nationalism, Starcevic's Party of Right defined itself chiefly by what it opposed: the dominance of the Austrian bureaucracy as well as the Hungarian gentry of the Hapsburg state; the Yugoslavist idea promoted in the Croatian lands by Bishop Josip Strossmayer; and, most of all, the Serbian nation, including the thousands of Serbs who had settled at the Emperor's invitation along the Empire's southwestern flank, forming a military bulwark against Turkish expansion. Starcevic postulated that the Croats, unlike the "slave-Serbs," were a lost tribe of Goths who had somehow fallen into a Slavic language, customs and identity.

The Party of Right was doomed to remain on the fringe of Croatian national politics within the Empire. But it was an attractive ideology when it was discovered by a young lawyer from Bradina, a small village in present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina, named **Ante Pavelic**.

Ante Pavelic rose through the ranks of the Party of Right after the incorporation of Croatia into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes,

later to be renamed Yugoslavia. He led the far right-wing of what was already a right-wing party - the "Frankist" faction, so named after Josip Frank, a singularly intolerant man despite his ethnic background as an assimilated Jew.

Party of Right membership in the 1920s was dwarfed by that of a more moderate Croat-based opposition, called the **Croatian Peasant Party**. Led by the brothers Stjepan and Ante Radic, the Peasant Party rejected the formation of Yugoslavia as illegitimate. Stjepan Radic was an intellectual with a soft touch for the peasantry of his party's name, and a wily, charismatic politician. Avowedly anti-clerical, in the summer of 1924 Radic visited the USSR and affiliated the Peasant Party with the Communist Peasant International, or *Krestintern*. After a long parliamentary boycott and several spells as a political prisoner, Radic did leave for Belgrade to form a united opposition with Serbian deputies opposed to the ruling elite. On June 20, 1928, a Montenegrin deputy drew a revolver and shot Radic and two other deputies on the floor of parliament itself; he died of his wounds on the eighth of August.

THE FORMATION OF THE USTASE

On January 6, 1929, King Alexander Karadjordjevic declared his personal dictatorship. Among those who sought refuge abroad was Ante Pavelic. After drifting rather aimlessly through Vienna, he established a relationship with Ivan "Vancia" Mihailov's faction of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO), a terrorist organization founded more than thirty years before aimed at establishing Bulgarian hegemony in Macedonia. It is believed that Mihailov recommended Pavelic to Italian *duce* Benito Mussolini, who soon became patron, providing funds and training at a camp near Siena to what Pavelic christened his *ustase*.

As Italian support was uncertain and often wavered (Count Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law and Italy's Foreign Minister after 1937, did not meet with Pavelic until more than two years after assuming office), the Ustase sometimes supported the movement through racketeering, extortion, black marketeering, and other criminal activities. The primary victims in these activities were their fellow Croat emigres, a trend which would occur again during their second exile.

It is probable that Mussolini had no prior notice when several Ustase thugs, led by Vancia Mihailov's **former driver and bodyguard**, followed up on several farcical attempts by the Ustase in Zagreb and succeeded in assassinating King Alexander along with French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou in Marseilles, France on October 7, 1934. An investigation by French authorities indicated that the plan had originated with Pavelic and

his loyal lieutenant, Eugen "Dido" Kvaternik, who were both tried in absentia and sentenced to death by a French court after Mussolini refused to permit their extradition.

From the beginning, Pavelic had quite naturally adopted Starcevic and Frank's ideology for his own movement. As with the Italian Fascists, the Ustase was at its origins xenophobic, and author Stella Alexander's description of some articles in the Croatian Catholic press from this time as "unpleasantly anti-Semitic but in a traditional, pre-Hitlerian way" fits the Ustase as well. Ante Pavelic's own wife, Mara Lovrencic, came from a family of assimilated Viennese Jews, and his chief aide in exile, Dido Kvaternik, was related to Josip Frank. Nevertheless, the movement became both overtly and violently anti-Semitic when the center of gravity for the militant right shifted from Rome to Berlin and Hitler's Nazi Party.

THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA

Ustase terrorist attacks inside Yugoslavia accelerated as conditions for Croats at home became, on the whole, more tolerable. Following the murder of King Alexander, the Regent, Prince Paul, personally took in hand the process of negotiating an acceptable settlement between the most prominent Serb and Croat leaders. In 1939 they initialed the *Sporazum*, or "Agreement" between Dragisa Cvetkovic and Radic's successor in the Peasant Party, Vladko Macek. Croatia was given a broad autonomy in all matters but for foreign affairs, monetary policy and the military. The Ustase, whose first credited terrorist attack in Yugoslavia killed most of a large family when a bomb was planted on a railway in a suburb of Belgrade, launched a furious **series of reprisals**, targeting both the Peasant Party as well as the government and, of course, civilians.

On March 24, 1941, Hitler obtained the signature of the Yugoslav government on the Tripartite Pact. He intended to break the first provisions within weeks by "requesting" his new allies to allow his troops to use the Nis-Thessaloniki Railway to invade Greece, where the Italians were suffering a catastrophic series of defeats following their invasion. On the night of March 26, a group of junior officers in the Air Force overthrew the Yugoslav government and the Regency, placing themselves in office and the 17 year old heir, King Peter II, on the throne. His reign lasted all of two weeks as the Germans invaded the country on April 6.

Four days later, Slavko Kvaternik - Dido Kvaternik's father and the elder statesman of the Ustase movement - declared the **Independent State of Croatia** in the name of the *poglavnik* (a Croatian equivalent of *duce*

or *fuehrer*) Ante Pavelic. Consolidated by Italian and German troops, Pavelic established himself in Zagreb and immediately unleashed a column of fire on the Serbian population. Aspiring to form an ethnically pure paradise out of a state in which Croats were, in fact, a minority, he was advised by Hitler not to show too much pity. "If the Croat state wishes to be strong," he told his pupil, "a fifty year policy of intolerance must be pursued, because too much tolerance on such issues can only do harm."

Within weeks, Pavelic's bloodiest henchman, **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic**, began laying the groundwork for **Jasenovac**, the largest concentration camp in Southern Europe. Peasant Party leader Vladko Macek, who had originally welcomed the Ustase's formation of the Independent State of Croatia, found himself among the first internees at Jasenovac and watched as Croatia's Jewish population along with untold numbers of Serbs, Roma, and political dissidents passed through the gates on their way to extermination. Macek was later released to serve under house arrest.

On July 22, 1941, *doglavnik* or deputy leader **Mile Budak** crystallized the Ustase ideology with a statement, later carried in the official press, that "We shall kill one part of the Serbs. We shall transport another third, and the rest of them will embrace the Roman Catholic religion... Our Croatia will become Catholic within ten years."

Ustase atrocities provoked the Serbian population of the Independent State of Croatia to rise in arms, flooding the ranks of the monarchist Chetnik and the Communist-led Partizan armies. The state was soon torn apart by internal revolt, and the Ustase, for all of their gore, were never able to establish full control over their mountainous territory. Their shocking behavior exasperated many hardened German officers, including General **Edmund Glaise von Horstenau**, who peppered his reports to Berlin with denunciations of the Ustase and "unspeakable swineishness of this gang of murderers and criminals."

Mussolini, too, soon turned against his former proteges, and after an initial withdrawal, ordered his army to reoccupy Hercegovina, the birthplace of many of the Ustase chieftains and stamped in blood by the Ustase Terror. Two junior ministers, Mladen Lorkovic and Ante Vokic, were planning a coup against Pavelic in 1944 when their machinations were discovered. Both were arrested and sent to the camp at Lepoglava, where they were murdered in an act of spite on Maks Luburic's orders in May of 1945.

The final count of victims of the Ustase (not just within concentration camps such as Jasenovac, but also from massacres throughout the country) will probably never be known. The **United States Holocaust Memorial Museum** in Washington, DC estimates between 330,000 and 390,000 Serbian victims across the NDH. The **Simon Wiesenthal Center** has estimated that at least 30,000 Jews (75% of the pre-war population), 29,000 Roma (97%) and 500,000 Serbs - or about one-

third of the pre-war population - were murdered in the four years of the Independent State of Croatia's existence. Yet there was no equivalent of Nuremburg for the Ustase.

THE RATLINE

Pavelic, Budak, Interior Minister **Andrija Artukovic**, and a horde of other Ustase ringleaders donned disguises and concealed themselves among 50,000 Croatian refugees fleeing for Austria. Pursued by the Partizans, they reached the city of Bleiburg before the British turned them back. Or some of them, for nearly all of the political leaders, and a good number of military leaders who were in the column of refugees had somehow disappeared while in British custody. The rest were sent to Yugoslav internment camps, marched until collapse, or shot by firing squads.

Pavelic made his way from Austria to Italy, where he and many other high-ranking Ustase sought shelter in the Monastery of San Girolamo degli Illirici under the protection of a former Ustase official and priest, Father **Krunoslav Draganovic**. Agents at American Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC) tracked Pavelic's movements and **prepared for his arrest** before they were, inexplicably at the time, **ordered to cease and desist** by their superiors. It is clear from reading their reports today, particularly those written by the only surviving member of the Rome CIC team, William Gowen, that the Americans had taken over what was termed the "Ratline" (after the highest point on a mast where sailors would seek shelter on a sinking ship) from the **Vatican**. Draganovic became a precious American asset and most of the Ustase who made it as far as Italy were able to escape to South America, Spain and, in Artukovic's case, to the United States. In one of his **final reports** before being transferred from the Rome branch of the CIC, Gowen wrote that "Pavelic's contacts are so high and his present position is so compromising to the Vatican, that any extradition of Subject would deal a staggering blow to the Roman Catholic Church."

THE REBIRTH OF THE USTASE

Luburic meanwhile had been placed in command of the remaining Ustase forces inside Yugoslavia and led a low-level insurgency until at least 1948. Several groups of Ustase fugitives in Austria, who called themselves **Krizari** or "Crusaders," infiltrated the country in an attempt to link up with Luburic's guerrillas. This too has was an American

operation, with Pavelic kept apprised of the developments *via* wireless radio contact through his loyal secretary, former minister in the Independent State of Croatia Vjekoslav Vrancic. The *Krizari* Campaign was betrayed by Soviet double-agent Kim Philby, who also informed Moscow of a similar operation to infiltrate monarchist Albanians into that country, though the program later served as a model for CIA insurgency campaigns in South America and the Caribbean.

Safely ensconced in Buenos Aires with other Ustase leaders (another Draganovic benefactor, Klaus Barbie, was in Bolivia), Pavelic spent the next few years establishing the dominance of his own and the other Ustase successor organizations. In 1956 he established the **Croatian Liberation Movement** (one of the original names used by the Ustase during his first exile). The HOP's **founding declaration** is a rambling manifesto, though its list of signatories includes both Pavelic and 12 other ministers of the Independent State of Croatia and goes a long way towards illustrating both the extensive reach and the overwhelming success of the Ratline program. One of those who did not sign, Maks Luburic, had meanwhile escaped to Spain after the failure of the *Krizari* Campaign and there established the HOP's sister organization, the **Croatian National Resistance**, colloquially known as "Otpor" or "Odpor."

Eventually the two leaders would have a falling out, though both the HOP and Otpor survived their leaders' passing. Pavelic died as a result of old age and injuries sustained in an attempted assassination in Argentina, while Luburic's body was found in his villa in Valencia on April 20, 1969 with a fractured skull and several stab wounds, presumably delivered by Yugoslav dictator Tito's secret police. The organizations however remained under the command of leaders dating back to the Independent State of Croatia and soon became textbook examples of what the US intelligence community refers to as "blowback" - the unintended negative consequences of an intelligence operation. Otpor in particular became a **singularly terroristic organization**, engaging in the attempted assassination of dozens of Yugoslav diplomats and bombings on a massive scale (including a crowded theater in Belgrade, an airliner in mid-flight over Czechoslovakia, and LaGuardia Airport which blinded a police officer).

The Ustase successor organizations also returned to their roots in blackmail and racketeering, as they began to **intimidate and assault** other Croatian emigres in the United States and elsewhere who condemned violence, refused to offer "donations," or otherwise failed to support their extremist platform. In two New York trials, nearly the entire leadership of Otpor in North America was convicted of more than 50 counts of racketeering, hiring two members of the Chicago mafia to kill the president of the umbrella Croatian Fraternal Union, and mailing bombs concealed in hollowed-out books to the Croatian editor of the CFU's journal and a Croatian Catholic priest in Milwaukee. The Otpor members were convicted under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act, which was devised to assist law enforcement

against the Italian La Cosa Nostra crime families.

CONCLUSIONS

The myth of the Ustase as benign "founding fathers" of Croatian statehood was resurrected in the 1990s. The most prominent Croat militia in the Bosnian civil war consciously displayed Ustase regalia, and two relics of the Independent State of Croatia, Vinko Nikolic and **Ivo Rojnica**, were nominated to prominent positions by Croatia's first president, Franjo Tudjman. (Croatia's current president, Stipe Mesic, supported a law to ban the display of all neo-fascist symbols, including the Ustase letter "U" insignia.) Amid the turmoil of war, conscious efforts were made to play down Ustase atrocities of the past, in large part by organizations such as the HOP or their splinter groups, many of which scorn modern Croatia's Independence Day and instead mark April 10th - when Slavko Kvaternik proclaimed the Independent State of Croatia in the name of Ante Pavelic - as the day they celebrate their national heritage.

In truth, the Ustase were at least the equal to the Nazis in brutality, though not in efficiency. A disproportionately large number of Ratline refugees were members of the Ustase, among them some of the most sinister and sadistic officers of the state security agencies, concentration camp guards and others directly responsible for the mass murder which will forever dominate any impartial view of the ephemeral, violent construct known as the Independent State of Croatia.

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



timelines



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who's who



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The Patron Saint of Genocide



Archbishop Stepinac and the
Independent State of Croatia
by Bill Stouffer

*"Only a godless ideology could
plan and carry out the extermination
of a whole people."*

*John Paul II speaking at Yad Vashem, the Holocaust
Memorial in Israel, March 23, 2000*

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Clero-Fascist Studies Project.

DESPITE A LOT OF TALK about apologies, the Catholic Church stands ready to anoint a patron saint of genocide. On October 4, 1998 Pope John Paul II traveled to the Republic of Croatia to beatify [1.] that country's national hero, Alojzije Stepinac, the Archbishop of Zagreb during the Second World War. In so doing he underlined the real commitment of the Catholic Church to stand by its history, no matter how barbaric. Officially, Stepinac was honored as a martyr of the Church's most recent crusade, its crusade against communism. But in making this fanatic a saint, the pope is absolving Stepinac of complicity in crimes of genocide against Serbs, Jews and Roma (Gypsies) that took place in the Nazi puppet state of Croatia during the Second World War. This act belies the sincerity of the church's recent and well-publicized



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campaign to cleanse its past by admitting in a very general way that mistakes were made. [2.] In beatifying Stepinac, the pope makes common cause with those who deny that this holocaust ever took place.

By making Stepinac a saint, the Catholic church is trying to bury one of the darkest chapters of its own recent history with honor. In Croatia, the church did not merely turn a blind eye to genocide, it was an active and enthusiastic participant. Priests and monks took part in atrocities, bishops promoted anti-Semitism and vilified Serbs at the very moment the Jews and Serbs were being exterminated, and forced conversions took place all across Croatia. All the while, the Vatican stood by, waiting to see whether or not this social experiment would advance its interests. The church has yet to apologize for, or even acknowledge the existence of, this genocide. Now Saint Stepinac stands in the way of memory and responsibility.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

After the collapse of Yugoslavia, on April 11, 1941, the Nazis installed a puppet regime in Croatia headed by Ante Pavelic, a terrorist and head of the clero-fascist Ustashe movement, as leader or "poglavnik." Pavelic and his followers had been in exile in Italy under the protection of Mussolini and was wanted in both France and Yugoslavia for orchestrating the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou. The regime he established in Croatia with the help of his Nazi patrons, the NDH (Independent State of Croatia), was run by the Ustashe party, an organization which combined fascist and Catholic ideologies and which aimed to build a Croatia cleansed of its ethnic and religious rivals, the Eastern Orthodox Serbs.

The identity of the state itself was based more on religious affiliation than on ethnicity, with the fanatically Catholic Ustashe determined to solidify their control through a combination of forced religious conversions, expulsion and outright extermination. In the words of Ustashe Minister of Education and Culture **Mile Budak**:

The basis for the Ustashe movement is religion. For minorities such as the Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies, we have three million bullets. We will kill a part of the Serbs. Others we will deport, and the rest we will force to accept the Roman Catholic Religion. Thus the new Croatia will be rid of all Serbs in its midst in order to be 100% Catholic within 10 years. [3.]

This sentiment was echoed a couple of days later by a pastor from Udbina, Mate Mogus:

Until now we have worked for the Catholic faith with the prayer book and with the cross. Now the time has come to work with rifle and revolver [4.]

The regime quickly moved to make good on these threats. The Ustashe's primary enemy, the Orthodox Slav minority, was persecuted with a ferocity that at times alarmed even their Nazi patrons, who feared that the grisly brutality of the atrocities committed against such a large minority would drive them into the arms of the Partisans. On February 17, 1942, Reinhard Heydrich, the day-to-day supervisor of the Final Solution, scarcely known for his great sensitivity, reported to Reich Führer of the SS Heinrich Himmler:

The number of Slavs massacred by the Croats with the most sadistic of methods must be estimated at a count of 300,000.... The fact is that in Croatia, living Serbs who have converted to the Catholic Church, are able to remain residing unharrassed...From this it is clear that the Croat-Serbian state of tension is not least of all a struggle of the Catholic Church against the Orthodox Church. [5.]

The Italian fascists who controlled a portion of Croatia during the war were genuinely horrified by the Ustashe and rescued a substantial number of Jews and Orthodox from Ustashe persecution, resisting all attempts to extradite the refugees who fled into their zone of control.

Although the Serbs were the primary target of the Ustashe's ethnic cleansing campaign, they were not the only target. In line with Hitler's directives and a substantial amount of indigenous anti-Semitism and racism, the Ustashe also rounded up and exterminated the vast majority of the Jews and Gypsies in the country.

Whereas part of the horror of the Nazi genocide lay in its dispassionate application of the principles of mass production and efficiency to the business of murder, the Ustashe genocide was far more primitive and personal, characterized by a sadistic personal enjoyment of torture and revenge that harkened back to the very worst excesses of the Dark Ages. Deschner summarizes the horror:

Mass executions were common where the victims had their throats slit, were sometimes quartered, and also now and then hung in butcher shops with the sign: 'human flesh.' Cruelties occurred along side of which the deeds of

the German thugs of the KZ paled by comparison. The Ustashe loved games of torture with nightly orgies; they stuck burning nails under fingernails, poured salt into open wounds, cut off all possible body parts and determined by noble competition who was best at cutting throats. They burned churches full of people, impaled children in Vlasenika and Kladany, preferred to cut off noses and ears and poked out eyes. The Italians photographed one Ustashe around whose neck hung two chains of human tongues and eyes. [6.]

Like the Nazis, the NDH maintained a series of concentration camps, the most notorious of which was Jasenovac, a camp in which tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, [7.] perished. The work of the camps was supplemented by innumerable pogroms in the villages and in the countryside.

The primary targets of this liquidation effort were the educated classes, anyone whom the Ustashe believed likely to retain a separate Serbian culture or identity. For the peasantry there was sometimes the mercy of forced rebaptism, which was conducted en masse throughout the countryside. Despite occasional quibbles about the details of the forced conversions, the church in general, both the Croatian clergy and the Vatican, welcomed the conversions as a victory for Catholicism. [8.]

THE ROLE OF THE CLERGY IN THE NDH

Indeed, for the most part, the clergy welcomed the new regime with fanatical enthusiasm. The Catholic Church had long considered Croatia its outer bulwark in the Balkans against the Eastern Orthodox Church and grated against participation in a Yugoslavia dominated by their confessional opponents. Most also shared to some degree the ideological goals of the Ustashe and welcomed the end of the religious tolerance that had been imposed by Yugoslavia.

Archbishop Saric of Sarajevo even went so far as to publish poetry extolling the Ustashe Leader. The words of his "Ode to Pavelic" reflect the xenophobic religious nationalism endemic among the clergy:

*Against the greedy Jews with all their money,
who wanted to sell our souls,
betray our names
those miserable ones.*

*You are the rock on which rests
homeland and freedom in one
Protect our lives from hell,
from Marxism and Bolshevism [9.]*

Stepinac too showed evidence of anti-Serbian xenophobia in his writings:

*All in all, Croats and Serbs are of two worlds, northpole
and southpole; they will never be able to get together
unless by a miracle of God. The schism [Eastern
Orthodoxy] is the greatest curse in Europe, almost greater
than Protestantism. Here there is no moral, no principles,
no truth, no justice, no honesty. [10.]*

Throughout the duration of the war Stepinac and the rest of the Catholic hierarchy continued to extend public support to the regime, conducting a variety of politico-religious ceremonies, sitting in the Ustashe parliament, and continually sanctifying and celebrating the Ustashe state.

Many of the lower clergy went well beyond words and participated directly in forcible conversions, torture and mass murder. Italian historian Carlo Falconi remarks:

*Allowing for exceptions here and there, the phenomenon
just described is characteristic of Ustashe massacres - as
opposed to exterminations in other countries during the
Second World War - in that it is almost impossible to
imagine a Ustashe punitive expedition without a priest at
its head spurring it on, and usually a Franciscan. [11.]*

Although the majority of religious figures personally involved in atrocities committed their crimes in raids on the Bosnian countryside [12.] the largest and most notorious concentration camp in the country, **Jasenovac**, was for a time run by a former Franciscan friar, **Miroslav Filipovic**, who not only directed but actually took part in acts of torture and mass murder. At his trial he confessed to personally supervising the murders of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies. In 1943 Filipovic was replaced as concentration camp commandant by another former priest, Ivica Brkljacic.

THE CATHOLIC PRESS

The enthusiasm of the Catholic press, under the direct supervision of the religious hierarchy, for the campaign of religious and ethnic cleansing was so unrestrained in its support of fascism, forced conversions and genocide that apologists have attempted to de-legitimize its damning testimony by intimating that such statements were either made under duress or were the work of intrusive Ustashe censors. Such an excuse might have some plausibility if there had been a change in the content of these papers after the Ustashe takeover. In fact, however, there is no such discontinuity. The Catholic press before the war was every bit as rabid in its support of the clero-fascist agenda, the Axis and ethnic cleansing. Consider the following report from *Katolicki List* praising the establishment of a clero-fascist puppet state in Slovakia:

In a modern state, which placed the interests of the people above all other considerations, the church and the state must cooperate in order to avoid all conflicts and misunderstandings. Thus, in accordance with the teachings of Christ, the Church in Slovakia had already exerted itself to arrange a new life for the Slovakian people.

The views of Dr. Tuka are fulfilled by the formation of a people's Slovakia, which has the approval of the President of the Republic, Msgr. Dr. Josip Tiso. In the National-Socialist system in Slovakia, the Church will not be persecuted. Persecutions will be used against the opponents of National-Socialism. [13.]

The same paper enthusiastically welcomed the entry of German troops into Zagreb and the proclamation of the NDH on April 21, 1941:

The Catholic Church, which has led the Croat nation spiritually through 1300 years of difficulty, accompanies with rejoicing and delight the whole Croat people in this moment of its reconstruction and political independence.

....with sincere joy and pleasure we welcome the foundation of the NDH. Our gratitude is particularly due to those self sacrificing fighters who, under the leadership of Ustashe poglavnik Dr. Ante Pavelic, prepared the way for the proclamation of the NDH. [14.]

And on May 25, 1941, in an article in a Catholic Action publication entitled "Why are the Jews Being Persecuted", Priest Franjo Kralik

justifies the persecution on religious grounds:

The descendents of those who hated Jesus, who condemned him to death, who crucified him and immediately persecuted his pupils, are guilty of greater excesses than those of their forefathers Satan helped them invent Socialism and Communism The movement for freeing the world from the Jews is a movement for the renaissance of human dignity. The Almighty and All-wise God is behind this movement. [15.]

STEPINAC'S PERSONAL CULPABILITY

As archbishop of Zagreb and military vicar to the armed forces and the Ustashe, Stepinac was the *de facto* head of the Catholic Church in Croatia during the Second World War. In a regime that counted its Catholicism as the core of its national identity, the Archbishop's importance and influence in the events that transpired there during and after the war were substantial.

There is no question that he initially welcomed the establishment of the Ustashe state as the fulfillment of centuries of Croatian aspirations for independence. In a pastoral letter published less than a month after the founding of the NDH, Stepinac consecrates and legitimizes the new regime:

For as confused as today's fateful events may be, as varying as the factors may be that have influence on the course of events, one can nonetheless see the working of the divine hand. [16.]

He likewise lauded the enactment of Catholic dogma into law that marked the initial stages of the regime. He looked with particular favor on laws that meted out the death penalty for abortion and 30 day in jail for swearing. [17.] There is no doubt either that he welcomed the elimination of religious tolerance. In a diary entry that details his first meeting with the *poglavnik* Stepinac notes with evident approval the coming suppression of rival faiths.

The Archbishop gave his blessing for his work.... When the Archbishop had finished, the poglavnik answered that he wanted to give all his help to the Catholic Church. He also said he would uproot the sect of Old Catholics which was nothing more than a society for divorce. He went on to say

that he would not show tolerance toward the Orthodox Serbian Church because, as he saw things, it was not a church but a political organization. All this left the Archbishop with the impression that the poglavnik was a sincere Catholic and that the Church would have freedom of action, even if the Archbishop did not delude himself into thinking that all these things could happen easily.

[18.]

The religious intolerance of the Ustashe continued to be a major factor in Stepinac's support for the regime throughout the war. At one point, he complained bitterly that the Italian fascist troops that were occupying a portion of Croatia during the war were allowing so much religious freedom that it was threatening the stability of the state. To the Bishop of Mostar Stepinac wrote,

The Italians have returned and resumed civil and military authority. The schismatic Churches have immediately come to life again, and the Orthodox priests, in hiding up till now, have reappeared in freedom. The Italians seem to be favorably disposed toward Serbs and severe toward Catholics. [19.]

He addressed a similar complaint to the Minister for Italian Affairs at Zagreb:

It so happens that in the Croatian territory annexed to Italy a constant decline in religious life is to be observed, and a certain discernible shift from Catholicism to schism. If that most Catholic part of Croatia should cease in the future to be so, the blame and the responsibility before God and history will lie with Catholic Italy. The religious aspect of the problem I am discussing makes it my duty to speak in such plain and open terms, since I am responsible for the religious well-being of Croatia. [20.]

Stepinac also explored the possibilities for enriching the church at the expense of its dispossessed Orthodox rivals. The Archbishop specifically petitioned the *poglavnik* to hand over the Orahovica Serb monastery to Trappists whom Hitler had expelled from their monastery at Reichenberg.

HESITATION AND SECOND THOUGHTS

Although Stepinac was fully in accord with the clero-fascist agenda of criminalizing dissent and driving it underground, he became rather less sanguine about actual genocide. In his sermons after 1942 there are veiled protests against the extreme methods the Ustashe were employing to eradicate the Serbs, particularly when these methods clashed with matters of religious doctrine. He directly challenged the authority of the Ustashe government to determine policy concerning baptism and conversion. As part of their program of ethnic cleansing, the Ustashe government wanted to limit options of conversion for those elements of the population that they had targeted for death (primarily Serbian Orthodox intellectuals) and this the Archbishop refused to sanction. Stepinac eventually questioned the sincerity of the mass conversions conducted at the point of the gun. He later personally intervened to save a number of individuals, both Orthodox and Jewish, from the Ustashe. [21.] This level of opposition from such a key church official prompted Pavelic to secretly petition the Vatican for Stepinac's removal. [22.]

On the basis of such sporadic acts of humanitarianism in the later years of the war some latter day Croatian nationalists have petitioned the Israeli Yad Vashem to include Stepinac on the role of Righteous. Their request has been denied twice. A representative of Yad Vashem noted that "persons who assisted Jews but simultaneously collaborated or were closely linked with a Fascist regime which took part in the Nazi orchestrated persecution of Jews may be disqualified for the Righteous title."

Stepinac's stance on these issues was in fact far from consistent. For instance, in his May 1943 report to the Vatican on the state of affairs in Croatia, he still points with pride to the large number of converts (240,000 is the number he mentions) as a positive accomplishment of the regime that would be lost if Croatia were to fall. During the same visit, he even went so far as to defend the anti-Semitic laws of the NDH. Lobkowicz, the Ustashe representative to the Vatican, describes the Archbishop's reasoning:

According to information from various sources and according to the Archbishop's own statement, he made a very positive report about Croatia. He revealed that he had kept quiet about some things with which he is not at all in agreement in order to be able to show Croatia in the best possible light. He mentioned our laws against abortion, a point very well received in the Vatican. Basing his arguments on these laws, the Archbishop justified in part the methods used against the Jews, who are in our country the greatest defenders of crimes of this kind and the most frequent perpetrators of them. [23.]

Stepinac and the rest of the clergy enthusiastically welcomed the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 as a Christian Crusade.

Katholicki List remarks:

With the whole cultured and the whole Christian world we welcome the necessary operation on the body of mankind in the belief that the German army will succeed in extracting this poisoned tooth of the Comintern, and drain off poison from the healthy organism of human society.

[24.]

The following year Stepinac reaffirmed his identification with the cause of the Axis:

The whole civilized world is fighting against the terrible dangers of communism which now threatens not only Christianity but all the positive values of humanityUntil recently the church was virtually alone in seeing this danger to the whole civilized world... [25.]

Stella Alexander charitably suggests that such a "blinkered view of the world" showed that Stepinac "found it hard to grasp that anything beyond the boundaries of Croatia, always excepting the Holy See, was quite real." [26.] In fact such views were typical of Catholic clergy all across Europe at the time, their pro-Axis views fueled by an anti-communism so fanatical that even Hitler was an acceptable ally. [27.]

After 1943, when it had become clear that the tide had turned against Germany in the East, Stepinac's unbridled hatred of communism took over as the key motivating force in his increasingly desperate support for the regime. The idea of Croatia as a Catholic bulwark against Orthodoxy was gradually supplanted by a notion that Croatian independence must be preserved at any cost as a fortress against godless communism.

Stepinac's relationship to the Ustashe in the later years of the regime thus forms a general pattern of private protest and public support, of lauding the goals but balking at the means. Ultimately, his actions show that his support for the goals of Croatian nationalism and clerical fascism was the more powerful motivation. Throughout the duration of the war, he continued to lobby for the NDH with the Vatican, participated in a large number of public ceremonies sanctifying and celebrating the Ustashe state, and accepted military awards from the regime up to the date of its final defeat in 1944. At the same time he tried to ameliorate

the consequences of his support by saving victims here and there and lobbying the regime for a gentler implementation of its policies. When defeat was inevitable, he took charge of the Ustashe archives and some of the regime's looted gold. [28.]

THE VERDICT

Some time after the war Stepinac was put on trial by the Communist government of Yugoslavia after repeated requests to the Vatican requesting his removal were ignored. He was tried for collaboration with the Ustashe and for his support of the ex-Ustashe *Krizari* (Crusaders), a terrorist group then conducting intermittent raids on Yugoslav territory. Although the conduct of the trial was no doubt biased, the guilty verdict was entirely justified. Stepinac was not merely an anti-Communist dissident. During the war he had aided and abetted an invading enemy and presided over a national clergy that had supported and engaged in genocide; after the war, he supported the actions of terrorists attempting to destabilize the government. At his trial his only defense was "My conscience is clear," a phrase that rings oddly hollow when juxtaposed to the day to day realities of the Ustashe state. What kind of "saint" could have a clear conscience in the face of the horrors that had been committed in the name of his religion and by people under his own supervision? Only a morally bankrupt individual would feel so little responsibility and so little remorse. Only a morally bankrupt church could take such a man for a saint.

Stepinac indeed suffered from the same kind of moral blindness that afflicted the Catholic Church as a whole during this period. The Vatican, in general, and Msgr. Montini (later Paul VI) [29.] in particular, were extraordinarily well informed about what was happening in Croatia and about the culpability of members of the clergy in the atrocities. Yet the Church chose to remain silent and to this day the Catholic Church has never even acknowledged, let alone condemned, the atrocities committed by its representatives. In fact, pope after pope has done the very opposite. After the war, the Church **concealed** fleeing war criminal Ante Pavelic from Allied authorities in the Vatican itself until this fact was discovered by American intelligence. They then helped the former Ustashe dictator flee to Peron's Argentina via the so-called Vatican Ratlines. [30.] On his deathbed in Franco's Spain in 1959 Pavelic even received a personal benediction by then pope John XXIII. The current pope, John Paul II, has refused repeated requests to visit the site of the **Jasenovac** concentration camp on his visits to Croatia, preferring instead to exchange greetings with former Croatian head of state and holocaust-denier Franjo Tudjman and to make a saint of the highly compromised Stepinac.

The recent beatification of Stepinac continues this pattern of

responsibility denied and crimes sanctified. What is most inexcusable about elevating Stepinac to sainthood lies in this covering up of evidence of the crimes of the Church, in this rewriting of history, and in the Church's miserable failure to learn anything from such horrible mistakes.

Footnotes

1. Beatification is the last step before elevation to sainthood. [[back](#)]
2. The Orwellian phrase used by the Holy See to describe this process is "the purification of memory." *International Theological Commission Memory And Reconciliation: The Church And The Faults Of The Past*, December 1999. The text of this document is available on the Vatican website. For a critical evaluation of the "apology" see Randolph L. Braham (ed), *The Vatican and the Holocaust: The Catholic Church and the Jews During the Nazi Era* (Colombia University 2000). [[back](#)]
3. Speech of 22 July 1941. Quoted in Vladimir Dedijer, *The Yugoslav Auschwitz and the Vatican* (Prometheus 1988) p.141. [[back](#)]
4. *Novi List* 24 July 1941. Quoted in Dedijer p.131. Mogus also took an active part in the atrocities. See some of the testimony from his trial in Dedijer pp. 185-186. [[back](#)]
5. Karlheinz Deschner, *With God and Furher* p. 282. The Ustashe also seem to have differed from most of the Nazis in their enthusiasm for photographing themselves involved in acts of butchery. [[back](#)]
6. Deschner pp. 280-281. Deschner's reference to deciding "by noble competition who was best at cutting throats" is illustrated by the following testimony:

The Ustashi genocidal criminal-slaughterer, Mile Friganovic told the incredible story about how Franciscan Pero Bnica, a scholarship holder of the Siroki Brijeg monastery, slaughtered 1,350 prisoners in the Jasenovac camp in only one night:

Franciscan Pero Bnica, Ante Zrinusic, Sipka and I waged a bet on who would slaughter more prisoners that night. The killing started and already after an hour I slaughtered much more than they did. It seemed to me that I was in seventh heaven. I had never felt such bliss in my life. And already after a few hours I slaughtered 1,100 people, while the others only managed to kill 300 to 400 each. And then, when I was experiencing the greatest ecstasy I noticed an elderly peasant standing and peacefully and calmly watching me slaughter my victims and them dying

in the greatest pain. That look of his shook me: in the midst of the greatest ecstasy I suddenly froze and for some time couldn't make a single move. And then I walked up to him and found out that he was some Vukasin from the village of Klepci near Capljina whose whole family had been killed, and who was sent to Jasenovac after having worked in the forests. He spoke this with incomprehensible peace which affected me more than the terrible cries around us. All at once I felt the wish to disrupt his peace with the most brutal torturing and, through his suffering, to restore my ecstasy and continue to enjoy the inflicting of pain.

I singled him out and sat him down on a log. I ordered him to cry out: 'Long live Poglavnik Pavelic!', or I would cut his ear off. Vukasin was silent. I ripped his ear off. He didn't say a word. I told him once again to cry out 'Long live Pavelic!' or I would tear off the other ear too. I tore off the other ear. Yell: 'Long live Pavelic!', or I'll tear off your nose. And when I ordered him for the fourth time to yell 'Long live Pavelic!' and threatened to take his heart out with a knife, he looked at me, that is, somehow through me and over me into uncertainty and slowly said: 'DO YOUR JOB, CHILD!' After that, these words of his totally bewildered me, I froze, plucked out his eyes, tore out his heart, cut his throat from ear to ear and threw him into the pit. But then something broke within me and I could no longer kill that night.

Fransiscan Pero Brzica won the bet because he had slaughtered 1,350 prisoners and I paid the bet without a word.

Quoted in Milan Bulajic *The Role of the Vatican in the Breakup of the Yugoslav State* (Beograd 1994) pp. 156-157. [[back](#)]

7. There has been a great deal of debate about the exact numbers killed by the NDH in general and at Jasenovac in particular. The debate has assumed an extremely partisan character because of more recent Croatian-Serbian conflicts. The late president of the newly revived Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, made a name for himself with his extreme downward revisions of the number of people killed. Tudjman estimates only 30,000 died at Jasenovac while Serbian sources normally cite a figure of 600,000 or 700,000. The US Government recently weighed in on the issue during the trial of former **Jasenovac** Commandant Dinko Sakic, releasing a captured Nazi document which supports a figure of 120,000 killed at Jasenovac by December 1943 (*Newsday*, May 2, 1998). There an earlier discussion of this issue in Alexsa Djilas *The Contested Country* (Harvard, 1991) pp. 125-127. Although Djilas seems overly

willing to trust the integrity of Tadjman's calculations, he is clear that the calculation does not affect the overtly genocidal nature of the regime under sections (a), (b) and (c) of the Convention on Genocide adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1949 (Djilas p. 212-213 n.59). It is worth noting that Tadjman in 1996 proposed reburying the remains of the Ustashe killed by the Yugoslav partisans together with the victims of the Ustashe at Jasenovac. (*Reuters*, April 22, 1996) This proposal to reunite the Ustashe perpetrators with their victims met with a huge international outcry and was eventually abandoned. [\[back\]](#)

8. Djilas, *The Contested Country*, p. 211 n.46. [\[back\]](#)

9. A complete translation of the poem along with facimilies of the original publication is given in Dedijer pp. 97-102. [\[back\]](#)

10. Diary Entry for 28 March 1941 quoted in Dedijer along with a photograph of the original entry in Stepinac's handwriting p. 142. [\[back\]](#)

11. In Carlo Falconi, *The Silence of Pius XII* (Little, Brown 1965) p. 298. [\[back\]](#)

12. Dedijer provides very extensive documentation for this in his chapter "Documents on Massacres under the Leadership of Priests" pp. 176-221. [\[back\]](#)

13. *Katolicki List* January 1940. Quoted in Yugoslav Embassy, *The Case of Archbishop Stepinac* (Washington 1947) p. 45. An online version is available [here](#), courtesy of the Clero-Fascism Project. [\[back\]](#)

14. Richard Patee, *The Case of Cardinal Archbishop Stepinac* (Bruce 1953) p. 166. Part of the documentation submitted at Stepinac's trial. [\[back\]](#)

15. From *Katolicki Tjednik*. Quoted in Yugoslav Embassy pp. 47-48. [\[back\]](#)

16. Dedijer p.95. [\[back\]](#)

17. Stella Alexander, *The Triple Myth*. [\[back\]](#)

18. Diary entry April 27, 1941 quoted in Falconi p. 273. It is worth keeping in mind that even at this point Stepinac was fully aware that Pavelic was an assassin and fugitive from justice. Pius XII also had a private audience with the *poglavnik* in May of 1941 in full awareness of what the man had done and never uttered a word of reproach. Afterwards, Pius XII met with an Ustashe delegation that included Mile Budak. [\[back\]](#)

19. Falconi p. 320. [\[back\]](#)

20. Falconi p. 320. [**back**]

21. See Patee pp. 306-340. It is worth noting that the earliest of the interventions Patee provides documentation for is March 1942 with the majority of cases falling in 1943 or later. [**back**]

22. This by no means represented a complete repudiation of the Archbishop, but was more a sign of the maximal nature of Pavelic's ambitions. As he fled the country, Pavelic asked Stepinac to head the provisional government, a sign that he retained a significant amount of trust in the archbishop. Although Stepinac declined that offer, he did accept custody of the Ustashe archives and some of the looted gold. [**back**]

23. Falconi pp. 315-316. [**back**]

24. Patee p.167. [**back**]

25. Alexander. [**back**]

26. Alexander 88-89. [**back**]

27. For example, Archbishop Constantini, Secretary of the Congregation for the propagation of the Faith, gave a speech in Venice in which he identified with the German cause and cast the struggle against the USSR in the language of a crusade:

Just as yesterday on Spanish soil, so today in Bolshevik Russia itself, in that boundless land where Satan himself seems to have found his instruments and his best collaborators among the highest authorities of the Republics -- there brave soldiers of our own fatherland, along with others, are fighting the greatest battle of all. We wish with all our hearts that this battle may bring us the conclusive victory over a Bolshevism bent on negation and upheaval.

Quoted in Saul Friedlander, *Pius XII and the Third Reich: A Documentation* (New York, Knopf 1966) p. 79. [**back**]

28. See Dedijer pp.415-418 and Mark Aarons and John Loftus *Unholy Trinity* (New York, St. Martin's 1991/1998) Chapter 6. The ultimate fate of the rest of the Ustashe gold, which appears to have been channeled at one point through the Vatican bank, has been the object of intensive recent investigations. The US Treasury department has issued a **report** discussing the current status of the investigation as part of its overall inquiry into the role of the Swiss banks in laundering Nazi plunder. There

is also an ongoing **lawsuit** on behalf of victims of the Ustashe genocide to force the Vatican to release information from its archives concerning the fate of the gold. [**back**]

29. For a discussion of Montini's role in supporting the NDH see Falconi pp. 334-343. [**back**]

30. See Aarons and Loftus. [**back**]

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For updates about the lawsuits, visit

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I AM CO-LEAD COUNSEL for plaintiffs on two class action lawsuit involving WWII era restitution claims filed in the United States District Court for Northern California. I am the plaintiff in another lawsuit filed under the Freedom of Information Act that requests contemporaneous documents from the CIA and Army. The lawsuits are:

Alperin v. Vatican Bank C99-4941 MMC - A lawsuit by Serb, Jewish, and Ukrainian survivors seeking restitution and an accounting of the WWII Ustasha treasury which was laundered after the war with the help of the Vatican and Swiss Banks, Franciscan Order, and Croatian Liberation Movement.

Naumovic v. SNB C-00-3636 BZ - A lawsuit on behalf of gentile Holocaust victims from the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia seeking an accounting of gold looted by the Nazis and their allies and processed through the Reichsbank, Swiss Banks, Bank for International Settlements, and the Vatican Bank during WWII.

Levy v. Army & CIA C-00-3103 PJH - A Freedom of Information Act lawsuit seeking declassification of Army and CIA files about the chief of the **Vatican** "ratline" [1.] agent Fr. **Krunoslav Draganovic**.

The chief expert witness [2.] retained for these lawsuits is John Loftus, former Department of Justice, Office of Special Investigations attorney (Nazi hunting unit), co-author with Mark Aarons of *Unholy Trinity: The Vatican, The Nazis, and The Swiss banks; The Secret War Against the Jews* and author of *The Belarus Secret*. The lawsuits themselves are based on the evidence unearthed by Loftus' research spanning two decades. Loftus was an important source for a 1998 US State Department report (Eisenstat/Slany Report: *The Fate of the Ustasha* [3.] Treasury) [4.], which focused attention on the Vatican's role in laundering the Ustashe funds.

In a nutshell, Loftus and others have theorized that the genocide of World War II directed at Jews, Serbs, Roma, Soviets, and others by the Nazis and their allies generated vast amounts of loot and plunder including gold coins, wedding rings, and dental gold from concentration camps. These genocide-tainted treasures were re-smelted at the Reichsbank and other central collection points [5.] and laundered through the Swiss banks [6.], Bank for International Settlements [7.] and the Vatican Banks [8.] during and after WWII. According to Loftus, much of the postwar Ustashe and Vatican activity was cloaked in the guise of anti-Communist activities and was encouraged or actively sponsored initially by British Intelligence and later the CIA and in particular Alan Dulles and James Jesus Angleton.

Most remarkable among the Nazis postwar were the Croatian Ustashe. Unlike the Germans whose major criminals faced a war crimes tribunal at Nuremburg, virtually the entire Ustashe hierarchy including their leader or Poglavnik [9.], Ante Pavelic, escaped justice. And even more surprisingly they took with them into exile the monetary proceeds of the extermination of 750,000 Serbs, Jews, and Roma. Pavelic, known as the "butcher of the Balkans", was an honored guest at the Vatican between 1945 and 1947 [10.] while other war criminals swing from a noose. Artukovic, the Himmler of Croatia, the man responsible for death camps where hundreds of thousands of Serbs were shot, burned alive, or bludgeoned to death with special hammers, lived openly in Southern California for over thirty years, while private Congressional bills assured his safety from deportation [11.]. Other Ustashe, such as the sadist Luburic, purchased villas in Spain [12.] or started new lives as businessman in Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela. But, unlike other ex-Nazis, the Ustashe did not lose their fascist ideology, instead they openly reestablished their Nazi party in Buenos Aires and by 1956 were beginning a new campaign of terror which ultimately reached the United States in the 1970s and 1980s resulting in hijackings, bombings, and murders [13.].

John Loftus and coauthor Mark Aarons and other researchers, notably Christopher Simpson in *Blowback* and the Andersons in *Inside the League*, have theorized that the postwar Ustashe revival was no accident. The Ustashe [14.] even in their pre WWII days, had been one of the best organized terrorist organizations in Europe, successfully assassinating King Alexander II of Yugoslavia and the French Foreign

Minister Louis Barthou in Marseilles in 1934. After WWII, the Ustashe's knowledge of codes, smuggling, and black marketeering served them well. The Ustashe also had powerful patrons among the Catholic Church hierarchy, including the Franciscan Order and Vatican Secretariat of State [15.]. But this did not explain entirely their phenomenal success in evading war crimes tribunals. The Ustashe were not only tolerated postwar but nurtured by the American and British intelligence agencies, including first the OSS and later the CIA. And while the cast of character involved is immense, Loftus points the finger at Philby and the anglophiles Angleton and Dulles who tried to manipulate the Vatican and Ustashe operatives for their own ends.

Philby, who was appointed head of the SIS anti-Soviet section in 1944, infiltrated the Ustashe ratline and Vatican Intermarium [16.] with Soviet spies [17.], while Angleton and Dulles chose to ignore the ultra Fascist leanings of their Croatian assets. In the middle of this maelstrom of competing interest for 25 years was a single central figure, the master spy and creator of the ratline, Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic who worked at various times for the Ustashe, Vatican, Americans, British, Tito's Yugoslavia and perhaps Soviets as well [18.].

Loftus likens trying to untangle this intrigue of Nazi gold, war criminals, and intelligence agencies to trying to paste the leaves back on a tree after a violent storm has passed. Compounding the difficulty of the situation is that some of the leaves may have been "altered", in other words disinformation planted in internal files to confuse any future researchers from trying to untangle this web. The Vatican ratline was initially exposed in 1983 in the Klaus Barbie case [19.] but its full extent is still unknown. Levy v. Army and CIA has triggered a new declassification of several hundred documents never before released, which may yet shed some additional light on the ratline.

Dulles and OSS in Bern originally made contact with the Ustashe [20], British Intelligence, either MI5 and/or MI6, also had contacts. At the end of the war, the OSS ceased to exist but operatives like Dulles simply merged into Army Intelligence forming their own faction. While some Army CIC units were chasing down Nazis, others American units aligned with Dulles and British intelligence were busy recruiting and protecting Nazis as valuable intelligence assets in the anticipated war against Communism. Dulles' own group formed an alliance with the 430th Army CIC unit in Austria, while elements of the CIC in Italy opposed these designs.

Key to these confusing happenings was the disposition of the mass murderer Pavelic and the Ustashe treasury in Rome and their assets in Switzerland [21.]. Pavelic and part of his treasure were captured in Austria by the British, a deal was struck, Pavelic and his high command proceeded to the Vatican with British aid and the gold was soon to follow from Austria and Switzerland [22.].

Pavelic and other Nazis were housed and protected in Vatican castles

and monasteries, often taking the guise of priests [23.]. The Ustasha loot was used to set up the Ustashe as an anticommunist freedom fighter. So-called Ustashe *Krizari* (Crusaders) fought a rearguard action against Tito, who was in a standoff against the Americans at Trieste. The *Krizari* were unsuccessful and it is likely that Kim Philby may have sabotaged these efforts. It is also likely that the Croats exaggerated the numbers and effectiveness of their fighting force, in order to stave off arrest [24.].

Fr. Draganovic was a war criminal wanted by Yugoslavia for the brutal ethnic cleansing of Serbs in 1942 in Kozara, the same region where another Nazi, Kurt Waldheim had operated. In 1943, the Croats sensed the changing tides of war from the East - the loyalist of Nazi allies, the Croatian Legion had fought at Stalingrad and been destroyed there. As insurance against an eventual Allied victory, Pavelic sent Draganovic to Rome as chief of intelligence, where postwar he was to become the chief facilitator of Ustashe plans. Curiously, Draganovic also functioned as an American and British agent and may have later worked for the Tito government. As to where Draganovic's ultimate loyalties lay is a mystery.

Draganovic ran the so called Vatican ratline procuring for Croats but also other Nazi war criminals, like Adolf Eichman, false papers and passage to new lives in South America and elsewhere. By 1946, Draganovic was an American intelligence asset and soon the CIA was using the Vatican ratline and, according to some, funding it well into the 1950's as a method of sending anti-communist ex-Nazis to Latin America. There it was anticipated their services might be required some day in the battle against Communism. Croatian mercenaries fought against Lumumba in the Congo and were recruited by Draganovic for an operation in the Dominican Republic in 1966 [25.]. Juan Peron's government recruited Ustashe as shock troops before he was turned out by the military [26.], as did General Stroessner, the fascist dictator of Paraguay, whose support for the Ustashe continued well into the 1980s [27.].

Following the defeat of the *Krizari* in Yugoslavia, Pavelic's presence in Rome was becoming a liability for the Vatican. American special agents not compromised by Dulles had located Pavelic and were preparing to capture him when the order was countermanded [28.]. Pavelic escaped via the ratline to Argentina, where he became a political advisor to Juan Peron. Other Ustashe were welcomed in fascist Spain. The Ustashe treasury soon followed Pavelic to Buenos Aires and the Ustashe were reconstituted in 1956 as the Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP), establishing an effective government (recognized as a legitimate government by several countries including Taiwan and Paraguay) in exile with a terrorist arm the HVO [29.].

By 1958, Draganovic's usefulness had waned and he was turned out of the Vatican. Nonetheless, he continued to function as agent for the Army

until 1962 [30], and perhaps 1967, for the CIA. In 1967, Draganovic either defected or was kidnapped by Yugoslav intelligence. His fate was surprisingly mild; he was interrogated or debriefed and allowed to retire to a monastery in Croatia. Loss of Draganovic triggered a lengthy report from CIA Director of Plans Karamessines to the State Department, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security. But whether Draganovic was really kidnapped or his repatriation was part of some larger scheme is unknown. The answer is in the still secret files of the Yugoslav intelligence agency.

The Ustashe were undeterred by Draganovic's departure. Still under the guise of anti-Communists they rearmed and began to carry out terrorist operations, that eventually came to the USA. Misinformation or lack thereof, hampered law enforcement efforts to curb them [31.]. Indeed, the Chicago chapter of HOP (Croatian Liberation Movement) was viewed by the FBI as an essentially non-violent organization at the same time its "revolutionary" wing was on a rampage of murder, hijackings, assassinations, and bombings. The FBI had been mistaken; money from the Chicago HOP paid for terrorism worldwide.

Christophen Simpson describes the Ustashe as an example of "blowback". Blowback is jargon for an unexpected negative effect domestically from a covert operation abroad. The CIA therefore unwittingly aided a terrorist organization and the intense secrecy that surrounded the CIA sponsorship of the Ustashe and other fascists prevented the agency from learning from its own past mistakes [32.].

Fifty years have passed since the events described herein transpired, the Independent State of Croatia has been reestablished with ensuing bloodshed and turmoil in Yugoslavia. Yet the Vatican and CIA continue to suppress information about past operations, information that, if widely known, might have helped provide another perspective on the unfortunate fate of modern Yugoslavia.

Footnotes

1. The escape route that provided Nazi officials with new identities and safe passage out of Europe. The headquarters of the ratline was San Girolamo, a monastery in Rome. The principal facilitators were the Ustashe priest Draganovic and the Franciscan Treasurer Mandic. The ratline served not only the Ustashe but the Vatican-inspired Intermarium, American and British Intelligence, and anyone else who could pay Draganovic's price. [back]

2. When knowledge of a technical subject matter might be helpful to a trier of fact, a person having special training or experience in that technical field, one who is called an expert witness, is permitted to state his or her opinion concerning those technical matters even though he or

she was not present at the event. [[back](#)]

3. The preferred usage according to Serbs is Ustashe. [[back](#)]

4. A full version is available [here](#). [[back](#)]

5. *Switzerland and Gold Transactions in the Second World War Interim Report*, Independent Commission of Experts (Bergier Report), July 1998. [[back](#)]

6. Ibid. [[back](#)]

7. Nazi Gold, The London Conference, The London Stationary Office, 1997 at pages 43-60 (Conference paper by Piet Clement, Chief Historian of the Bank for International Settlements). [[back](#)]

8. John Loftus, *Unholy Trinity*, St Martins Press, 1998 at pg. 289. [[back](#)]

9. *Poglavnik*, an honorific similar to Fuehrer or Duce. [[back](#)]

10. **Exhibit - Ante Pavelic, Army CIC**, Sep. 12, 1947, Pavelic at Vatican, contacts are very high, Draganovic source of information. [[back](#)]

11. See Exhibit - 87th Congress, First Session, HR 2185, ex-Archives of the World Jewish Congress , Jan. 6, 1961, Private bill by Congressman Utt of California which allowed Artukovic to remain in the United States despite the fact he was a Nazi and had entered the country under a false name. Artukovic beat two extradition attempts in the 1950's but was eventually **extradited by DOJ/OSI** to Yugoslavia in 1986 where he died shortly thereafter in prison. Artukovic was the highest-ranking Nazi war criminal to enter the United States, he had been Minister of Justice in Nazi Croatia. [[back](#)]

12. Exhibit - Luburic, Maks, CIA, July 1950, Luburic just arrived in Rome from Spain. Former Chief of all concentration camps in Yugoslavia. Luburic had been dispatched by Pavelic to assassinate Yugoslav diplomats and kill unreliable Croatian elements. While in Rome Luburic stayed at a home owned by the Franciscan Order. [[back](#)]

13. A very short list includes 1972 bombing of a JAT airliner, a 1976 TWA Hijacking, bombings in the USA and worldwide, murders of political opponents in the USA, and numerous assassinations of political opponents and diplomats including the Yugoslavian Ambassador to Sweden and the Uruguayan Ambassador to Paraguay. [[back](#)]

14. The Ustashe was founded by Pavelic in 1929 with funds received from Mussolini, Edmund Paris, *Genocide in Satellite Croatia*, American Institute for Balkan Affairs, 1962, pg. 20. [[back](#)]

15. Exhibit - Memo in Italian, CIC, May 10, 1946 - Source P (Pavelic?) reports Pavelic has frequent secret meetings with the Vatican Secretary of State Montini (later Paul VI) [**back**]
16. Intermarium was an anti-Soviet Vatican run organization, Draganovic was the Croatian representative on its Board. [**back**]
17. *Unholy Trinity*, pgs. 214, 217. [**back**]
18. Exhibit - see pg. 6 for accusation of being a Soviet spy of Draganovic, CIA, Jan 9, 1968, a remarkable 7 page report from CIA Director of Plans Karamessines to the State department, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security giving a history of the ratline and Draganovic on the occasion of Draganovic's 1967 disappearance. [**back**]
19. Alan Ryan, Jr., *Klaus Barbie and the United States Government*, University Publications, 1984. Ryan was head of DOJ/OSI and headed the ultimately successful investigation of Klaus Barbie in the course of which the Vatican ratline was uncovered as well as the involvement of the 430th CIC. Ryan however failed to realize the extent of American involvement with Draganovic and accepted the explanation that the Barbie case was the exception rather than the rule. [**back**]
20. Exhibit -Croatian Gold, OSS Bern, Dec. 22, 1944, OSS monitored Croatian transactions with Swiss. [**back**]
21. Exhibit -Transfer of Croatian Gold to Argentina, CIA, April 16, 1952, Pavelic was still transferring gold from his hoard in 1952. In this case 200 kilos of gold and five million Swiss francs. The CIA reports some of the treasure had been hidden in a wall near Salzburg in 1945. [**back**]
22. Exhibit -Croatian Gold Question, CIA, Feb. 1951, 6 page document giving details of the Ustashe Treasury but also how a deal was struck with the British permitting Pavelic and his treasure to proceed to Rome. [**back**]
23. **Exhibit -Pavelic, Army**, May 19, 1947, typical report about Pavelic indicating he had taken on the disguise of a priest, this was standard procedure for many of the Ustashe fugitives. [**back**]
24. **Exhibit - Pavelic, ex-Army CIC**, Oct. 1947, a typical and likely inaccurate entry in which Pavelic is described as leader of the Ustascha resistance with contacts with [anti communist] partisans fighting in Poland and Czechoslovakia. (by 1947 all these groups have been compromised by the Soviets). [**back**]
25. September 2000 interview with former CIC translator of Draganovic's reports JPM. JPM told me that Draganovic always submitted his reports in several languages, often duplicating the contents in hopes that additional pages would result in higher payment. [**back**]

26. Exhibit -Ustashi Activities in Argentina, CIA, July 1951, Croats recruited as shock troops for the Peronista Party. [[back](#)]

27. **Exhibit -Paraguay Welcomes Croatian Terrorist**, State Dept., Dec. 1987, State dept. report on welcoming of paroled Croatian terrorist by Paraguayan government, also noted that Baresic was an officer in the Paraguayan Army [[back](#)]

28. **Exhibit -Pavelic, Anton, CIC**, July 7, 1947, Pavelic located and request to arrest him made, handwritten "hands off" order written July 14, 1947. US agents permitted Pavelic to escape. [[back](#)]

29. Scott and Jon Anderson, *Inside the League: The Shocking Expose of How Terrorists, Nazis, and Latin American Death Squads Have Infiltrated the World Anti Communist League*, Dodd & Mead, 1986, pg. 42. [[back](#)]

30. Exhibit -Army, Jan 23, 1962 Draganovic terminated with prejudice as an asset. [[back](#)]

31. Exhibit - Dr. Ante Bonafacic, FBI, Nov. 2 1976 - FBI found that though Bonifacic was head of Chicago HOP, he was nonviolent - In reality Bonifacic was a ratline beneficiary and a wanted war criminal, the HOP was never nonviolent and is simply the Ustashe. The FBI noted the HOP was founded by Pavelic but apparently failed to realize the significance. [[back](#)]

32. Christopher Simpson, *Blowback*, Wedenfeld and Nicolson, 1988. [[back](#)]

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Death Threats Against Editor of Holocaust Education Project



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CHICAGO - FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE - On Monday, May 5th, 2003, Cali Ruchala, creator and editor of a Holocaust education and research project called The Pavelic Papers (<http://www.pavelicpapers.com>), received another death threat associated with his investigation into the history of the Croatian fascist "Ustase" movement.

"Most of the threats I've received in the past were vague - just 'I'm going to get you,'" editor Cali Ruchala says. "This one said, directly, 'Delete this website or you'll end up with a bullet in your head.'"

The Pavelic Papers is a Holocaust education and research project studying the history of the Ustase movement, the Nazi-allied regime of the World War II-era Independent State of Croatia. The project takes its name from Ante Pavelic, the *poglavnik* or fuerher of the regime, and is the most extensive archive of its kind, publishing scores of declassified documents and translations.

The Ustase was responsible for the murder of at least 30,000 Jews, 29,000 Roma and 600,000 Serbs during World War II.

The latest threat is the third such communication received since the launch of The Pavelic Papers website (<http://www.pavelicpapers.com>) in October 2002, but the first logged with the Chicago field office of the FBI. (Phone: 312-431-1333)

"In the past, I looked at this as one of the risks of the trade," Ruchala says. "Much of it is probably the equivalent of internet grafitti. But I'm no longer taking any chances."

He points out that organizations founded by the principle Ustase leaders - many of whom escaped to South America following the war - are still in existence.

As late as the 1980s, six members of an Ustase successor

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Document: [US vs. Ljubas, Bagaric, et al. - the OTPOR Trials](#)

Document: ["The Hand of the Ustasha" - Death Threats Against Jewish Editor](#)

organization named "Otpor" - founded by Maks Luburic, the commandant of the Jasenovac concentration camp in Croatia - were convicted in New York State under the Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). Among their other crimes, the six conspirators were convicted of attempting to assassinate prominent Croatian-American leaders who disagreed with the Ustase's hardline, neo-Nazi worldview, including a journalist and a Catholic priest. The court papers associated with that trial were recently published on The Pavelic Papers website (<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ljubas/al0001.html>).

"I never understood why it was so difficult to find information in English about Pavelic and the Ustase," Ruchala says. "That was one of the reasons I began this project. Now, I understand why that could be." The death threat originated in Croatia, he says, which leaves some doubt as to what United States law enforcement could do.

"But whoever's behind these, whether it's some thug upset that the truth is being exposed about his heroes, or some kid who really needs better adult supervision, they should know that these kinds of messages will only encourage us. The project will continue."

The complete, unedited version of the latest death threat is attached to this message. Warning: Graphic language is used.

Return-Path:

Delivered-To: editors@pavelicpapers.com

Received: from web41608.mail.yahoo.com (web41608.mail.yahoo.com [66.218.93.108]) by thebe.your-site.com (Postfix) with SMTP id 9A362244BB5 for ; Mon, 5 May 2003 07:02:38 -0400 (EDT)
Message-ID: <20030505110217.1445.qmail@web41608.mail.yahoo.com>

Received: from [195.29.134.25] by web41608.mail.yahoo.com via HTTP; Mon, 05 May 2003 04:02:17 PDT

Date: Mon, 5 May 2003 04:02:17 -0700 (PDT)

From: Ante Pavelic

Subject: stici ce vas bozja pravda

To: editors@pavelicpapers.com

vec ce vas stici bozja pravda kad tad jer ce vam suditi kaznjenicka
bojna !!! siriti neistinu i blatiti hrvatsku ,naplatit cete to
glavama ! ! ! ! !

btw, if you red star commies motherfuckers dont understand

croatian here is the message for you.

you all will be no longer alive , you all bastards will get bullet in head so i reccomand you to delete this web site cause youll than have big problems, by the way tell me who are you ,some motherfuckin commie organisation ?????

Y O U R E D S T A R C O M M I E M O T H E R F U C K E R S ! ! ! ! ! ! ! D I E
Y O U S E R B O C O M M U N I S T S C U M S ! ! ! !

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Principles of the Ustase Movement

This collection of turgid prose is one of the earliest documents to emerge from the Ustase movement, penned by Ante Pavelic himself in 1929. It is, as the reader can judge, a laundry list of screaming banalities. Nevertheless, Pavelic's "principles" are cherished as a sort of mystical tablet of Mosaic law by neo-Ustase even today. Like much in the Independent State of Croatia, the sacred scriptures of the Ustase movement were never altered or replaced, and when the organization took a further turn to the Fascist right, new documents which spelled out more bluntly Pavelic's nascent racism, anti-Semitism and anti-democratic sentiments were merely tacked on to earlier declarations. If nothing else, Pavelic's list heralds the ideological devolution to Nazism with its xenophobia (number 14 below) and hints at eugenics (number 17), all the while presuming a descent from the western civilization (number 12) to which it does not belong.

1. The Croatian nation is an independent ethnic and national unit, a nation by itself, and that sense it is not identical with any other nation nor it is a part or a tribe of any other nation.

2. The Croatian nation has its original and historical name, CROAT, under which it came 1300 years ago to its present territory, and under which it lives today. That name cannot and must not be replaced by any other name.

3. The Croatian nation made its present country its homeland already in ancient times, inhabiting it permanently, becoming one with it and giving it the original and natural name CROATIA. That name cannot and must not be replaced by any other name.

4. The land which was occupied in ancient times by the Croatian people, and which became their Croatian homeland, extends over several provinces, many of which had their names even before the arrival of the Croats and some of which were given their names later, but all of them constitute one single Croatian homeland, and therefore nobody has the right to claim for himself any of those provinces.

5. The Croatian people came to their homeland of Croatia as a completely free nation in the time of the Great Migrations, by their



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own will, thus conquering that land and making it their own forever.

6. The Croatian nation was completely organized when it came to its Croatian homeland, not only in a military sense but also in a familial sense, so that it immediately founded its own state with all of the attributes of statehood.

7. The state of Croatia was already formed when many other nations lived in complete chaos. The Croatian nation preserved its state through the centuries until the end of the World War, and never abandoned it, not by any act or by any legal resolution, nor did it give away its rights to anyone else, but at the end of the World War foreign forces prevented the Croatian people from exercising their sovereign right to form their own CROATIAN STATE.

8. The Croatian nation has the right to revive its sovereign authority in its own Croatian State in its entire national and historical area, that is to say to reconstitute a complete, sovereign and independent Croatian state. This reconstitution may be accomplished by any means, including force of arms.

9. The Croatian nation has the right of happiness and prosperity, and every single Croat has that right as a part of the Croatian nation. Happiness and prosperity can be revived and fulfilled for the nation in general and for individuals as members of the nation only in a complete, sovereign and independent Croatian state which must not and cannot be a component of any other state or any creation of a foreign power.

10. The Croatian nation is sovereign, therefore only it has the right to rule an independent state of Croatia and to manage all state and national affairs.

11. In the Croatian state and in the national affairs of a sovereign and independent state of Croatia no one can make decisions who is not by origin and by blood a member of Croatian nation, and in the same way no other nation or state can decide the destiny of the Croatian people and the Croatian state.

12. The Croatian nation belongs to western culture and to western civilization.

13. The peasantry is not only the foundation and source of life, but it alone constitutes the Croatian nation, and as such it is bearer and agent of all state authority in Croatian state.

14. All classes of the Croatian people constitute one unified whole, defined by their Croatian blood, who can trace back their origins and who maintain a permanent familial connection with the village and the land. In ninety-nine out of a hundred cases someone in Croatia

who does not originate from a peasant family is not a Croat at all, but a foreign immigrant.

15. The material and moral wealth of the Croatian state is the property of the people, therefore the people are the only ones authorized to possess and to use it.

16. The essence of the moral strength of the Croatian people is found in an orderly and religious family life; its economic strength is in agriculture, communal life and the natural wealth of the Croatian land; its defensive strength is in its valor, and its educational and cultural progress is based on a natural genius and proven ability in the fields of science and learning. Craftsmanship is the helping hand of the entire peasant economy.

17. Balanced breeding, the promotion and perfection of these virtues and branches of national life is the goal of all public welfare and of state authority as such, because they have guaranteed survival for centuries of existence and will guarantee the prosperity of future generations of the Croatian nation and existence of that security in the independent Croatian state.

:: filing information ::

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Pavelic: Ten Years of Struggle in the Homeland

The following is a translation of a news article in the Croatian paper *Vecernji List*, serialized over the span of several days in January 1999. The author's sympathies are clear, though he quotes extensively Pavelic's own words from one of the multitude of "autobiographies" authorized by Pavelic's sole surviving sibling - his sister Visnja in Madrid, Spain. The article is presented unabridged.

Ante Pavelic: "ADVENTURES II - TEN YEARS OF STRUGGLE IN THE HOMELAND 1918 - 1929"

by Zeljko Kruselj

The dream of Croatian autonomy was brutally shattered by Regent Aleksandar

Pavelic's *Doživljaji II*, with the subtitle "Ten years of struggle in the homeland 1918-1929", begins with the description of repressive measures of Belgrade authorities against Croatian pro-statehood parties, in which the bloodshed of 5. December in Zagreb on Ban Jelacic Square had a significant role. The core of his "revolutionary organization" Pavelic sees in the group of Austro-Hungarian officers who believed after the end of World War I that Croatia "will become free and independent":

"Among them general staff colonels Stjepan Duic, Ivo Percevic and Slavko Kvaternik especially stood out. All three of them were known in the army of Austro-Hungarian Empire as officers of great abilities and courage. These three Croatian officers were at one time very much respected by the heir to the Habsburg throne, archduke Franz Ferdinand, who was killed by Serbians in 1914 in Sarajevo. The decision of archduke Franz Ferdinand to reform the Habsburg Empire in the form of trialism - which meant to completely equalize Croatia, Austria and Hungary in the great empire, was made after advices and influence of general - colonel, baron Stjepan Sarkotic, general Muhajjevic, colonels Duic and Percevic."



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The first step - organizing the work abroad

"Their first step", Pavelic continues, "after the end of the war in 1918 was to immediately contact Dr. Horvat (Aleksandar, the president of Croatian Party of Rights - Z.K.). Owing to the fact that Dr. Horvat had already resigned because of well known events in October 1918, these officers met with me. In conversations we had in the office of Dr. Horvat I presented to them the political position of Croatia the way it appeared after the Overthrow and betrayal of the 'National Council'. We discussed about the possibility of action and came to the conclusion that at that moment not much could be done within the new state, the condition that might change in time, as soon as the initial storm is over. We agreed that it would be useful to try to work abroad. (...) We were aware that the Croatian people will not allow to be crushed under the Serbian yoke, even if there won't be any chances for the political struggle and success, commotion and revolutionary attempts will not be avoided. For this sort of activities an emigre central abroad could be of a great benefit.

"Colonels Stjepan Duic and Ivan Percevic decided to remain abroad and in a short period of time managed to settle in Graz and Viena; there they founded the Croatian Committee headed by general - colonel, baron Stjepan Sarkotic, the last chief of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"Colonel Slavko Kvaternik in the first days, until 5. December - during the reign of the 'National Council', was prone to believe that Croatia will be given a certain autonomy, and that officers, who would wish so, would be accepted into the new army, while in the meantime there were rumors that Croatian officers will not be accepted. On those rumors colonel Kvaternik traveled to Belgrade and asked for an audience with the Serbian regent Aleksandar, to negotiate their acceptance into the army, which on the occasion of that audience Aleksandar solemnly promised. However, when he returned to Zagreb, he found a decree at his home, the regent's decree, by which he was informed the first, that his application to be accepted into the army is declined. Kvaternik quickly realized that all hopes of an autonomy were futile."

The ban on HSP activities

"When I started to re-organize the local party organization, among the party members several Croatian officers stood out with their decisiveness and zeal and especially with their revolutionary spirit. When we discussed about the needs and ways of actions, I told them in confidence about the existence of the mentioned committee in Viena. We have decided to form a revolutionary group which will contact the Committee. As the leader of that group Rudolf Vidak was elected, a man in his thirties, who stood out in the past with his activities in our party even before the war. He was persecuted, imprisoned and sentenced to two years of prison. I had confidence in him, because while I was still a student at the University, and he was a worker, we participated in various actions and conflicts with our opponents. (...)

"At that time the president of the party Dr. Vladimir Prebeg and parliament deputy Dr. Josip Pazman were in prison, and the former president of the party Dr. Aleksandar Horvat had to retire and didn't take part in public in political activities of the party. Although the 'National Council' seemingly banned the Croatian Party of Rights, still its entire political activities went with some sort of a sponsorship of Dr. Horvat, while the activities of the secret organization and the revolutionary group were headed by myself.

"When we received a message from Vienna, by a secret channel and by a messenger of the Croatian Committee, it was agreed for the parliament deputy Dr. Ivo Frank, the son of Dr. Josip Frank, the deceased president of the party, to go into emigration; one of Zagreb revolutionary groups moved him abroad immediately. (...) However, news kept arriving from Viena that Dr. Ivo Frank did not succeed to usefully associate himself with exiled Croatian officers, so due to that the work was obstructed and we couldn't count on a serious success. Dr. Ivo Frank then settled in Budapest and later retired from political work. Because of that in February 1920 in an agreement with Dr. Aleksandar Horvat I had decided to go to Viena and meet with the Committee, to find out the real situation. For me it wasn't simple to get a passport for the new Republic of Austria, moreover because the activities of the Croatian Committee in Viena were already well known, and both the government in Belgrade and the police in Zagreb were very much alarmed by these activities. I had to cross the border

illegally. I traveled by train to Maribor. The messenger of the Committee waited for me there, with whom I crossed the border by night over a hill, and then we continued our journey to Vienna by train."

The agreement in Vienna

"In Vienna I met with general - colonel Sarkotic and colonels Duic and Percevic and for several days we discussed everything that was of interest at that time. We have decided to preserve the Committee abroad, and in the homeland the core of the revolutionary organization, that we organized, because the course of events went in the direction for which we were sure that would require the both kinds of activities, as we have already anticipated. The Communist regime of Bela Kun, however, didn't last long and as soon as it was overthrown, colonel Stjepan Duic managed to establish a camp in Hungary near Vizsvar, not far away from the river Drava, where Croatian soldiers were collected who didn't want to serve in the Serbian army, and who deserted to Hungary with the help of our revolutionary group in Zagreb and its branches that were already created in the province. These military fugitives were settled in Hungary as agriculture workers, but they permanently maintained contacts with our revolutionary organization in Zagreb."

Beating by the law

Pavelic amply writes about economic impoverishment of Croatia, which the Belgrade authorities systematically performed immediately after the proclamation of the common state, from unfair changing of krunas into dinars and replacement of Croatian clerks with Serbian newcomers to the compulsory stigmatizing of cattle. His description of military and police terror towards Croats is also very detailed, in which he emphasized the beating of victims:

"Only during the first year of existence of the new state policemen have beaten tens of thousands of peasants for political reasons. Serbian policemen weren't occupied much by public work and safety. Their main task was to suppress every, even the least Croatian manifestation. For every word that would remind of Croatian nationality or discontent with

political or economical situation, the policemen would take away the unfortunate 'criminal' into a police station and sentence him immediately to beating from 25 to 50 times. They would throw him at the floor, and first beat him 'by the law', and then 'at ease' policemen would stomp over him with their feet. These 'laws' were also applied on peasants in whose houses they would find even a trace of a Croatian national emblem or flag, a photograph of a national leader from the past or present, any Croatian newspapers or an old year-book framed in the Croatian flag, or if they didn't want to shout 'long live the king' when the policemen would demand. The 'criminal' wasn't always taken to the station, but they would often beat him 'at the scene of the crime' - in front of his whole family, women and children."

Subsequent description of events

Doživljaji II of Dr. Ante Pavelic, the future Ustase Poglavnik, were produced from 1946-1948 in Italy, therefore after his repeated exile. The text was originally written in Italian and it was subsequently translated and in word root spelling mostly published in the paper "Hrvatska", an organ of South-American Croats, printed in Buenos Aires.

Pavelic while writing his memoirs, which have certain literary values that cannot be denied, didn't have at his disposal the necessary documentation, it is emphasized that Pavelic "has no scientific pretensions, not even historical, nor it is his intention to write history", but just to "outline with his own descriptions some of his adventures and mark them with Croatian - statehood and his personal political and statesman conceptions". This means that in these memoirs there are many blanks and intentional omissions of some controversial events, but also intentional political mystification and myth-making. "*Doživljaji II*" for all layers of readers, but also for experts are still interesting as a testimony of one era when the Croatian national problem wasn't solved only by democratic means, but also by a conflict of totalitarian ideologies. Moreover, in these memoirs it can be seen that even Pavelic in the first ten years of existence of the Yugoslav state believed in the possibility of an agreement with Serbian authorities, but the proclamation of Sixth - January Dictatorship, as he emphasizes several times, completely disproved it.

The publisher of *Doživljaji II* is a Zagreb publishing house "Vratna Gora", and its December promotion is timed as an admonition of "80th anniversary of betrayal and surrendering of thousand years old Croatian state to the Kingdom of Serbia".

[Part Two]

Radic was a great man, but he was a Russophile

It can be noticed that Pavelic persistently emphasizes the danger of Communism in his memoirs, seeing in that movement "dangerous and anational formula". For future Ustase Poglavnik the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was "the first Yugoslav party" which placed such geographic determination in its name full ten years before the common state was officially named that way:

"Yugoslavism denies nationalities of entire three nations, that is four, bearing in mind that Bulgarians are considered as southern Slavs and other fractions and minorities living in those lands... Yugoslavia, a completely fabricated state formula, that never existed in the past, denies and erases continuity of state and political past of the nations that consist it, and therefore it is at the same time the best ally of Communism and Bolsevisism. There, that is why Russian Communist propaganda was the first to invent the name 'Yugoslavia' for a forcible conglomerate of countries and nations."

Radic - a great Russophile

Pavelic shows how repulsive the Communist idea to him was with a description of political atmosphere prior to the local elections in March 1920, when he closely cooperated with Stjepan Radic. The leader of HSS he considered as a man of "great intelligence and restless temper" and a "great Russophile" who allegedly dreamed about the "unity of the Slavic world":

"Not only because of opposition to the annexation regime, but also because of the Communist danger I have decided to unite Croatian parties on elections. I spoke with Stjepan Radic and with representatives of the new party Croatian Union [Hrvatska Zajednica], which was in the beginning joined even by the dentist Pavelic (On 1. December 1918 he read the decision of uniting to the regent! - Z.K.), who had been removed already at that time, because the new leadership of the party realized that his personality is harmful for

the party itself. The new electoral list wasn't achieved because of several reasons, however between these three parties an atmosphere of tolerance was created, so there was no electoral struggle between us, but that struggle developed with us united on one side and on the other Communists and followers of Svetozar Pribicevic, who at the same time supported the Communist party.

"One day I was told that the next Sunday afternoon Communists will hold a large rally in Vrabac, a municipality in Zagreb suburbs... It was my opinion that this could affect the outcome of elections in the city of Zagreb itself, in case Communists win in that municipality. I had decided to see Stjepan Radic. I expressed my concern to him in a conversation and told him that it is necessary for us to act together in Vrabac and to prevent Communists from seducing the voters over there. Radic accepted my proposal right away, so tomorrow we went together to Vrabac. We have arrived there just when the Communist rally started. When the first Communist speaker finished his speech, I asked that both Radic and myself be allowed to speak. Communist speakers didn't allow us to speak, but I stood up on one rock and asked the people if they would let us speak. All present peasants replied unanimously: yes! I held a short introductory speech, and then helped Radic to stand up on the rock. It was well known that Radic had a poor sight, so he always needed help.

"I described this event, which as many others had its repercussions. Stjepan Radic spoke with insulting words about the monarchy and against the dynasty of Karadjordjevids - against both the king and regent. These attacks repeated several times on Radic's rallies, so the Belgrade regime started to persecute his party and Radic himself, who was soon afterwards sentenced to prison (to two and a half years in prison - Z.K.)."

The theatrical arrest of Pavelic

In the beginning of 1921 a really theatrical arrest of Pavelic followed. The author describes in details what was being "conspired" back then, wanting to emphasize his almost daily activity on the destabilization of the greater Serbian regime:

"On one night the party meeting was being held in the

'Vodopivec' restaurant in Meduliceva street. Thereat Stipe Javor notified me that two peasants, supporters and propagators of the Peasant Party, came to him and told him they want to go to emigration, because they were disappointed in their party, in which they invested so much. Both of them were known as honorable peasants and good patriots, so I told Javor that he can send them off and entrust them to Andrija Medar who will get them over the border, which was later done. After several months one of them was entrusted with the task to return to the homeland and to deliver a certain explosive, which had to be used at a certain time. However, Mirko Marcinko, was arrested while crossing the border and then incarcerated."

The mentioned Marcinko was also found with a letter with a manuscript of Dr. Milan Sufflay, so that was the reason for the well known process against this Croatian Party of Rights intellectual and historian, when his associate Rudolf Vidak and about ten more "revolutionaries" were also accused. The police also prepared an ambush for Pavelic himself.

The ambush at Vidak's

"At that moment my fiancée (Marija Lovrencevic - Z. K.) came to my lawyer's office, because we had to go together to the Art Pavilion, where the annual party of the Civic Club of our renewed Croatian Party of Rights was being held. I asked her to come with me to see Mrs. Vidak, so we went to the Tkalciceva street where Vidak had his shop. When I entered the shop I saw Vidak's wife alone, and just when I was about to ask her what is going on, I heard a strong swish, the door opened suddenly and several Serbian soldiers broke into the shop with bayonets on their rifles, pointed at me, my fiancée and Vidak's wife. Some man in a civilian suit was also with them, who pointed a gun at me and savagely shouted - You are under arrest! We finally have you! At the same moment another man in a civilian suit came in with handcuffs for my arms. I remained calm, but the hands of that man were shivering so much that he was unable to handcuff me. I told him: - Easy, easy! Calm down, because upset like that you won't be able to do it...

"Realizing how futile it was to strain he told me: - Promise that you won't run, and I'll give it up.

"'I can't promise you anything, but as there are so many of you and as you are well armed, I think I won't be able to run away.'

"(...) Vidak's wife, my fiancée and me they took outside to the street, where we were surrounded by a platoon of about twenty soldiers with bayonets on their rifles. The procession was on the move. They took us through Ilica, the main street in Zagreb, which was full of by-passers, because that was the time of usual evening walks. People stopped and observed this, for Zagreb, a strange scene: two women, five or six men - surrounded and escorted by about twenty soldiers fully equipped for combat, parading between two lines of spectators - who didn't know whether to laugh to such a brave strategy of the 'beloved Serbian army' or to pity that cowardly action. On the way to the City Command they searched our pockets. They found Croatian flag ribbons at my fiancée, that she used to make cockades for our annual Croatian Party of Rights party, so that was another reason of their exhilaration for this 'successful' operation.

"In the building of the City Command they took us to the commander, Serbian colonel Dragomir Nikolajevic, to whom the agent Nikola Hajdukovic proudly submitted a report by saying that he captured all criminals, even their boss Pavelic! - pointing his finger at me..."

As the police couldn't find any serious evidence for an indictment, Pavelic was soon released. At the trial on which he defended Vidak, his client and Sufflay were sentenced to several years of prison.

[PART THREE]

Pavelic and Pasic unanimous in mocking Trumbic's Yugoslavism

Ante Pavelic contacted Serbian politicians on several occasions. Moreover, it can be noticed in his writings that he tried, together with Stjepan Radic, to make an agreement about the peaceful separation of Croatian and Serbian territories and interests, but under the given circumstances that could not end with positive results. Radical Stojan Protic made first contacts with the Croatian Party of Rights, the only one who pledged for federal division of

Kingdom of Serbs Croats and Slovenes after the Vidovdan constitution, and with him in 1921 Radical Party parliament deputy Momcilo Ivanic also came to Zagreb:

"Chaplain Rittig offered to invite Protic and Ivanic for dinner, and Stjepan Radic was also present at the dinner, but also several of us representatives of other parties in the bloc. Svetozar Rittig belonged to the Croatian Union, but he was always a supporter of a union with Serbia, even under much more unfavorable conditions than federalists themselves asked for. (...) After Ritting Stjepan Radic spoke. He commended chaplain Ritting, who spoke the way a host must speak with his guests, but he said that a deep pit has been dug out between Serbs and Croats, and that Protic with all of his good will doesn't even represent 'a single common girt' over which you could cross - the differences are so big, contradictions and different interests, so a completely different orientation of the entire Serbian politics would be necessary to bury that pit.

"Others who were present also said some things. I mentioned that only the recognition of complete Croatian state independence by Serbia could open the road to creating good relations and common interests between both our nations. (...) We parted cordially. Stojan Protic was pleased with our sincerity, so we agreed to preserve the contact, which Stjepan Radic did for a while, but that connection was impossible to preserve because his own Radical Party in Serbia pushed him aside, so he lost all influence on Serbian politics.

"The other attempt happened a year later (1922 - Z. K.), when one day, early in the morning, a man came to my lawyer's office, dressed like citizens of small Serbian towns, that is dressed in something between a citizen's and peasant's suit. He introduced himself to me as Pavle Andjelic, parliament deputy of Serbian Democratic Party, and told me that he was sent by the president of his party, professor Ljuba Davidovic, with the intention to contact Croatian politicians. (...)

"I contacted Radic over the telephone and we agreed that I would bring Andjelic to him tomorrow to his apartment, where we would have a conversation. Pavle Andjelic interpreted to us that Ljuba Davidovic would like to re-establish contact with us in order to reach an agreement between him and Radic, between his party and the Croatian Bloc. The agreement was

supposed to pertain to the most important points: changing the state policy and in that way achieving reconciliation of both nations. Stjepan Radic replied that he is prepared to consider the possibility of an agreement, based on mutual understanding, which could satisfy both sides and lead to reconciliation. He asked Andjelic to inform Davidovic about his position. At the end of the conversation a brief statement was composed, which was signed by all three of us. This statement caused fierce debates in Serbia and it was a subject for Belgrade newspapers for a week, but it was also soon forgotten.

"We interpreted this whole thing that the Belgrade political circles at that moment didn't have serious intentions, but that they wanted to negotiate for another reason. Belgrade, with all other things, on one hand needed to prove to France and England their good will with a reconciliation with Croats, and on the other they needed to point out that Croats are not so uncompromising in the matter of the common state, since it was beginning to be the general opinion abroad."

The strongest personality in Serbian political history

From Pavelic's writings it is easy to notice that he was fascinated by "eminent" Nikola Pasic, "the strongest personality of the Serbian political history". He described his biography in details and his merit for the development of the Serbian state, at the same time regretting Croats never had a politician of his qualities in promoting their interests. That is why Pavelic was honored when Pasic invited him to Belgrade in 1925 through his personal secretary prof. Djordje Jelenic. Pavelic's party comrade Milan Sufflay was also present at that meeting.

"The old Nikola Pasic, with a patriarchal look with his long and white beard, dressed very elegantly, received us very politely. After a short introductory speech Pasic immediately moved on to politics and asked me how are things with us in Croatia and what do people think there about politics and the state. I replied literally:

"President, sir, as you asked me that, I will tell you with simple words the real truth, especially because you must already know that I am completely uninterested about any benefits from this conversation

- because we in our political program cannot and do not want to be in any government combinations in this state.

"Surely you have already been told by various Croats, politicians of all kinds, that there is this or that faction in Croatia for the common state, for state unity with Serbia and national unity with the Serbian people. Allow me to tell you that none of those who said such things did tell you the truth. There is nobody in Croatia who supports state unity and even less for the national unity, except some gentlemen who would want to have personal benefit from it. The Croatian people do not want that unity, and even less they want to hear about Yugoslavism and about some Yugoslav state. They respect the Serbian people and want their Croatian nationality to be respected as well. Slavism is 'a completely unknown term for the Croatian people, and Croats never thought of themselves as Slavs and furthermore it is inconceivable that they could suddenly accept a foreign and unknown name - Yugoslavs.'"

A nation by the meridian

"Pasic carefully listened to my words, stroked his long white beard, then stood up and came closer to the fireplace, and stoked the fire a little, and then he again sat down, looked at me and said:

"I knew that! When we were on Corfu there were consultations how to name the nation and how to name the state, and these Trumbics of yours wanted it to be called the Yugoslav nation and the state Yugoslavia, but I said - it cannot be a nation by the meridian. So, there, that's why it's called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes!"

"As a witty man, Nikola Pasic couldn't characterize the lust of Yugoslavism better, which deliriously possessed some Croats and their parties to impose on the nations of ancient national names a new, geographical name, so he called that abortion - a nation by the meridian! After that we spoke with each other some more and then parted. (...)

"My private visit to Nikola Pasic was noted even in the Serbian newspapers, so in Zagreb among enemies and traitors, even among members of the Peasant Party,

there were all kinds of comments. But that couldn't change my or the attitude of our party at all, as a Croat, to openly express the position and feelings of the Croatian people in a conversation with the most important Serbian political leader."

Pavelic here consciously omits the context of his and Sufflay's contacts with that "great Serbian man and politician". Judging by the previous historical researches, the leaders of HSP didn't only exchange opinions about Yugoslavism with Serbian radicals, but from 1925 - 1926 they tried to impose themselves as the leading political force in Croatia. Radic's recognition of the monarchy and the removal of the Republican determination from the name of HSS they considered a national treason, to which they tried to respond by creating a political party which would be a counterpart to Serbian radicals.

According to a contemporary of these events, Josip Horvat, this is why Sufflay planned the forming of Croatian People's Radical Party, hoping that Belgrade would then more easily accept the negotiations for the final solution of the Croatian question. Sufflay even wrote a manifesto of a sort of the "Croatian radicals" which Pavelic certainly had to be familiar with, as he defended him from accusations of other Croatian parties, but that idea didn't come to a serious approval in Belgrade either, so it was soon abandoned.

[PART FOUR]

Dalmatia: the price for Mussolini's support for Pavelic

In June 1927, only a few days after he was elected for the vice-president of Croatian Party of Rights, Pavelic was chosen as a representative of Zagreb to be present at the International Congress of Cities in Paris. As Pavelic always had problems getting a passport he used that voyage to negotiate a solution of the Croatian question directly with a member of the leadership of Mussolini's Fascist Party. By looking at it from the international context, that was also a direct answer to intensive pro-Yugoslav policy of France and Great Britain. Pavelic, however, very vaguely describes his Italian episode, though it proved to be the crucial point for the creation and development of the Ustase movement.

"On the way to Paris I stopped in Viena and visited the members of the Croatian Committee, general Stjepan Sarkotic and colonel Ivan Percevic. We also invited colonel Stjepan Duic from Graz by a telegram to this

meeting. At that moment the activity of the Committee consisted of continuous observation of the development of European politics, in order to always be prepared to help to the benefit of the homeland, and to that purpose it maintained versatile contacts with political and diplomatic representatives in Viena and readily informed them about the condition of things they considered to be important for our mutual political activity. I expounded my intention to them, that on the return from Paris I will pass through Rome, where I would stay for several days and where I would try to contact any factor through which I could obtain confidential information about relations of Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

"General - colonel Sarkotic and colonels Percevic and Duic decided to immediately contact people from the Italian embassy in Viena, with whom they maintained contact, and that they will inform me in Paris which person I could talk with in Rome.

Aide-mémoire for Mussolini

"After the Congress in Paris was over I went to Rome where I stayed in the Hotel Rora, as we agreed in Viena. There a journalist Dr. Roberto Forges Davanzati looked for me, the editor of Roman daily 'La Tribuna' and a member of the High Council of the Fascist Party. We talked in his private apartment. I told him what I wanted to know about the relations between Italy and the Kingdom of SCS and what are the perspectives for the future of those relations. I explained to him the political situation in the Kingdom of SCS and told him about the relations of our Croatian parties and especially about the unswerving position and determination of our Croatian Party of Rights to win our state independence not only by internal oposition, but also by cooperation with all enslaved nationalities, that are included in that artificial state, counting on moral support of neighboring nations. Regarding the consideration of eventual moral aid, I asked that Italy stops anti-Croatian territorial demands, because the Belgrade regime is using such propaganda, that the basic reason of their Serbo-Yugoslav politics against Italy is their seeming defense of terrirorial integrity of Croatia regarding Dalmatia. Dr. Forges Davanzati told me that Fascism considers the recent Adriatic dispute over.

"Knowing that other individuals tried to contact Italian representatives too, I warned Dr Roberto Forges Davanzati if anyone else would come in the name of our party and ask for any kind of material benefit from that, they would be repudiated by such attempt, because that is not consistent with our principle activity. On the second meeting a day later, Forges Davanzati notified me how the situation seems to them and how are they judging the future development of events. From his words I got a confirmation of what I predicted, that is, that the relations between Rome and Belgrade could deteriorate, which would sooner or later lead to serious conflicts. We decided to maintain a discrete contact through Mrs. Davanzati. The sister of Mrs. Forges Davanzati is married to a higher official of the ministry of foreign affairs of Italy, the diplomat - Paolo Cortese. The conversation with Dr. Roberto Forges Davanzati was an opportunity for me to inform myself better and to evoke interest in Italy among those whose interest depended on our cause."

Pavelic omits the fact that on those negotiations he gave an aide-mémoire to Davanzati for Mussolini, in which he offered Italy to be a kind of a mentor and protector of the Croatian struggle for independence. The price that Croatia would pay for the destruction of the Yugoslav state would be the unconditional recognition of Italian "right on domination on the Adriatic", then "the right to use natural wealth of Balkan for the needs of Italian overpopulated country", and the readiness to adjust Croats to the "sphere of Italian interests, both politically and economically, but also militarily."

Pavelic even went a step further claiming that Croatia is prepared to "waive from keeping a navy on the Adriatic, if Italy would wish to take upon itself the protection of the Croatian coast", "to concede to Italy to that purpose Boka Kotorska with all mountains that are strategically important for the territories of Dalmatia and Herzegovina", "to give Italy in the field of economy all concessions" and finally he didn't even lack the promise that "Croatia waives from building a trade port for a certain number of years, which is to be determined, in order not to obstruct the development of Rijeka". Croatian historians, notably Dr. Jere Jareb, claim that the omitted aide-mémoire was the "seed, from which Roman Accords later grew out of".

The trip to Hungary and Bulgaria

The same year Pavelic, in accord with the politics of the Viena Croatian Committee, went to Budapest, because Hungary was trying

in every way to neutralize the politics of the Little Entente (The Kingdom of SCS, Romania and Czechoslovakia), which was created for the purpose of preventing the return of the Habsburg dynasty to power. Of course, Pavelic also omits here that he was negotiating about the illegal supplying of weapons and about Hungarian help in the aim to include Italy as intensively as possible in the solution of the Croatian problem:

"After my first appearance in the Belgrade Parliament I returned to Zagreb and travelled the same night with my wife to Budapest. In Budapest I had the opportunity to immediately talk with Hungarian politicians and parliament deputies. I visited the Hungarian regent Nikola Horthy and general staff officer Gyul Gombos, with whom I had a long time friendship even from the time before the World War, when he was stationed in Zagreb. I introduced all these individuals with intentions and decisions of our party, that is, with insurmountable rights of the Croatian people for their liberty and independence. On that occasion I used the opportunity to visit the former parliament deputy of the Croatian Party of Rights Dr. Ivica Frank and Mrs. Frank, with whom we were occupied for long in a friendly conversation."

He can't read Serbian

In December 1927 Pavelic went as a lawyer to Skoplje, where in a trial he tried to defend members of pro-Bulgarian **IMRO**, on a accused on a show trial for terrorism. Pavelic's stay in Skoplje couldn't pass without a political incident:

"On the last night of my stay in Skoplje, I was on a dinner in the restaurant of the hotel where I was staying. Two Macedonian lawyers were with me... When a waiter gave me a menu, I looked at it and returned it to him right away, asking him to read me the meals, because I couldn't read them. The waiter smiled, picked one meal and served it to us right away. After dinner I stayed with my Macedonian lawyer friends until leaving to the train station... A couple of days later, on the return from Sofia, a friend of mine passing through Zagreb brought me Belgrade newspapers, which had detailed articles about the event in Skoplje and about the 'severe incident' I committed in that Skoplje restaurant by telling the waiter that I can't read Serbian and that my statement disturbed many guests in the restaurant that was 'full of people', and who reacted on that by kicking me out

of the restaurant. I laughed! (...)

"For several weeks in Belgrade cabarets a comical song was being sung about 'the deputy of the Belgrade parliament, who travelled all over Serbia not understanding Serbian language'! After that I also became the favorite subject of caricatures of one Zagreb newspapers."

[PART FIVE]

Punisa Racic shot with a pistol Croatian deputies from the parliament speaker's pulpit undisturbed

Pavelic's parliament mandate in Belgrade national parliament coincided with the most dramatic events in Croatian-Serbian relations. In his writings he described that atmosphere of intolerance as "real hell", which "was impossible to calm down". He considered that the ultimate goal was creating a government with a "general as the president... and one arbitrary amputation of Croatia, which was to be performed by the king himself and by which the most of Croatia would remain in Yugoslavia". That part of Pavelic's memoirs is certainly the most interesting:

"My speeches were not excluded from protests of Serbian deputies and ministers, but one deputy of Serbian Radical Party had a special task, to interrupt me and raise his voice, whenever I would mention Croatian independence. He was deputy Punisa Racic. He stood in front of the speaker's pulpit and interrupted me, and in the end against all expectations he confirmed that I'm right.

The struggle for greater Serbia

"When I once said that this country is nothing else but greater Serbia, Punisa Racic shouted: You are right, I want greater Serbia! Further during my speech, when they heckled me that they liberated us, I replied:

"Yes, you liberated us from our money, our property, our whole economy, our civilization, our freedom and everything we had! (...) It was clear that something was being prepared."

Pavelic's description of the assassination of Stjepan Radic and deputies of HSS suggests a theory of a carefully planned conspiracy of the king and greater Serbian circles:

"I was sitting in the Parliament (19. June 1928. - Z.K.) as always in the last bench of the far left side. In the evening, after a short rest, Punisa Racic came to me holding a paper in his hand and said: - Look, I'm collecting signatures to put Radic in a nut house! - No need! - I replied him - he's already in it. Where can you find a bigger nut house than this Parliament, where there are whispers and talks, that some day even blood will be spilled in it! He looked at me with a hairy eyeball and said: Don't worry, nothing will ever happen to you! - Punisa, what is the meaning of this conversation? - I noticed. - Nothing, you are for greater Croatia, and I'm for greater Serbia! Bye!

"At that moment the chairman's bell rang and Punisa went away. After this session I found parliament deputy of the Peasant Party Markotic in the lobby and I told him that it seems that something is being prepared and that the rumors that Stjepan Radic should be removed are not just rumors and that it is necessary to be on alert. He replied me that he talked to Radic and that he doesn't believe that the matter is that serious.

He shot standing behind the speaker's pulpit

"The next day was 20. June. I entered the Parliament around half past eleven, and the session had already started. Parliament benches were almost full, while the record from the previous session was being verified. After verification of the protocol of the last session there was a strange silence, and then the chairman Ninko Peric announced that Punisa Racic asked to speak and wants to respond to a personal insult from the last session. Punisa stood up, but not to speak from his seat, as it was a rule to respond to personal remarks, but he came out on the speaker's pulpit. He was followed by deputy Jovanovic, 'duke Lune,' who stood behind him.

"The words of Punisa Racic gave the impression that he wants to start an incident with anyone, and when one deputy heckled him about something regarding

his undertaking against rich Muslim beys in Macedonia, Punisa asked him to repeat what he said, which the other did, and he immediately fired the first shot at him, then he leaned his pistol on his left arm to aim better and he looked at Radic, who was sitting in the bench of the first row, five or six feet away from the pulpit, he shot an arm of the deputy of the Peasant Party who was sitting next to Radic, and he shot Radic himself. Deputy of the Peasant Party Djuro Basaricek stood up, shouted something waving with his arms, when Punisa shot him mortally. At that moment Radic's nephew Pavle Radic stood in front of the pulpit when Punisa shouted at him: - Just the man I was looking for! - and shot him with a second shot. After that he shouted: Long live Serbia! He came down from the pulpit and together with 'duke Lune' left the parliament. The chairman rang, and he went out too."

The murder - the excuse for dictatorship

"At first all deputies remained on their seats like petrified, but after the last shot the room emptied soon. Several deputies rushed to help the wounded Stjepan Radic, and holding him under his arms they carried him out. An ambulance drove Radic and both other wounded deputies to a hospital, while other parliament clerks carried the other two deputies who were killed at the spot. (...)

"Two things immediately come to mind. Stjepan Radic was elected a member of a parliamentary delegation that was to go abroad in those days and participate (in Paris) on an Interparliamentary Congress, but the chairman of the parliament in all ways he could obstructed the departure of this delegation. Radic's departure could not be allowed, because everything was prepared for the crime. They only waited for a convenient opportunity. (...)

"Why exactly in the parliament? Aleksandar already had the intention to install his dictatorship believing that only with it he could crush the Croatian resistance against the common state and Croatian unconditional demand for state independence. Punisa Radic and his comrades could have shot him anywhere and anytime they wanted in Belgrade, but the assassination had to be executed in the parliament so that the king could justify before the outside world the abolishing of the constitution and establishment of the dictatorship,

showing that you cannot rule with a parliament in which murders are being carried out. (...)

The world condemned the murder leniently

"The crime caused a deep impression in the whole world. Someone asked the Belgrade minister of foreign affairs Vojislav Marinkovic: - what will the civilized world say about his outrageous crime in the parliament? The virtuous Serbian minister replied cynically: - What will they say? In Europe there will be noise for a few weeks, and then the whole thing will be forgotten!... Minister Vojislav Marinkovic was right! The outside world and public opinion described and condemned the criminal event in the parliament, but that was all!"

Pavelic claims that the parliament assassination was exactly the necessary turning point in the way of Croatian struggle against Belgrade: "Whereas the political means used until then were hopeless to their purposes, I believed that they would try in the future to openly and exclusively use - force! That is why from our side it was necessary to prepare adequate defense... But all of that needed to be focused to create an organization that will lead the action and prevent that human and moral capital from exhausting in separate local and useless actions; an organization that could lead a successful struggle through a long period of time and always with intensified activity until the situation matures for the final blow and for the final goal of liberation. I then created the formal outline of the organization - Ustasa; and with this word the nature and the purpose of the organization is defined. The word revolution is determined in Croatian with the word - prevrat [overthrow], a term that didn't suit our case, because the Croatian people didn't want an internal revolution, but liberation of their homeland under foreign yoke, and that cannot be achieved by a revolution, but by an uprising of the entire people."

A "Drunk" hindered a policeman

About ten days after Sixth January Dictatorship of Belgrade was declared, Pavelic decided to leave the country because he was under constant police surveillance. Because the validity of his passport was expired, he chose to cross to Italy over Susak bridge, in which he was aided by his associates Malivuk and Lisac:

"When we arrived at the bridge, Lisac went first to the

border guard who checked passports, and asked him to let him pass. The policeman, of course, didn't want to hear about it, but as Lisac insisted and started hugging the guard - and pretending to be drunk, started begging him to let him pass at list for a minute, and that he will return right away. The scene was very amusing, other guards and idle by-passers observed him and laughed. While Lisac bothered the policeman, people passed and showed him their passports, and I did the same by showing him an open passport. The policeman, constantly hindered by Lisac, didn't have time to check the validity of my passport; he stamped it while I was still holding it, and I went to the other side of the bridge. Italian clerks of the border control, although at the other side of the bridge, were amused by the scene that was performed by Lisac and the policeman. I showed them my passport. When they saw the Italian visa on it, they stamped it too and I found myself fortunately on the other side of both borders."

:: filing information ::

Title: Pavelic: Ten Years of Struggle in the Homeland

Source: *Vecernje List*, January 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 1999. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: January 9-13, 1999

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News Excerpt: Croat Leader in Hospital

The American branch of the Ustase movement, the *Domobranici* or "Home Defenders," came under increasing scrutiny as Europe edged closer to war. In 1939, Dr. Branimir "Branko" Jelic made a visit to the United States to help organize the Home Defenders. He was arrested at customs and, per the news release below, hospitalized after he began a short-lived hunger strike to protest his imprisonment.

CROAT LEADER IN HOSPITAL

Dr. Jelic in 2d Day of Hunger Strike on Ellis Island

Dr. Branimir Jelic, a leader in the Croatian independence movement, was in the hospital yesterday at Ellis Island after the second day of a hunger strike over his detention there. Dr. Jelic has been held since Feb. 3 because his passport apparently was not in order, according to Byron H. Uhl, Director of Immigration.

Mr. Uhl said he believed Dr. Jelic arrived here from Germany. He said the doctor started the hunger strike Wednesday and that on Thursday night, when he complained of being "weak," was taken to the hospital.

The latest report from the hospital was that Dr. Jelic was taking liquid nourishment and that, if this continued, he would soon be back on a normal diet, Mr. Uhl said.

The immigration official denied, however, that force had been used. The entry of Dr. Jelic into this country is now before officials in Washington.



related links

News Excerpt: Dr. Jelic Wins in Court

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:: filing information ::

Title: News Excerpt: Croat Leader in Hospital

Source: *New York Times*, February 18, 1939.

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News Excerpt: Dr. Jelic Wins in Court

One of the founding members of the Ustase movement, Dr. Branimir Jelic, was **arrested** immediately upon his arrival in the United States as a security risk in 1939. According to this news report, he was released by a court, but later was followed by FBI agents across the country as he visited local offices of the American branch of the Ustase, the Home Defenders. Jelic was imprisoned in London a few years later when the newly-formed Independent State of Croatia declared war on Britain. After the war, he led one of the most moderate offshoots of the Ustase movement based in Germany.

DR. JELIC WINS IN COURT

Berlin Physician Gains Right to Apply to Enter U.S. Again

Dr. Branimir Jelic, a well-to-do Berlin physician, won the right to another chance for permission to enter this country as a visitor under a decision handed down yesterday by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. Dr. Jelic came here in February from Hungary, but has been excluded on the ground that he had not shown himself to be here purely as a visitor.

The decision under which Dr. Jelic will either be allowed to enter or at least receive another hearing was written by Judge Charles E. Clark, with Judge Thomas W. Swan concurring and Judge Harris B. Chase dissenting. The court referred to a letter from Yugoslav authorities saying that Dr. Jelic had come here to arouse discontent among Yugoslavians, but held that he was entitled to a fair hearing on that and other points.



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:: filing information ::

Title: News Excerpt: Dr. Jelic Wins in Court

Source: *New York Times*, July 18, 1939.

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Pamphlet: "The Victorious Axis"

This pamphlet titled "The Victorious Axis" was printed in Italy and smuggled into Yugoslavia. It is typical of the Ustase's attitude toward Vladko Macek and the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) following the latter's signing of the *Sporazum*, or agreement with the monarchy on forming an autonomous Croatia within Yugoslavia, in August, 1939. During the same month the *Sporazum* was signed, Pavelic once again came into favour in official circles in Italy and began receiving a healthy stipend from the Fascist government to pay for attack propaganda such as this. "Democratic" as used here is a pejorative; though some would later claim otherwise, the Ustase in 1941 were under no illusions regarding their own fascist and anti-Semitic orientation.

Today, when the victory of totalitarian Italy and Germany is practically complete, mentioned gentlemen (that is, from the leadership of Croatian Peasant Party) still lead double lives: on one side they "sympathize" with the totalitarian states, and on the other they support full military mobilization and persecute Croatian nationalists - they even keep them in prisons! We ask: against whom is this mobilization directed? It proves that those democratic gentlemen still keep hoping that "maybe something will change at the last moment." Versailles has fallen and with it must fall everything that was created there! And in Versailles our dungeon, Yugoslavia, was created. Now it is time for Croats to fulfil our rights and to stop... once and for all... to be prey, a colony for Serbs, an asylum for various newcomers and the "promised land" for the Jews!

.... By the force of events they suddenly became *friends* of the Axis, at whom they up to recently growled like curs, and if the Axis would show their weakness they would most readily leave them immediately. They are bread-fighters, career-hunters, vultures, to whom the national ideal is only a pretext to achieve their egoistical goals. Can one be a genuine Croat and at the same time call the one who recently butchered his folk a brother, the same one who keeps in "preparation" hundreds of thousands Croatian sons, ready to send them to the slaughterhouse for the so-called western democracies, creators and protectors of the greatest dungeon of Croats: Yugoslavia.



related links

Documents: Croatian Peasant Party

Documents: The NDH Archive

Documents: NDH Decrees

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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:: filing information ::

Title: Pamphlet: "The Victorious Axis"

Source: *Pobjeda Osovine* (The Victorious Axis), March 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, pp 530-531. Zagreb, 1948. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: March 1941

Added: March 9, 2003

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The Conspirator Rediscovered

This is an original translation of an article which first appeared in the now-defunct Italian magazine *Storia Illustrata* in 1990. The fates of Ante Pavelic and the head of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, Ivan "Vance" Mihailov, are intertwined after the former went into exile in 1929; among Pavelic's first contacts in Vienna was Mihailov's girlfriend. After receiving an invitation to IMRO's headquarters in Banka, Pavelic joined IMRO in a declaration of war against the Royal Yugoslav government, and the Ustase was born. Certain scholars have somehow claimed that the identity of King Alexander's assassin - a Bulgarian "loaned" to the Ustase after two previous bungled assassination attempts ordered by Pavelic - somehow absolves Pavelic and Eugen-Dido Kvaternik of complicity in the crime which they planned. Mihailov's statements on the issue, if they are to be believed, certainly indicate that it was the Ustase, and not IMRO, which planned the assassination in Marseilles. Mihailov's claim to have lived in the NDH is given credence by **this document**, which alleges that he was staying in the same Vatican hide-out as Pavelic after the war. The interviewer, Antonio Pitamitz, was from the Italian community in Dalmatia and wrote several articles for *Storia Illustrata* on the subject of Croatian history.

THE CONSPIRATOR REDISCOVERED

Between the two wars he led the Macedonian insurrection against Belgrade. Together with Ante Pavelic, he participated in the killing of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia in 1934. And then he disappeared. Storia Illustrata has tracked him down for this exclusive interview: his first since then.

A conversation between Ivan "Vance" Mihailov and Antonio Pitamitz

He was among the most determined enemies, of the first Yugoslavia which was born after the First World War, and of its king, Alexander I Karadjordjevic. And he was the head of one of the most powerful irredentist movements in the Balkans: the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), which led the struggle of the Macedonians against the Turks beginning in 1893, and, after 1913, against Serbia which had annexed Macedonia to itself at the expense of Bulgaria after the Balkan wars of 1912-1913 and had imposed with violence the Serb way of life there. In Macedonia, IMRO had a



related links

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: IMRO

Documents: Odpor

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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degree of popular support, while its bases were in Bulgaria, where it was strong enough to become a "state within a state" in the 1920s, with agents in the bureaucracy, the army and in the government.

His name is Ivan Mihailov, also known as "Vance," and he led IMRO in the inter-war period. In Serbia he was considered a criminal. The pro-Bulgarian Macedonians of Serbia held him to be their defender against Serb domination. In Bulgaria he was deemed a patriot. Once, in the 1920s, over two hundred lawyers spontaneously offered to defend him when the courts in Sofia discussed prosecuting him for terrorism in absentia. The trial was scuttled.

Mihailov was one of the legendary Balkan revolutionaries of the period, internationally known for his tenacious fight for the liberation of Macedonia from Yugoslavia, often in tandem with Ante Pavelic, head of the Croat nationalist Ustase movement, who had the same goal for Croatia.

Mihailov and Pavelic's struggle against Belgrade was fought by all means at their disposal, including terrorism. Nothing was verboten, including the assassination of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia, killed in Marseilles, France in 1934 by a confidant of Mihailov's, "lent" to Pavelic's Croat Ustase who had condemned King Alexander back in 1928 after the killing Croat leader Stjepan Radic in parliament by a Montenegrin MP, a chauvinist Serb with ties to the Royal Court. Wounded by police and lynched by the enraged mob, Mihailov's agent took the secret of his identity to his grave. He went down in history as one Peter Kelemann - the last of the many aliases he used to stay one step ahead of the European police, among which was his own true name which was made public by the Bulgarian police. The Marseilles assassination made Europe fear for another Sarajevo. Fascist Italy and Horthy's Hungary, where the Ustase had training camps for their followers, were tangled up in the controversy. As it occurred at the precise moment when Mussolini was attempting a rapprochement with France (the ally of Yugoslavia), the shadow of Hitler's Germany also stretched as far as Marseilles.

But Mihailov disappeared from the scene after 1934, when Bulgarian military forces seized power in Sofia and outlawed by IMRO and its legal front, the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee. Not even the turmoil of World War II and the post-war chaos, which in the Balkans led to the tragic rendering of accounts between Croats and the pro-Bulgarian Macedonians with the Serbs, drew Mihailov back into the public eye. Many thought he was dead. Instead, Mihailov has been living for more than forty years in a Western European city, where we tracked him down.

This is the first interview Mihailov has given since the assassination in Marseilles, exclusively for *Storia Illustrata*. Now ninety-three years old, grown used to a life of conspiracy, he answered us in a slow, drawn manner, alternating between half-admissions and bold

assertions - like the accomplished Balkan revolutionary that he is.

Q. Mr. Mihailov, let's start with the Marseilles attack. The assassin of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia was one of your men. He was positively identified by the French police as Peter Kelemann, which was one of his many aliases. What was his real name?

A. His true identity was made public by the Bulgarian police. That was Vladimir "Vlado" Gheorghiev Tchernozernsky. To me and our other companions, he had only been "Vlado."

*Q. Between yourself and **Ante Pavelic's** Ustase there was a "coordinated action pact," both anti-Serb and anti-Yugoslav. When you "lent" Tchernozernsky to Pavelic, did you know what he would be used for?*

A. A written and signed pact for a common struggle between the Macedonians and the Croats did not exist and it never has. But there was - and there still is - the same state of defense and attack against the actions and machinations of the Serbs at the expense of the Croats and the Bulgarians in Macedonia. Self-preservation is a powerful instinct. When the Serbs shot Croat MPs in the parliament, Ante Pavelic presented himself to me a few days later, as if by instinct, as a guest of the Macedonian exiles in Sofia and was welcomed with a genuine camaraderie. It was then that the Macedonian exiles and Pavelic together announced to the whole world that we would march together against Serbian tyranny. Immediately afterwards, Belgrade condemned Pavelic to death. You have to remember, Pavelic did not come to an agreement with IMRO but with the legal Macedonian National Committee, which included important people, people who were members of the Bulgarian parliament.

Q. You have not answered the question. Did you know what action Tchernozernsky was to undertake?

A. Tchernozernsky was placed at the disposal of Pavelic and the Croats for any activity directed against Yugoslavia, of course within the confines of the common fight for the liberation of our peoples from Belgrade's grip. King Alexander was one of the possible objectives.

Q. Did you discuss the death of Alexander with Pavelic?

A. Between Pavelic and myself there was no specific talk of the assassination. But for us it was a natural conclusion that Alexander should end like he did.

Q. You said there was nothing in writing between you and Pavelic. But IMRO agents were training Croats at the training camp in Janka Puszta, Hungary.

A. IMRO never ordered its men to be instructors for Croats at Janka Puszta or anywhere else. I can say that with confidence, because if I didn't know that was happening, nobody would have known. If some Macedonian students in Hungary went to the camps, it is not within my knowledge.

Q. Where were you on the day of the assassination?

A. Thirty days or so before the death of the Serbian king, I was in Istanbul. I stayed there for three or four weeks. During that time I realized that Turkey had probably accepted some kind of request from Belgrade to create difficulties for my departure to Western Europe. We had to leave Istanbul, on the advice of the Turkish police, for the town of Kastamonu seeing as how there were lovely woods there - for my wife's health, they told me. As soon as we arrived in Kastamonu, a police officer notified us that King Alexander had been killed in Marseilles. My immediate thought was that the King, who had done everything to complicate my departure for Western Europe, had been struck down by a higher power who prevented him from meddling any more. After we heard this bit of news, we were moved to a place about ten kilometers from Ankara. We lived there for more than two years. Then we were moved to the island of Prinkipo, which is near Istanbul. After about a year there, we finally moved on to Poland, and successively through different countries, five in all, until 1949, when we settled in one of them. The Yugoslav government was highly annoyed by the degree of freedom allowed me, and was even more so when the Turkish government refused to extradite me.

Q. You mention a "higher power." That "higher power" was called Tchernozernsky. And the "death" at Marseilles was a murder.

A. I have already had occasion to write that the act of Vlado Tchernozernsky cannot be called a murder. That was clear to anyone that knew anything about King Alexander's regime and the conspiracies devised by them. Vlado was the instrument of the punishment decreed by the curses, the rivers of tears and blood of the Macedonians, Croats, Albanians and other city and country-folk of Yugoslavia, including many Serbs. The Macedonians and the majority of other Yugoslav nationalities rejoiced at the news of the Serbian king's punishment. My mother, who lived in Serbia, got my brother to take her to Belgrade to take a look at the pistol used in the act, which was on display in a museum. Looking at it there, she cried, "May his hand flower!" Obviously, her blessing was on he who had killed the king, not on the king himself. Behind the killing of Alexander there are innumerable crimes done by the king and his advisors. As to the Serbian people, I don't have anything against

them.

Q. One of the theories behind the Marseilles assassination, unproven on a documentary basis, is that Nazi Germany was behind it all. Is there any truth to this?

A. Quite a few years ago, the *Macedonian Tribune*, the journal of our people in America, denied the report in a newspaper which stated that I had met a German in Paris to approve the assassination of Alexander. I don't remember all the details they invented. I don't know who forwarded that lie, nor why they did so now. I never met any German in Paris or anyplace else. I never had a discussion like the one you mention. Since 1912, during the First Balkan War, when he entered Skopje after the Turks' withdrawal, Alexander Karadjordjevic - who was then still Crown Prince - gave proof of his atrocious character and his occupier's mentality in front of the entire population and important people representing all the nationalities of Macedonia.

It was then that a small child, a girl, welcomed him in the name of the people. Alexander asked her, who are you? The girl answered: a Bulgarian. Alexander Karadjordjevic slapped her.

That gesture, shameful and tragic, was the first in a long series of moral and material abuses, humiliations, continuous attempts to enforce a Serbian way of life on the Bulgarian population of Vardar Macedonia. IMRO was the only moral and material force among the Macedonian people. IMRO was able to reach as far as the Belgrade office of the highest representative of Serbian terror against the Macedonians, Jika Lasic. One of his lieutenants, whom he trusted, shot him behind his desk. He survived, and when the Communists came to power they gave him a lifetime pension for his services to Serbianism. Unable to justify a terrorist regime, the Serbs decided that it was not they who were the criminals, but whoever opposed them. In a spirit of vengeance, Serbian police killed my father and my brother, who were the most pacific of people in the village of Stip. In response, I told a journalist that IMRO would never sink to that level of the Serbian intelligentsia which justified the murder of so many Macedonians. Never.

Q. It has been historically proven that Pavelic's Ustase movement was supported by the Italian government. Did the Macedonians have a similar arrangement?

A. IMRO was supported by our people, and sometimes - though rarely - by the diaspora. I never saw or heard of any assistance given to IMRO by Bulgaria or any other state. IMRO never had any bases in Italy as the Croats did. I personally had no connection or any contact with Mussolini or his government.

Q. Macedonian independence, like Croatian independence, meant the disintegration of Yugoslavia, which was a triumph for Mussolini's vision of the Balkans. Wasn't this what you also wanted?

A. The destruction of Yugoslavia was the ardent desire of all peoples illegally annexed to it, except the Serbs.

Q. After the attack by Italians and Germans in 1941, Macedonia was annexed to Bulgaria. But the victory of the partisans of Tito meant that Macedonia remained in Yugoslavia. It became a federated republic. For the first time since the liberation from the Turkish yoke, the Macedonians have their own state. The old "Macedonian Question" has been solved. Wouldn't you agree that occasional irredentist references to Macedonia by Bulgarians - especially among academic circles - are historically out of place now?

A. The Bulgarians in Macedonia, the majority in that country, wish for either an independent Macedonia along the lines of Switzerland, or the outright reunification with Bulgaria. They are the majority. However, Bulgarians in Macedonia have always invited the minorities to fight for an independent Macedonian state. I approve of one of these solutions. Not one of the minorities in Yugoslavia ever wanted or fought for the Yugoslav state. The Yugoslav nationality doesn't exist and never has. But, on the other hand, different nationalities with centuries of history behind them still exist: among them, the Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Bosnjaks, Romanians, Montenegrins, and so on.

Tito was dispatched to Yugoslavia to assume a role imposed from the outside. The latest events certainly testify to this. With regard to the Bulgarian Macedonians, they are not only in the frontiers of today's Yugoslavia. There are just as many who have left for Bulgaria, and at least three hundred thousand in Pirin Macedonia, more in America and Australia and elsewhere. So the Bulgarian academics are not being recidivist or archaic. To the contrary: they are in the middle of current events, by addressing Macedonia.

After 1945, when the Bulgarians in Macedonia realized that they were going to remain under Belgrade, a group of mainly secondary school students prepared - in secret, of course - a petition to the United Nations demanding an independent Macedonia. They were discovered and arrested. They were condemned to six to fourteen years in prison for it. To continue in imposing Serbian culture on the Bulgarians, the Communist regime created a "Macedonian language" and a "Macedonian nationality." This was derided by French sociologist Guy Heraud in 1966 as "non-existent and created to confused people."

Q. Others have written that within IMRO, you were the leader of the nationalist wing, opposing the faction favorable to Bulgaria's absorption with the Soviet Union. This bitter conflict ended with you

killing the other faction's leader, General Alexander Protogerov.

A. No factions of this kind existed within IMRO. Protogerov had the same rank as I did in the central committee. He was ambitious for power, both in IMRO and in the country, but he wasn't a revolutionary. He was too manipulative. At a certain point he was in fact isolated from all political and military decisions within the central committee of IMRO. He had no idea of what we were doing until he read them in the newspapers. Protogerov was disciplined because he was responsible on his own for killing Todor Alexandrov, who had been one of IMRO's supporters. And I didn't kill Protogerov, I ordered his elimination.

Q. It's plain to see that Bulgaria didn't go the way you wanted, in that it became a Communist country. Because of that, Bulgarian nationalism in Macedonia has been defeated. This is also a defeat for you and your ideas, don't you think?

A. I have not been sidelined by history. I am living in the free world and I have always worked for my people. Communism was imposed, as you very well know. It was imposed by force on our freedom loving people like all others. If anything must be sidelined by history it is Communism. In America we have organizations which continue to fight for an independent Macedonia, who acknowledge our Bulgarian nationality.

Q. After the war, your name appeared often in publications about the Balkans and about European history. But nobody knew what happened to you. Many thought you were dead. How did you survive, and where did you go?

A. I was in Poland for a year before the war. I myself saw the Germans enter Warsaw. I distinctly remember hearing Hitler's praise for the Polish soldiers. After that, I went to Hungary. After Croatia's independence, I was a guest of my old colleagues there. I remained in Croatia until the end of the war. Late in the war, the Germans suggested placing me at the head of an independent Macedonian state. I did go to Skopje, but I refused, because I did not want to bear responsibility for the incredible bloodshed which would occur with Communism on the verge of taking over. The Germans didn't really like hearing that answer, but individually I think they knew that I had done right by my people. We all saw how many innocent victims Communism caused after the war.

Q. The struggle you headed, with an emphasis on terrorism, preoccupied Bulgaria and Yugoslav Macedonia for years. But it had no result. Today, some years later, what is your opinion of terrorism, of all terrorism?

A. You're saying that terrorist acts against the occupiers were

fruitless. But in many parts of the world today, groups are still devoted to a terrorist strategy to further their aims. By terrorist acts there are many who are merely trying to keep attention focused on national or political questions. A specific struggle can in fact be sustained for a long time by different types of propaganda. But IMRO never resorted to terrorism. IMRO punished those who erred individually.

[Translation note: Mihailov was of the opinion that "Bulgarians" are indistinguishable from "Macedonians" and often uses the two words interchangeably when referring to the people of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The terms "Bulgarians in Macedonia," "pro-Bulgarian Macedonian" and "Macedonians" have been used accordingly, depending upon the context.]

:: filing information ::

Title: The Conspirator Rediscovered

Source: *Storia Illustrata*, by Antonio Pitamitz. pp. 46-51. Translated by Cali Ruchala.

Date: 1990

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The Jasenovac Exhibition

Multimedia presentation at the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC

The Museum of Tolerance Learning Center

Created by the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

Vatican Bank Claims

Site from the legal team fighting to establish the truth about the Vatican's involvement in the fate of the Ustase treasury.

The Clero-Fascist Studies Project

Site exploring the connection between the Roman Catholic Church and Fascism in pre-war and wartime Europe, including a lengthy section on Archbishop **Alojzije Stepinac**.

serbian-translation.com

Other works by the translator of the NDH racial decrees available **here**.

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OSS File: Croatian Fraternal Union Affairs

As a means to build up pro-Allied sentiment among America's various Eastern European immigrant communities, a "Slav Congress" was held, with delegations arriving from the most prominent groups. Office of Strategic Services informant "SK" attended and reported on internal dissension behind the scenes. It should be noted that the administration at the time wanted all groups attending the congress to form a united front, aimed at the Axis powers, and to put their disagreements aside for the duration of the war. They were aware, however, of similar efforts being made in Moscow (culminating in Stalin's absurdly anachronistic "Pan-Slavic Institute") and sought to protect the delegates from possible Soviet agents. The following report indicates some internal dissension in the ranks of the Croatian Fraternal Union, one of the most venerable Croatian-American organizations. Many decades later, the CFU would itself **become a target** of Ustase extremists in America who saw the CFU as unwelcome competition.

S.K.
Yugo.

April 23, 1942
Detroit, Mich.

Re: Croatian Frat. Un. Affairs

It is reported, that the 2 Lodges of the C.F.U. in Detroit, are against the proposed referendum to oust J.D. Butkovich, Pres. of the C.F.U. They agree, that Butkovich has been detrimental as a whole to the organization, but maintain that the time is not ripe to force the issue and that Butkovich should be dispensed with in the regular manner at the coming election in 1943. Concerning Milan Petrak, ed. of the "Zajednicar", they do not place him in the same category with Butkovich. Petrak is coming as a delegate to the Slav congress and the Croat leaders here intend to put him on the carpet and demand that he come out more in a Yugoslav spirit in future. They consider Petrak as an ablest [sic] Croatian editor and are loath to dispose of him. They are under the impression that they will manage to show him the right way towards the Serbo-Croatian unity.



related links

Article: Unofficial
Diplomat - Ustase
Attacks against the
Croatian Fraternal Union

Judicial Decision: The
Second Otpor RICO Trial
in New York City

Documents: The OSS
Files

Documents: The US
Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Ustase
Movement

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However, if Petrak fails to reciprocate, then they will proceed to displace him. Since the F.B.I. raids on the Cratian *[sic]* Homedefenders, these Croats have been fully impressed and are now thoroughly cowed and rendered *hors de combat*.

The agents have also questioned the local leaders of the Serb. Natl. Def. Council as to their activities and since then this crowd has laid low publicly but conducts its propaganda on the sly.

The Macedonian Bulgarians have not shown any open activity, but for that matter they never did as their actions were always conducted with underground perfect methods for years. The only way to find out their activities is to get to one of their numbers, which is a hard task as the culprit literally pays with his head if found out. Its an old custom of the **IMRO**.

A large part of the Ukrainians are still showing a sympathy to the Nazi cause by their hatred of the Russians regardless of communists, but defend their stand by a claim of being good Americans. Majority of them are from the former Austrian Galicia and equally hate the Poles. One part, from Ukraine proper, are strongly pro-Soviet and a schism exists between the two extremes.

SK/Y

:: filing information ::

Title: OSS File: Croatian Fraternal Union Affairs

Source: NARA

Date: April 23, 1942

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

The Croatian Resistance Movement (I)

This is one of the most tantalizing documents we've come across: an internal CIA report of the **Krizari** operation. However, the last part and several other pages of the report are missing, and the "Best Copy Available" as released by the CIA is in terrible condition. It took a great deal of work to reconstruct the text from the poor facsimile, but we have managed to do so as far as we are capable. Mime Rosandic is widely reputed to be one of the Krizari's chief political organizers, though we have not yet compiled his complete biography. "Mate" Frkovic probably refers to Ivica Frkovic, minister in the NDH from 1941 until 1945, Krizari organizer and trusted Pavelic lieutenant as far as Argentina. Lovro Susic followed an identical path. "Kavran," refers to Bozidar Kavran, a pre-war Ustase who served at Ustase HQ throughout the war. He was captured by the Yugoslavs in a disastrous Krizari operation in 1948, tried and executed. These individuals were senior officials organizing the Krizari from after the war until about 1948. Of the other names, note that some are obvious cryptonyms (particularly "Monsignore"), others appear to be. Krunoslav Draganovic makes an appearance in the latter part of the document; the author of this report almost delights that the senior Ratline operative would be to some degree cut-out of knowledge about the Krizari by the author's confidant, "Monsignore." How accurately this reflects the true state of affairs, with different American officials apparently opening conniving against each other throughout, is unclear.



Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Documents: The Krizari Campaign

Misc: Search

Essays: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

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Subject: Croatian Resistance Movement, Activities of Mime ROSANDIC, Mate FRKOVIC, [illegible], Lovro SUSIC, MONSIGNORE, et. al.

Report No: [REDACTED]

Date of Info: June 1947.
May 1948

Date Acquired: June 1948

Date of Report: 14 June 1948

Place Acquired: [REDACTED]

Evaluation: [REDACTED]

Source: [REDACTED]



I. Introductory Note:

1. For the purposes of the present report the term "Croatian Resistance Movement" is intended to apply only to that organization which is functioning under the leadership of ROSANDIC-FRKOVIC-KAVRAN-SUSIC, et al, and whose origins are outlined in the paragraphs below. This report, which constitutes only an outline introduction to the various facets of Croatian resistance as they are visible [REDACTED] will be followed by more [illegible]. At that time a more precise terminology designed to define the ROSANDIC-FRKOVIC organization in its relationship to the over-all opposition effort, will be evolved.

II. Origins of the CRM

2. ROSANDIC AND FRKOVIC Confide Intentions [REDACTED]:

During [REDACTED] June 1947, Mate FRKOVIC and [REDACTED] ROSANDIC confided their intention of proceeding to Croatia for the purpose of organizing the Croatian resistance movement. One of their most important tasks, they believe, will be that of attempting to discourage members of the resistance from undertaking premature attacks and operations which could only expose them to the danger of reprisals.

3. ROSANDIC and FRKOVIC Agree to Maintain Contact with Source:

At their meetings, a conventional language for maintenance of correspondence between ROSANDIC-FRKOVIC and Source was set up, and the two agreed that they would be glad to consider any suggestions which Source might care to present to them.

4. [REDACTED] ROSANDIC and FRKOVIC:

Leaving Rome on 29 June 1947, [REDACTED] Mate FRKOVIC and [illegible] ROSANDIC to the Italo-American border on the first leg of their journey from Italy to Croatia where they intend to organize the Croatian resistance movement.

5. In Austria, FRKOVIC and ROSANDIC intend to meet with Vance MIHAJLOV, "invisible" leader of the Macedonian resistance. Before the war MIHAJLOV collaborated with **Ante PAVELIC**, as chief of the VMRO (**Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**), which is struggling for Macedonia's independence and political autonomy. FRKOVIC and ROSANDIC will inform [REDACTED] before MIHAJLOV is in effective contact with his country, and they stated they would arrange an appointment with MIHAJLOV [REDACTED] should the latter desire such a meeting.

[several pages are missing from this document, as it jumps ahead to

midway through heading VI, subheading 31.]

[first sentence cut off]

[illegible] would bring with him the necessary funds to affect the transfer, and that these funds should be entrusted to the groups leader (Lt.) Zvonko [illegible].

b) [illegible] is first to accompany his group to a house in the country (location unknown) where its members will be conditioned physically, and where they will prepare for the journey ahead of them. CJEAKOVIC does not know whether the group will proceed to Yugoslavia from Italy or whether it will travel via Austria.

c) It is reported that Luka VUKELIC (35 years old, ex-employee of the Croatian Secretariat of State for Security and Public Order) will also be a member of the group, but first he wishes to secure himself that the enterprise is favorably regarded by the Americans.

d) A fourth who has confessed to membership in the group is Drag. FERKOVIC (30 years old, a housepainter by trade) who is furious because of CJEAKOVIC's utter disregard for security.

e) Milovan MANHOTER (a functionary of the short-lived 1943 TITO-partisan administration of SUSAK) recently changed his mind about leaving with the group as he had previously intended; he is aware, however, of the project as it is outlined here. MANHOTER is a friend of Stjepan MAJSEC who is undoubtedly a British agent, but is of much doubtful moral character that he would be quite capable of collaborating with OZNA.

f) A sixth individual, Franje MILOS, 45 years old, politically reliable from the anti-Communist point of view, has also reversed a previous decision to be a member of the departing group.

VII. DRAGANOVIC Attempts to Establish Liaison with CRM.

32. DRAGANOVIC Reports to American Embassy.

It has been determined that (Dr.) **Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC** is in contact with at least one functionary of the American Embassy in Rome to whom he furnishes reports on Croatian matters. These reports are compiled on the basis of information which DRAGANOVIC gathers from refugees escaping from Yugoslavia. It is felt that DRAGANOVIC's reports on the Yugoslav internal situation, insofar as Croatian resistance is concerned, reflect his own profound [illegible] in the field of political science rather than current reality. Valuable from the academic point of view of analysis and interpretation of certain facts and trends, his reports undoubtedly fall short of presenting a true picture of current attempts at opposition in Croatia.

33. DRAGANOVIC Approaches MONSIGNORE

Recently DRAGANOVIC has attempted to establish a contact with local CRM leaders, probably because his American Embassy acquaintance has requested information as to Croatian resistance activities, and has naturally turned to MONSIGNORE. The latter, [REDACTED] so that reluctantly decided to inform DRAGANOVIC that a quite well-organized CRM actually exists. It was felt necessary to extend this degree of confidence to DRAGANOVIC in order to assure that the latter would not in any way impede the Italy-Austria flow of personnel necessary for CRM cadres.

34. *[cut off from top of page]*

Therefore, the only valid CRM informations which DRAGANOVIC can now supply to his American Embassy contact are those furnished him by MONSIGNORE. The latter, *[illegible]*, will not submit any material to DRAGANOVIC without first consulting with *[illegible]* and obtaining his approval. Thus arises the somewhat ridiculous situation in which one [REDACTED] submits to another (DRAGANOVIC's [REDACTED] materials which might be construed as "chicken feed".

VIII. Unidentified American Agency in Austria Seeks Rome CRM Contact.

35. DIETRICH Attempts to Contact MONSIGNORE.

As regards its eventual significance, the case of Herber DIETRICH may be considered analogous to that of DRAGANOVIC. DIETRICH, an American stationed with an American unit in Vienna, has recently been to Rome, apparently for the express purpose of contacting MONSIGNORE in an effort to obtain information on the CRM.

36. [REDACTED] Requested to Furnish "Security Check" on DIETRICH

A recent letter from Mate FRKOVIC requests [REDACTED] to submit an opinion as to the background and reliability of DIETRICH, which would indicate that DIETRICH is in contact with the CRM's Austrian representatives. Here again is a point of [REDACTED] control over the operations of another [REDACTED] it can logically be assumed that the type, amount and quality of informations supplied to DIETRICH by the CRM in Austria will depend on [REDACTED] advice.

IX. PERNAR and the "Independent HSS Resistance Movement"

37. "American Contact" of JESIK-MUSE.

A third similar situation arises in the case of Most (Reverend Father) Pavao

JESIK and Panimir (or Darko) MUSE who are allegedly in contact with a high-ranking American officer. MUSE arrived in Rome from Spalato (Split) for the purpose of informing (Dr.) Ivan PERNAR of HSS organization in the District of Spalato and its participation in the Croatian resistance. PERNAR placed MUSE in contact with JESIK who considers himself a loyal HSS representative, but who is merely a good and honest priest completely innocent of any comprehension of political realities [REDACTED] has been acquainted with JESIK for at least twelve years).

38. MUSE to Return to Yugoslavia

Through PERNAR, the father of the idea, and JESIK it is to be demonstrated to the Americans that HSS, too, controls an independent resistance organization within Croatia. To implement this project MUSE must be returned to Croatia from whence he will maintain a contact with JESIK and the American officer mentioned above. The only manner in which MUSE can return and activate his contact, however, is by seeking the aid of the CRM organization represented in Rome by MONSIGNORE.

39. MONSIGNORE Delays MUSE Mission.

In the meantime MONSIGNORE is deliberately delaying the return of MUSE because certain elements in the latter's case leave more doubt as to his

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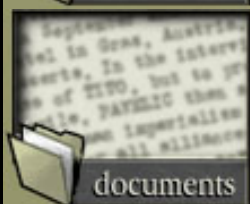
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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



timelines



documents



who's who



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OSS Memorandum on Yugoslav Groups in the US

The following report was prepared by the United States Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in June of 1944. This report summarizes the positions taken by various South Slavic-American organizations on issues of import of the day: the formation of a new Yugoslav Government-in-Exile under Ivan Subasic, the increasing likelihood of a Soviet presence in Eastern Europe, and so on. It also contains **considerable background** information on several Croatian-American organizations, from the venerable Croatian Fraternal Union, to the *Domobrans* of "Homedefenders," a movement organized in the 1930s by Ustase co-founder Branimir "Branko" Jelic as the American branch of the Ustase movement. This file is also reproduced in its original format in a PDF file (177k), available for download [here](#).



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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

Memorandum by the Foreign Nationalities Branch to the Director of Strategic Services

Number 198, 28 June 1944

text-only version
Reconstructed PDF File

RELIGIOUS-POLITICAL FORCES ADD TO THE YUGOSLAV COMPLICATION

1. *Serbian Orthodox Bishop Dionisije breaks with extreme Serb nationalism, disassociates himself from Mihailovich, favors federated Yugoslavia under a king, and despite dread of atheistic Communism looks toward Moscow to fend against disorder in the Balkans and for support against a Roman Catholic organization of Central Europe, which he fears would truncate Yugoslavia.*

2. *Some Roman Catholic Priests have revived a movement among Croatian-Americans for an independent Croatia; they openly approve the Hitler quisling, Ante Pavelich, because they believe he has given the idea of Croatian independence a demonstration of reality; an analogous movement appears among the Slovene-Americans; and ground is thus provided for Serbian Orthodox fear of a new Austro-*

Hungarian Roman Catholic imperialism.

3. *The Communist line is still to denounce the Croatian Peasant Party leader, Vladimir Machek, as a reactionary and collaborationist, but the bulk of Croatian-Americans hold true to the Machek tradition, and except for the Catholic-led Croatian nationalists and the extreme Serbian nationalists, are following with sympathetic interest Ivan Subasich's effort to form a new Yugoslav Government under King Peter. While Croatian nationalists talk of independence, Serbian nationalists, desperate in all other directions, now dream of Moscow as deus ex machina.*

THE ever complicated Yugoslav sector of the foreign political scene in the United States has risen to a new pitch of complication, in which a confrontation of Roman Catholic vs. Orthodox takes shadowy form. These are principal factors -

(1) A readjustment of political position by the Orthodox Bishop of North America, Dionisije;

(2) A revived Croatian independence move led by Roman Catholic clergy;

*(3) The efforts of Ban Ivan Subasich to form a new Yugoslav Government in the midst of mounting Communist attacks on Subasich's old chief, **Vladimir Machek**.*

Bishop Dionisije's readjustment of position includes divorcement from the extreme nationalist campaign which has been carried on in the United States by the Serbian National Defense Council, and, coincidentally with the recall of Ambassador Fotich, a decision to end the public support heretofore given by the Bishop to General Draza Mihailovich. The Bishop is out clearly now for a federated Yugoslavia under the monarchy, and he opines that preservation of the monarchic principle would make it possible to have a Croat such as Ivan Subasich as prime minister. To implement his break with the Serbian nationalist campaign in the United States, the Bishop is establishing a new organization, the Serbian Patriarchate Fund, to carry on the humanitarian work from which he asserts the Serbian National Defense was seduced by political machinations.

Concurrently, a number of Roman Catholic leaders among the Croatian-Americans are moving definitely against any reconstitution of Yugoslavia. They are out for an independent Croatia and are quite open in their approval of the Croatian quisling, **Ante Pavelich**, because they believe that at whatever cost he has imparted to the idea of Croatian independence a demonstration of reality. They are again presenting to the American public the case for an independent Croatia which was first heard of many years ago.

This initiative by individual Roman Catholic clerics in the United States has stirred in the mind of Bishop Dionisije, as well as others, the old notion of a Roman Catholic political bulwark crossing Central Europe. The Bishop seems not to doubt the existence of a Vatican design for a new Roman limes, which with Poland on the north would include Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Croatia, and Slovenia, and it implies to him a Habsburg restoration and a new Austro-Hungarian imperialism and a ruinous cutting across of the Southern Slavs by political-religious strife. His Orthodox distrust of the Western Church is fired again. He dreads "atheistic Communism" still, but he wonders if Moscow is any more what it has been. He has plainly come to think of Moscow as the emerging champion perhaps of the East against the West and *deus ex machina* in the tangled drama of the Southern Slavs.

The Bishop and the rest of the Yugoslav-American community meanwhile watch the efforts of Ivan Subasich to form a new Yugoslav Government under King Peter. Extreme Right and Left are hostile to Subasich or at best tolerant, but the middle-of-the-road bulk of the community wish him all success. Subasich's friends have been impressed by the swift fulfillment of the promise he gave them before leaving the United States to dismiss General Draza Mihailovich as Minister of War and Constantin Fotich as Ambassador in Washington as soon as the King entrusted him with power, but they are disturbed by the still mounting Communist attack upon Subasich's old chief, Machek. Meanwhile Serb-American nationalists, in all other directions desperate, see signs that Moscow may be preparing an accommodation with Mihailovich. For them also Moscow takes on the shadowy form of *deus ex machina*.

I.

Bishop Dionisije expressed his views and stated his plans during a talk with this Branch in New York 12 June. It was his earnest wish, he said, that any sort of hostile confrontation between Orthodox and Roman Catholic interests should be avoided, but recognizing that such an untoward development might come nonetheless, he was quite frankly giving thought to the solidarity which exists among the national churches of the Orthodox communion - Russian, Serbian, Greek, and so on - and to the vast power of the new Russia. He spoke also of the special tie which binds the Orthodox communion with the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. He has not failed to follow the journey of the Archbishop of York to Moscow last September to pay his respects very promptly to the newly elevated Patriarch of Russia, and he had watched with the greatest interest, of course, the ensuing visit of that socially minded Anglican leader to the United States in April.

The sense of brotherhood existing between the Serbian Orthodox

Church and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States had been concretely demonstrated on 11 June. The Bishop had come to New York to take part in the consecration of the Serbian Cathedral of St. Sava. Until then a pro-Cathedral, it becomes the first Serbian Cathedral in the United States and the Bishop's new See. The edifice, which is at 15 West 25th Street, was originally built as a chapel for Trinity parish of the Protestant Episcopal Church at a cost of \$200,000 or more. Bishop Dionisije and his colleagues in the Serbian Orthodox diocese of North American felt it to be a substantial expression of brotherhood that Trinity parish relinquished the property to them for \$30,000.

Bishop William T. Manning of the Protestant Episcopal Church had been another principal participant in the dedication. The ceremony symbolized, Manning later declared, the "close relation of the Protestant Episcopal and Holy Orthodox Churches." Also participating were Bishop Polizoides, representing Archbishop Athenagoras of the Greek Orthodox Church; Bishop Makarij of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Reverend Edward N. West, canon sacrist of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine; five archpriests and three priests representing Serbian congregations from coast to coast, and the Very Reverend Dushan J. Shoukletovich, formerly rector of St. Sava's Church, now elevated to the deanship of the cathedral. Fourteen hundred New York Serbian-Americans and 600 representatives of Serbian societies and congregations all over the country were present. Outwardly the occasion was a success, but for the more fervid Serbian nationalists it was reduced to something of an anti-climax by the failure of Bishop Dionisije to mention the name of General Draza Mihailovich and by the news that day of Ambassador Fotich's recall.

Bishop Dionisije's address was the only one at the dedication ceremonies which bore political references. As originally written the address had contained a complimentary allusion to General Draza Mihailovich, the Bishop told this Branch, but the passage was struck out at the last moment, coincidentally with the receipt of word that Ambassador Fotich had been recalled.

"The whole world knows," said the Bishop in the course of the retained portions of his address, "how great were the sufferings of the Serbian people and of the Serbian Orthodox Church whose property, church buildings, and monasteries in the so-called 'Independent State of Croatia' were confiscated and plundered, and in many cases destroyed, or burned and drenched with Serbian blood. It is everywhere known how at least three of our bishops were murdered by the Ustashi, as were also about a million Serbs, including hundreds of priests, many of whom were exiled with hundreds of thousands of other Serbs, from their parishes, their homes, and their native land. It is also well known how the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, His Holiness Patriarch Gabriel, dearly paid for his resistance to the Germans and for that very reason is at

the present time suffering in prison in one of our monasteries.

"And yet again, the whole world knows how Hitler and **Pavelich**, the leader of the Ustashi in the 'Independent State of Croatia,' attempted to crush Serbian Church unity in Yugoslavia through the organization of the remaining Serbs into a so-called 'Croatian Orthodox Church' by a dissident of the Russian Orthodox Church, Bishop Germogen as head. All of these deplorable conditions put the Serbs as well as the Greeks, the Russians, and other liberty-loving peoples where they must pass between 'Scylla and Charybdis,' and the Serbs through their untold suffering are yet fighting against Nazism, Fascism, and atheistic Communism to pass their 'Scylla and Charybdis,' waiting the coming day of their liberation. So the Serbian people, as well as all other enslaved peoples, on the eve of the Allied invasion of Europe hope that their dearly bought liberty will soon return and that they may, under the beneficent rays of the sun of liberty, heal their deeply inflicted wounds and renew their youth and their national and their Church unity."

Special note may be taken of the elevation of Father Shoukletovich to be dean of the new cathedral. Father Shoukletovich represents the Orthodox Church militant, and spoke in this vein very clearly (as previously reported by this Branch) in a talk 8 May before the European Christian Forum in New York. He emphasized on that occasion his acceptance of Russia's new pre-eminence, not alone in a political and military sense but also in the realm of Eastern Christianity and in opposition to Rome. He prophesied that all the Orthodox Churches would gradually turn toward Moscow and he foresaw disappointments for the Roman Church in Poland, where the people (he said) would break away from that Church if it continued to maintain an anti-Russian attitude.

In calling on this Branch Monday 12 June Bishop Dionisije was accompanied by Dushan Silashki, an American citizen of Serbian extraction, who is a practicing lawyer in Akron, Ohio, and chancellor of the Serbian North American diocese; and also by Bozidar Martinovich, an American citizen of Serbian-Montenegrin background, and a prosperous business man [*sic*] of Chicago. It was evident that the Bishop and his advisers wished to make definitely known their decision to break with the Serbian National Defense, to set up a new organization to carry on the work of Serbian relief, and in general to set out on a new line.

The Bishop is a public functionary of the Yugoslav State and receives a monthly stipend through the Yugoslav Embassy. Naturally there has been coordination between Bishop and Ambassador, and the Bishop has been associated in the public mind with the inspiration and support which the Ambassador is widely charged with having injected into the nationalist Serb campaign against the idea of Yugoslavia. Like the Ambassador, Dionisije has not denied that he is "first of all a Serb," but like the Ambassador he has also maintained

pretty consistently the view that "it will be difficult to have a Yugoslavia but still more difficult not to have a Yugoslavia."

The Bishop's conversion to a forthright support of the Yugoslav idea and his corresponding estrangement from extreme Serb nationalism has been going on for some time. It was perhaps only by coincidence that the precise occasion for the Bishop's full shift to the Yugoslav idea was Ambassador Fotich's eclipse. It seemed plain when he talked with this Branch 12 June that deeper motivations had been in play. These relate as already indicated, to Russia, to the new position of the Orthodox Church in Russia, and to the Bishop's fears of a countervailing Roman Catholic political activity.

It was on the ecclesiastical aspect of international relations that the conversation with the Bishop and his two friends first bore. The Bishop confirmed the existence of a close communion between the Orthodox Churches on the one hand and the Anglican and American Episcopal Churches on the other. When it was remarked that current events showed the Anglican Church leaders to be cultivating relations especially with the Russian Patriarchate, while the American Episcopal Church continued to direct its special friendliness toward the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Bishop answered that the Orthodox Churches exemplified but one religion and one should not forget their essential solidarity.

However, the Bishop was frank in expressing uncertainty and wonderment respecting new developments in Russia. The Bishop speaks Russian, and one senses on his part a timeless respect for Russia as a cultural and religious force, but he still dreads "atheistic Communism." In his address at the St. Sava dedication (quoted above) he had recalled that the Serbs were "yet fighting against Nazism, Fascism, and atheistic Communism to pass their 'Scylla and Charybdis,' waiting the coming day of liberation." What he had in mind, he said during the talk 12 June, was the danger that, when the Nazis were once driven out, atheistic Communism would ravage Yugoslavia in the persons of Tito and his followers in the Partisan Liberation Front.

But the Bishop was by no means convinced that Moscow (as distinguished from Tito) should any more be identified with atheistic Communism. Communism, he remarked, was not necessarily atheistic. The Soviet Union was demonstrating this. The church there was now being allowed its adherents and activities. The Soviet Government had seen that religion was a powerful patriotic and national influence, buttressing the armies, and had accordingly given it recognition. So he readily concluded that the "disciplined and orderly" troops of the Soviet Army might work good for Yugoslavia while the "marauding" bands of Tito certainly would not.

A principal point which the Bishop plainly wished to make during the

talk 12 June was his present conviction that Serbian nationalism had overplayed itself in the United States. He said that the Serbian National Defense had been perverted to inappropriate and unwise courses. He recalled that back in Serbia the Serbian National Defense dated from the 13th century, when St. Sava dedicated it to humanitarian purposes. The organization in the United States was intended to serve the same ends but had been turned away therefrom and to political use under the malign inspiration of the late Yovan Duchich, formerly Yugoslav Minister in Spain, and his brother, Michael Duchich, prosperous dairyman of Gary, Indiana.

The diocese now intended, Chancellor Silashki interjected, to dissociate itself entirely from the Serbian National Defense and to establish a new organ, the Serbian Patriarchate Fund, which would care for the humanitarian duties to which the Defense should all along have restricted itself. A communication was being prepared on the subject for transmission to the State Department, and the necessary steps would be taken with regard to the President's War Relief Board.

It is probable that this break on the part of the diocese with the Serbian National Defense and the Bishop's withdrawal from the support of Mihailovich will surprise the Yugoslav community when they become known. The *New York Times* (12 June 1944) reported a "spokesman" as saying that the gathering at the dedication of St. Sava's Cathedral was "99.44 per cent pro-Mihailovich." When talking with this Branch the Bishop and his associates deprecated the mistaken zeal of the individual who had taken it on himself to offer the press this information; but the "spokesman," whoever he was, would certainly feel himself to be justified by precedent facts in doing so.

How deeply convictions run, and how intense feeling on the issues of Yugoslav politics has come to be in the United States, was shown in the course of the Bishop's visit to New York. As reported in the *New York Times* of 12 June, Philip L. Markovich, an active worker of long standing in the Serbian National Defense, took the occasion to assail the Bishop first orally and then physically. Markovich was arrested for disorderly conduct and a police guard was provided for the Bishop. It is recalled that Markovich was in court some months ago for writing a threatening letter to Sava Kosanovich, former Yugoslav Minister of State, who has been active in the United States on the pro-Yugoslav and leftist side, and it is to the leftist side that Markovich probably now feels that even the Bishop has gone over.

The Bishop next declared his views on the future of the Southern Slavs. He favored the principle of a federated Yugoslavia. The old Serbian centralism must be avoided for the future; the monarchy, however, was indispensable. A republic would inevitably bring on social strife and separatism. A King would be a symbol and point of unity above the nationalities, reconciling disparate elements with

each other and rallying loyalty as a president could hardly do.

Indeed the cohesive influence of monarchy would be such, the Bishop thought, that it would not be necessary always to have a Serb to head the government. A Croatian such as Ban Subasich would be available. Of Subasich personally the Bishop spoke in a mildly friendly way. He understood, he said, that Subasich was a man of good character and "a faithful Catholic." Events now disqualified Mihailovich, the Bishop felt, and new Serbian leaders must be discovered. If Subasich could find new Serbians and draw them to his leadership in a new Yugoslav government under the King, why then "God bless him."

The Bishop did not speak of a direct intervention by Soviet Russia in the Yugoslav complex, but his forthright support of the Yugoslav idea as against Serbian nationalism, his reference to the "disciplined and orderly" Soviet troops, and the general tenor of his discourse made evident a rising hope in his heart and mind that the new powerful Russia, which had given religion a place along with recedent atheism, might become *deus ex machina*; and it was no less plain that he thought hopefully of American friendship and help for the Yugoslavs and sensed, in the church ties already referred to, a promise of eventual cooperation between his country's two big brothers.

More specifically, and quite frankly, the Bishop adverted to the need for Russian support to offset influences which the Bishop believed to emanate from the Vatican. He firmly asserted his belief that these influences were promoting a plan for Roman Catholic control in the zone reaching across Central Europe. Poland was the anchor on the north. Then came Slovakia, Hungary, parts of Transylvania and the Ukraine, Austria, parts of Bavaria, Croatia, and Slovenia. Consolidation of these elements under Roman Catholic leadership could spell for the Bishop only a Habsburg restoration. New forms of Austro-Hungarian imperialism would inevitably follow.

In the Bishop's opinion two bulwarks were needed against this danger. One was the union of the Southern Slavs. Certainly, in the face of such a danger, a new federated Yugoslavia was imperatively needed; and beyond that it was desirable, if feasible, to include Bulgaria and Macedonia as well. The second bulwark had to be found externally. The Yugoslavs must cultivate the most cordial relations with Czechoslovakia and Poland, and above all with Russia. Only by these means would it be possible, the Bishop declared, to obviate a political-religious struggle across the face of Europe. Such a struggle would be ruinous. Yugoslavia would be at a cross-meeting and peak of all the strains and stress. War would be an inevitable consequence.

II.

The movement for Croatian independence under Roman Catholic leadership is of long standing in the United States. It came to a new expression with the creation this past May of the Supreme Council of American Croats, as briefly recorded in FN Number 186 of 9 May 1944, "New Yugoslav Conflict Shows Itself Here." Leaders in the new organization are Monsignor Michael G. Domladovac of Akron, Ohio, the Reverend Ivan Stipanovic of Youngstown, Ohio, and Ivan Kresich, editor of the conservative Croatian-language newspaper, *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska* of New York. The program flatly condemns the recreation of Yugoslavia and instead calls for an independent Croatia. Spokesmen for the Council are unabashed in publicly approving the Croatian Nazi quisling, **Ante Pavelich**.

To make the position clear it is necessary to recall that agitation for the creation of a South Slav state began in the United States during the Balkan War of 1912, when Croatia was still a part of Hungary. Much the greater number of Croatian-Americans at that time favored the liberation of the homeland from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and union with the other South Slavs, but there was a minority under Catholic clerical leadership which held to the Austro-Hungarian allegiance. The Supreme Council of American Croats is in the latter line of descent.

After Yugoslavia was formed and, with the Pasich ministry, had passed under Serbian domination, the nationalist feeling of the Croats in Croatia bodied forth in the **Croatian Peasant Party**, led first by Stephen Radich and then Vladimir Machek. The present head of "Independent" Croatia, **Ante Pavelich**, and his followers were in their early career members of the Croatian Peasant Party. After 1930 Pavelich fled Yugoslavia for Italy, where Mussolini is thought to have financed his campaign for Croatian independence. Machek meanwhile carried on at home for greater autonomy within the framework of the existing Yugoslavia.

In the United States, the Pavelich-inspired separatist movement came to life first in the Croatian Circle, which had headquarters in New York and for its official organ the newspaper *Hrvatski List*, now the *Hrvatski List i Danica Harvatska*. [sic] Ivan Kresich was already editor and publisher. The movement gathered increased vigor in 1933, when Dr. Branimir Jelich arrived in this country and organized the *Hrvatski Domobran* (Croatian Home Defenders) as a branch of the Ustashi movement in Croatia. The *Domobran* was understood to be directly under the control of **Ante Pavelich**, who continued to operate from Italy and had become known as the *poglavnik* (duce or leader). Dr. Jelich placed **Ante Doshen**, an adventurer and a leader in the Croatian Circle, in charge of the *Domobran*. *Domobran* advocated a separate independent Croatia, glorified fascism, and is believed to have worked closely with the local Nazis.

The Croatians in the United States, who are counted well over a hundred thousand, were much influenced by the *Domobran* movement. When the United States entered the war the nearly all-embracing Croatian Fraternal Union was **deeply split** between those who rejected the fascist-inclined Croatian independence movement and those who **supported that movement** as represented in the *Domobran*. The latter category included at the time some of the Union's most prominent leaders and numerous Catholic secular clergy and **members of the Franciscan Order** coming from monasteries in Croatia and Dalmatia.

Soon after President Roosevelt's "state of emergency" proclamation in the spring of 1941, the *Domobran* was officially disbanded, but its adherents **continued to support** the idea of an independent Croatia and to regard with sympathetic approval the puppet Croatia sustained by Hitler. In April 1943 these elements organized a short-lived bloc known as the Croatian National Unionists. Now many of the *Domobranci* have admittedly passed into the Supreme Council of American Croats and have gained there a large measure of control. The Supreme Council of American Croats has put forth its argument in a resolution voted at Cleveland and published in *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska* 13 May. As the reasoned statement of a position it warrants some quotation. After expressing loyalty to the American Constitution and the Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States, it recites:

"We American citizens have parents, sisters, brothers and other relatives in Croatia. Everyone who would not be interested in the people of his native land would be a traitor, a traitor to his blood. As Americans we have enjoyed all betterments in all walks of life. We wish to see the same truly democratic way of life realized in our native land, Croatia."

The creators of the European map in 1919, the resolution continues, disregarding the will of the Croat nation and failing to apply the principle of self-determination, "hammered together the State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes." "The Croat people never recognized this state as legal since it was created without their consent."

The victorious American troops will come as liberators to Croatia, the statement proceeds, and will find the Croat nation avid for liberty. "The Croat Nation abroad, and we here in America, will be overjoyed if it is given the opportunity which was denied to it at the end of the last war, the opportunity to create its own State, separated from the Slovenes and the Serbs." Otherwise there cannot be lasting peace.

The Croat nation should not be "pushed into a non-existent 'Yugoslav Nation'." London, the resolution asserts, is "much more careful in this matter than Washington." "When London speaks, it always mentions the peoples of former Yugoslavia. We do not know why

Washington mentions a 'Yugoslav Nation' which does not exist. Slovenes, Croats and Serbs are three historic nations and none of them wish or desire to be included in a geographic division which excludes the historic existence of these three nations.

"Therefore, we American citizens, clearly advise our America, official Washington and the Allies - the Croat Nation will never be anyone's slave or servant. We condemn all of those **so-called Croats**, who by using various tricks, try to mislead the Croat people into a new slavery and under a new yoke. That slavery may be either race or class."

However, the resolution concludes: "If it happens that the free and independent Croat State by her expression of sovereignty decides in a democratic way to enter into an equal union with other states, such a decision and the historic responsibility rests with the Croat State and the Croat Nation."

On 30 May the *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska* carried an article signed by the Reverend Ivan Stipanovic, president of the Supreme Council of American Croats, appealing to Croatian-Americans to support his organization and calling on them to give aid to their brothers in the homeland. He wrote of the want and distress of the Croat people and announced that American Bishops had contributed \$55,000 toward relief in Croatia. He appealed to Croatian-Americans to give to the cause also. The proceeds would of course be distributed through Church channels.

Father Stipanovic is an old campaigner for Croatian independence. In September 1933, at a time when the Ustashi movement was being organized in Croatia, he signed a memorial to the League of Nations urging the separation of Croatia from Yugoslavia. Ivan Kresich, editor of *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska*, was another signer of this 1933 memorial, and Kresich's tri-weekly newspaper has never desisted from its drive toward the independence goal.

Monsignor Domladovac, the third important figure in the Supreme Council of American Croats, is editor of *Nasa Nada*, official organ of the **Croatian Catholic Union**. In the 9 May issue of *Nasa Nada* Monsignor Domladovac published a straightforward editorial entitled, "A Few Words About **Pavelich**."

"I am not ashamed . . . ," wrote Domladovac, "because **Pavelich** hepled [*sic*] to liberate Croatia from the Belgrade leeches It is known that I never associated with political parties in the United States but as a Croat I raise my voice because **so many Croatian-Americans denounce** those who are following Pavelich in the old country. No matter what he is, he is still a Croat. How can we over here know better than he and his followers, the conditions in which they find themselves? Why do you favor the partisans even though you know that they are suckled by Russian Communism. I know that

you know what Communism stands for. Still you follow the Partisans. You know well that we Americans often follow a policy devoid of idealism and principle, inspired only by opportunism.

"Our Administration has done many things in this war which are against your and my Christian morality. Our Government maintained relations with the Vichy government . . . but we invaded North Africa. This was un-Christian, this was opportunism. Not long ago our Government demanded that a sovereign state, Eire, should expel all diplomats who were not on our side. This, too, was against our morality. Why such an uproar against Pavelich and his followers? If as Christians and Americans we cannot accept Pavelich's opportunism, then leave him in peace, because he only does what all the others do.

"In conclusion I say: 'Translate this into English and send it to Washington, to the Department of Justice.'"

Anyone reading the above can understand how the Domobran movement, now reincarnate in the Supreme Council of American Croats, has revolted liberal and leftist elements, and those particularly who see the only salvation for the Southern Slavs in their continued union. The close identification of the movement with elements of the Catholic Church has offered a particular point of attack. On 30 May the liberal and sometimes anti-clerical Croatian-language *Hrvatski Svijet* of New York denounced the Supreme Council as "a clerical-fascist group whose first appeal contains all the dangerous elements of the separatist and black clerical venom which nurtured the Ustashi activities in America before Pearl Harbor."

Viewed more sympathetically, the *Domobran* movement may be seen to represent, first, the urge of a small people possessing a particular historical and cultural background to express themselves politically in their own way - a wish which may not be feasible but is certainly respectable. Secondly, it is the positive expression of a religious faith and a consciousness of communion which are certainly no less respectable. In the latter aspect the movement is envisaged by the unfriendly as part of a suppositious **Vatican plan** for a Catholic organization of Central Europe. The Orthodox Bishop Dionisije's outspoken conviction that such a project exists has been mentioned in the preceding section, but plainly this is not a matter susceptible of proof.

A fillip was given to speculation on this subject in Yugoslav and Central European circles in the United States at the beginning of 1944 when the News Service of the **National Catholic Welfare Conference** in Washington issued a press release which was published, among other places, in *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska* 15 January. Its subject was Yugoslavia with a question mark. Yugoslavia had failed (it was argued by this statement from an authoritative

Catholic quarter) because of its national and religious divisions. The Catholic Croats and Slovenes were wondering what the outcome of World War II would mean for them; "the aspiration" - the NCWC press release asserted - "of the people of Croatia and the Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slavonia, Srem, Dalmatia, Banovina, and Istria - all historically and ethnologically a part of the original Croatia - is a free and sovereign State." The hope was expressed that in order to prevent unnecessary bloodshed and retaliation, the United Nations would occupy the Balkans and that affairs in Croatia would be administered "solely by officials of the United States." "The Croats would prefer," it was declared, "that such officials be American Croatian Catholics.

That is the positive aspect of the *Domobran* movement. On the negative side it may be noted that this Catholic-led Croatian independence movement is, first, uncompromisingly anti-Serbian and, secondly, anti-Orthodox. Since the Serb and his religion are deemed to be inseparable, practically Serb and Orthodox melt into one symbol of a Serbian oppression which must be withstood. Explaining the failure of Yugoslavia, the NCWC press release continued:

"With the Serbian Church the established Church - although theoretically there was religious freedom for all - and the former King of Serbia the head of the Government and residing in Belgrade, the former *[sic]* Serbian Capital, other population groups in Yugoslavia regarded themselves as very much in the minority and tolerated for economic reasons, rather than accepted on an equal footing culturally, socially and nationally."

No less, therefore, than in the political speculations of Orthodox leaders such as Bishop Dionisije and Father Shoukletovich the problems of the South Slavs and the other peoples of Central Europe may array themselves in the minds of Croatian Catholic leaders along an Orthodox-Catholic confrontation - ecclesiastical East vs. ecclesiastical West, that is, the line cutting midway through Yugoslavia.

Americans of Slovenian origin are about equally numerous with their Croatian-American cousins. Among them also there is a clerical right wing, but since no serious movement exists for Slovenian independence, this right wing is simply aligning itself against Tito and the Partisans and in favor of King Peter and General Draza Mihailovich. In doing so it is at odds with the Socialist elements in the principal Slovenian-American organization, the Slovenian-American National Council (SANC). These elements, under the lead of Louis Adamic, put SANC behind Tito and the Partisans, and SANC has for this reason come under attack by the clerical right, heard chiefly through a priest, Reverend Bernard Ambrozic.

Father Ambrozic writes in the Cleveland daily, *Ameriska Domovina*.

He condemns the republicanism of the Partisans and strongly supports the monarchy. "It is not right," he has written, "to spit on the people because they haven't toppled the throne from their hearts and plans. Hold on! History doesn't travel by leaps and bounds."

With Louis Adamic giving most of his attention in recent times to the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans, and now fallen ill, the conservative view tends to gain among the Slovenian-Americans and may show itself rather strongly when SANC holds its annual convention in July. *Ameriska Domovina* has already printed a statement of the Union of Slovenian Parishes warning Slovenian-American Catholics against participation in the SANC convention, "since the Catholic Party has broken off relations with SANC."

III.

While, as related to the two preceding sections, religious-political leaders gain definiteness on the Yugoslav-American scene, liberal, Socialist, and Communist leaders join with them in watching the progress of Ivan Subasich in his efforts, as Prime Minister designate, to bring a new Yugoslav Government into being under King Peter.

The Croatian nationalists who follow the lead of Monsignor Domladovac, Father Stipanovic, and the Supreme Council of American Croats, are against Subasich. Though a devoted and trusted lieutenant of the **Croatian Peasant Party** leader, Machek, Subasich has always been suspect among these extreme Croatian nationalists because he has believed in Yugoslavia and has had his contacts in Belgrade. When Subasich was reported to have told reporters in London that he was "in the first place a Yugoslav and in the second a Croat," the old animosity was refired. The conservative-clerical *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska* devoted a burning editorial on 3 June to denunciation of Subasich on this score, and a few days later attacked him again for "appeasing the Serbs."

The views of the liberal and moderate Socialist middle-ground bulk of the Croatian-American community are heard in *Zajednicar*, organ of the Croatian Fraternal Union, and in *Hrvatski Svijet* of New York. Both these papers support and applaud Subasich. In an editorial 7 June *Zajednicar* delineated the special difficulties of Subasich's position. His success or failure would not turn on Yugoslav factors alone; great international forces were in play. Admittedly, wrote *Zajednicar*, King Peter in naming Subasich Prime Minister had acted only after a good deal of pressure from Great Britain, and possibly the United States and Russia. Many dangers lurked for Subasich in the dark corners of world diplomacy. It was also dangerous business, *Zajednicar* apprehended, to "step across the line and meet King Peter and his men," as Subasich was doing; but *Zajednicar* wished

him well and sincerely hoped he would succeed.

The numerous friends Subasich won while in the United States have been impressed and pleased by the swift fulfillment of the gauge he left with a group of them at the time of his departure for London. He promised that his first act, in case the King entrusted him with power, would be to remove General Draza Mihailovich as Minister of War and Constantin Fotich as Ambassador in Washington.

Since Ambassador Fotich had become identified in the minds of Yugoslav-Americans with the aggressive Pan-Serb agitation of the Serbian National Defense (from which, as previously reported in this paper, the Ambassador's lieutenant, Bishop Dionisije, has now turned away), as well as with the Serb National Federation and the Pittsburgh Serbian-language newspaper *Amerikanski Srbobran*, Fotich's recall has elicited wide approval in the Yugoslav-American community, except of course among the Serbian nationalists. On 14 June the Serb National Federation telegraphed a protest to King Peter against the dismissal of Mihailovich and Fotich and the telegram was printed the next day, in both Serbian and English, on the *Srbobran's* front page. The dismissals, the message charged, were an attack upon the honor of the Serb people; the only effect would be "to strengthen the influence of the Communist and Croatian Ustashi criminals."

The big question mark of this particular moment of Yugoslav history is enfolded in the Communist attitude, still veiled, toward Subasich. So far the two Communist newspapers - the Serbian-language *Slobodna Rec* and the Croatian-language *Narodni Glasnik*, both of Pittsburgh - have shown a good-natured indulgence toward Subasich's efforts to construct a government. *Slobodna Rec* (6 June) could not see what all the commotion was about. The Government of Yugoslavia, it wrote, "was formed long ago. It is in Yugoslavia. . . . If the King and Dr. Subasich really want to have these Ministeres provided with portfolios . . . he should give them to the members of the existing Yugoslav government of Marshal Tito. Simple and practical. No pain, no delay, no difficulties."

But what will the definitive attitude of the Communists, and Russia, in due course show itself to be? The mounting sense of expectancy in this regard goes back to last March, when, as related by this Branch in FN Number 186 of 9 May 1944, the Communist papers in the United States began publication of denunciatory items directed against Subasich's revered and life-long political chief and mentor, Vladimir Machek, leader of the **Croatian Peasant Party**. These were received through the Moscow press agency, Inter-Continent News, and originated with Partisan sources in Dalmatia. The question inevitably occurred to all, would not Subasich in due time be bracketed with his chief in this political fusillade?

The firing on Machek has continued with increasing precision. The

June issue of *Free World* contained an article on Yugoslavia ascribed to Marshal Tito. It is known that the Free World Association received the text by cable from the All-Slav Congress in Moscow. In this article Tito names Machek along with Dragesha Cvetkovich as having played leading roles in the "shameful" adherence of Yugoslavia to "the Axis regime of the traitor Prince Paul." Here seemed to be something close to a Russian official endorsement of the three-months-old Communist-line impeachment of Machek as a "fascist" and a "traitor."

Still further evidence of Tito's complete hostility to Machek, coupled with at least a waiting attitude on official Moscow's part, is seen in the press dispatch datelined Moscow and carried first (3 June) in *Novosti* in Toronto and then in some part in *Slobodna Rec* (8 June) and *Narodni Glasnik* (6 June). In this dispatch, marked as originating with the Press Bureau of the All-Slav Congress, General Djilas, a Serb-Montenegrin Communist, who is chief of Tito's military mission to Moscow, is quoted as branding Machek a traitor, specifically because even before war was declared he (Machek) was insisting that Yugoslavia must take the Axis side, and because when he was in the Government he opened concentration camps throughout the country and arrested and placed there "those Yugoslav patriots who demanded the defense of the country," that is, the Communists, among others. When Germany attacked, Djilas is reported to have said further, these patriots were not liberated and so were caught by the Germans and brutally beaten to death. This denunciation of Machek has recalled to some of Subasich's friends, with a touch of gooseflesh, that it was Subasich who had directly in hand the measures (much exaggerated, according to Subasich's friends) which are now described by Djilas.

In this setting the expectancy grows that something definite may come out of Moscow pretty soon. The nationalist Serbs, who have been deepening in despondency since Tito's rise and Subasich's triumph over Fotich, turn their eyes toward Moscow now as a last hope, as all the baffled and disconsolate tend to do these days; and what they, and not few others, are saying came into print with the 15 June issue of the *Srbobran*. The *Srbobran* notes that compared with Britain, Russia has all along given only lukewarm help to Tito. The Russians have now cooled off still further in their attitude toward Tito, *Srbobran* believes. The Russian representatives at Tito's headquarters, it remarks, were not politicians but soldiers and they were not impressed by Tito's "legions." Signs are not lacking for the *Srbobran* that the Russians are casting eyes at Mihailovich.

:: filing information ::

Title: OSS Memorandum on Yugoslav Groups in the US

Source: NARA

Date: June 28, 1944

Added: December 2002

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



timelines



documents



who's who



essays



misc./&tc.

OSS File: "Pavelic's Cossacked Agents"

Another OSS report from agent S. Karan on yet another group with ties to Pavelic or the suppressed Ustase "Home Defender" organization in America, and their operations after the Independent State of Croatia declared war on the United States after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

S.K.
Yugo.

May 19, 1942
Chicago, Ill.

RE: Rev. Spiro Andrianich,
Croat. Cath. Church of
"Sacred Heart"
So. Chicago

The above subject has sent out invitations to nearly all Croatian organizations of Greater Chicago, to have their representatives get in touch with him. The purpose is to form a "American Croatian Alliance of South Chicago", committee [sic]. This committee would then set a plan of action for further work. As a start, the committee would arrange a picnic to be held for the benefit of the American Red Cross.

Vincent Knaus, is temporary chairman and P.J. Starchevich an organizer. Both of these men, same as Rev. Andrianich, are dye-in-the-wool adherents of Dr. Pavelich, Fuehrer of "Free Croatia". This all was apparently planned and put into operation by the connivance of several other pro Pavelich Croatian friars. Since the start of this war, most of these Croatian Cath. friars have applied the medium of their faith among the Amer. Croats, to prevent them from forming any anti Axis, or pro Allied organization and had always supported the "Croatian Homedefenders" up to their disbandement and final dispersal.

As reported previously, about two months ago, about 54 Croatian Organizations, formed an anti Pavelich-Axis group and an active American, pro-Allied organization, under the name and title of, Amer. Croatian Natl. Alliance of America. The Pavelich band of



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agents were thrown into a real panic in realization that they were losing their politico-spiritual grip on these Croats. Working fast, they connived upon the idea to form an organization similar in name to that of the Amer. Croatian Natl. Alliance and thereby confuse the laymen on one hand and neutralize *[sic]* this patriotic organization, on the other. By throwing the bait "for the American Red Cross", these conspirators figured laconically, that the Croatian societies would not dare to refuse an invitation to help the American Red Cross. This is what really happened. Even one Croat red organization answered this invitation and the secretary later sheepishly remarked, that his crowd was afraid of being smeared unpatriotic by "these Hitlerites" if they did not answer the call for the Red Cross. On the other hand, if all these Croat organizations do form a committee to put this picnic over "for the Red Cross", they will at the same time unwillingly build another 5th column channel *[sic]* for the enterprising Rev. Andrianich and his Pavelich friars.

Mr. Bazdarich, pres. of the Amer. Croat. Natl. Alliance was immediately advised of Rev. Andrianich's move. Bazdarich was very much surprised and hastened with his attorney to speed the granting of charter for his organization, before Rev. Andrianich beat him to it with his charter. Bazdarich and his organization also took quick action to forestall the design and intent of this, Pavelich band's move among the Amer. Croats.

This way, Andrianich would also cover his crowd with a patriotic cloak and continue his subversive work among the Croats by staging patriotic benefit functions. Knaus and Dr. Starchevich are active local republican party workers and advertise Rev. Andrianich as a good catholic priest. City alderman Rowan, De. of the 10th Ward, also caters to Rev. Andrianich, under impression that this priest can sway a number of his Croats in elections. On the other hand, this priest allows it to be known that "he has good political connections" for his followers and himself and therefor his prestige ascends with the general run of the laymen. Of course Alder. Rowan, or any other Amer. politician, is unaware that they are being adroitly used by Andrianich for their alien *[sic]* 5th column act when they cater to him for votes. These local politicians are even ignorant of the fact, that up to Dec. 7th 1941, Andrianich and his cohorts had put themselves on record by speech and action as, pro-Axis, anti-democratic, anti-Administration and anti-war.

It is important to note, that this priest *[sic]* and these 2 men, Knaus and Starchevich, are intellectually so far above the average level of their followers, that they are well capable of leading or misleading them in any chosen path without being caught red handed, and thereby impress them of their power of immunity from deserved prosecution.

Their intention also is to curb the growing popularity and influence of Ban Subasich that is being fostered by the Amer. Croat. Natl.

Alliance and other Croatian organizations who are trying to shake the grip of these cassocked Pavelich's agents *[sic]*.

SK:Y

:: filing information ::

Title: OSS File: "Pavelic's Cossacked Agents"

Source: NARA

Date: May 19, 1942

Added: December 2002

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

The Organization of the Ustase Abroad

Declassified by the CIA in February 1998, this document is a summary of information gleaned from Yugoslav sources about the extent of the Ustase organization in Italy, Austria, France and America as of October, 1946. The identities of Major Svetozar Bogicevich or General Miodrag Damijanovich are not certain, but context, including the mild comments toward some Ustase leaders in Italy, lead one to believe they were part of either the Chetnik movement in exile or attached to the Royalist circles in London, and probably not part of the Communist regime. The key phrase of this document is the author's observation that *"The contact of this organisation is on a wide basis and it seems that they are working without stopping."* One should also take note that this assessment came a mere sixteen months after the collapse of the Independent State of Croatia and the flight of the Ustase leaders.

SUBJECT: THE ORGANISATION OF THE USTASIES ABROAD

SOURCE: MAJOR Svetozar BOGICEVICH - LONDON

SUB-SOURCE: GENERAL Miodrag DAMIJANOVICH - ITALY

DATE RECEIVED: 4 NOVEMBER, 1946.

DATE OF INFORMATION: OCTOBER, 1946

At the head of the organisation continues to be "Poglavnik" (Fuehrer) of the Independent State of Croatia, Dr. **Ante PAVELICH** - criminal of war.

Considering various informations PAVELICH after having **left Yugoslavia** was **living in Austria** in a villa near Celovec. In the Spring of 1946 he went to Italy to Rome accompanied by an unknown person (It could probably be the **Ustashi Lieutenant DOSEN**) and dressed in the clothes of a catholic priest and under the fals [sic] name of "Don Pedro Gonner" he lived in Rome in the catholic college in Via Giocomo Belli. He has a Spanish passport under the above mentioned name, which passport was given to him by the Spanish Consulat in Milan.

Considering the last informations, which have not been valid, PAVELICH has gone to America (Canada or South America) over



Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The Office of Strategic Services (US Branch)

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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Spain.

The Leaders of the Ustashi Movement. - In Italy at the head of the ustashi movement is Colonel PECNIKAR, former commander of the Police of the Independent State of Croatia. In Austria this function is performed by Lovro SUSICH, former minister in the Independent State of Croatia, and his helper for the British zone is a Bozidar KARAN.

All three of them dispose of great amounts of money, and they finance the whole ustashi activity.

The ideological leader of the ustashi movement in Italy is (Dr.) **Krunoslav DRAGANOVICH**, priest and professor of theology, who should represent at the **Vatican** the interests of the croatian emigration. This authorisation he received from all the catholic Bishops in Yugoslavia, but he has put himself to represent only the ustashies and their interests. A cruel and uncompromised *[sic]* ustasha, who upholds the "ustashi spirit" among the ustashi emigrants in Italy also in Austria.

A close collaborator and helper of DRAGANOVICH is (Dr.) Ivan MADJEREC.

Both of them live in the Society "St. Jeronimo" in Rome, Via Tomacelli no. 132.

The Committee of Croatian refugees in Rome. - For an instrument for PECNIKAR and DRAGANOVICH is the so called "COMMITTEE OF CROATIAN REFUGEES IN ROME", which has its seat in the "Society of St. Jeronimo" in Via Tomacelli 132, mezanin.

The official formation of this committee is the following:

- President: Ante BUDIMIROVICH, former delegate of the **HSS**, who on the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia withdrew and joined the ustashies.

Vice President: (Dr.) Josip REBERSKI, former member of Parliament for HSS. For him it is said that he is not an ustashi, but that he is a hesitator, who himself does not know what he wants, or where he will go;

Secretary: (Dr.) Josip RSPUDICH, Ustashi, criminal of war, former chief of the political section of the State Police in the Independent State of Croatia and chief of cabinet of the minister for the Interior.

Members of the Committee: (Dr.) Zvonko PINTEROVICH, Ustashi, a

professor; (Dr.) Josip BUTURAC, Ustashi, former ustashi commessar *[sic]* for industry in the Independent State of Croatia; (Dr.) Salko BANJIC, *[illegible]*, former consul of the Independent State of Croatia in Ljubljana; (Dr.) Marijan BANICH, Ustashi, former chief of the Sanitary Academy in the Independent State of Croatia; Fra KODRICH, priest, Ustashi; (Dr.) Rudo BARICEVICH, Ustashi; Mate VIDICH, Ustashi; Mira MALENICA (It seems that her real surname is BALICH), student, poisoned Ustashi and the Commander of the "Womens branche of the Ustashi Youths"; (Dr.) Ivan PEJICH, Ustashi, former employer of the Town Marie in Zagreb during the Independent State of Croatia; Pavo TIJAN, Ustashi, professor and head of the section of the Ministry of Education of the Independent State of Croatia; Franjo JOVICH, Ustashi, former commander of the camp in Banja Luka; Niko FILIPOVICH, Ustashi, former memeber *[sic]* of Parliament; Ilija SARAVANJA, former "procelnik" (Polit com.) in the ustashi chief political police.

Secret field organisation and service. - As the second instrument is the so called "SECRET FIELD ORGANISATION AND SERVICE".

The chief of this organisation is Veliko PECNIKAR personally.

Collaborators: Ivan DEVCICH, ustashi lieutenant, otherwise an old emigrant; Petar SIMICH, personal secretary of Lovro SUSICH; Zvonko BILAK, former employer of PAVELICH's legation in Rome. Now he serves for contact with the fascist organisations; Dr. Bozidar ANICH, priest from Kula near Metkovich. Bif *[sic]* Ustashi. Now serves for contact with the Italian monisteries in which are hiding Ustashies, named as criminals of war; Ivan PECI "Djovani", from Split, who a few months ago came from Yugoslavia (among *[sic]* us it is believed that he belongs to OZNA and that he has been put there with the task for Italy. He is employed in Rome as a printer in an Italian printing house in Via de Cesbria 51.

The contact of this organisation is on a wide basis and it seems that they are working without stopping.

The chief organisator of contact in Rome is Zvonko KOJADIN, who is hiding under the false name of Zajin MUFTICH, he lives in Via Piave 70. Othwerise he is in contact with the vaticat *[sic]* secret police and especially in the American information service.

For contact are:

- For Austria: Fra Stpe JELCICH, priest; Dr. Ivan COLICH, cannon *[sic]*, Don Mate PAPAC; Zdravko Bjelo MARICH; Marko URMOVICH and Josip PINTER.

- For Germany and Belgium: Zlatko BARBARICH, Ilija JURICH and Petar JEKOVICH.

For Yugoslavia: One group of Ustashies in Trieste, that is to say in a village near Trieste, on Italian territory (Beluno). This group consists of Ivo BABICH, former High Governor of Travnik, Hasan TURICH professor and former High Governor, former agent of the military police in Sarajevo and Mate PUSICH, innkeeper in Zagreb.

- For France: Some people from the group of Dosen CIVIDINI. Every time another person, under fals *[sic]* names and with Allied Movement Orders. Contact in Paris goes over Dr. **Andreje ARTUKOVICH**, the organisator of the atentat on the late King Aleksadar *[sic]* I and Dr. Joze DUMANDZICH, former minister of transport in the Independent State of Croatia - (Ustashi Lieutenant Dosen, former teacher, at present interpreter *[sic]* to a Croatian group in Naples, working for the British; one of the most bloody Ustashies, from Gracanice. He presents himself as the member of Yugoslav Sokols and shows a legitimation of the sokols. But he was there the Ustashi information officer. It is said for him, that with his own hand he killed around 100 Serbs. He was in the personal service of PAVELICH and was with him when he escaped from Yugoslavia to Austria and from Austria to Italy. Captain CIVIDIN, was also an Ustashi slaughterer, and today he is the aide to Velko PECNIKAR. In his apartment in Rome he hid Vilko PECNIKAR, when the allied authorities were looking for him as a criminal of war.

For the Vatican: (Dr.) **Krunoslav DRAGANOVICH** (of whom was earlier written); (Dr.) Zvonko ZANKO, administrative chief of the ustashi camp in Fermo; (Dr.) Andreja JELICICH on service at the Vatican.

This contact goes through (Dr.) Fra Domenik MANDICH, living in Via Po 6 in Rome.

With the Italian Authorities: Professor Alija SULJAK (personal friend of De Gasperi). Alija SULJAK was the personal aide of PAVELICH. In July 1945 he personally gave a Memorandum to the Turkish Embassy, the Afghanistan and Iran Legations in Rome in which he said that the whole fault for the killing of the moselems *[sic]* in Bosnia was that of the Serbs; (Dr.) Franje KREZEVICH *[?]*, lawyer from Banja Luka. (Dr.) Baldo DREKICH (personal friend of De Gasperi *[sic]*) and (Dr.) Nikola BELEK (also a personal friend of De Gasperi *[sic]*).

As contact with the Christian-democratic party are mentioned still: Niko FILIPOVICH, former member of Parlament, Dr. Josip RASPUDICH, General CANICH, Dr. Niko RPSANDICH and Dr. Ivo BOGDAN, former chief of ustashi propaganda in Zagreb.

- With Spanish consulat: Zvonko RASLAJICH-DOGONJICH.

- With Turkish Embassy: Hasan SULJAK, who has the legitimation of the Anadol agency.

- With **American croats**: (Dr.) Ivan VIDALE, professor of the Zagreb Univsersity; Dr. Marko COLAK, former secretary of some ministry in the Independent State of Croatia; Ing. Eduard MANCE, former Minister of Post in the Independent State of Croatia; **Dr. SARICH** Arch-Bishop of Sarajevo, at present in Klagenfurt in Austria.

In America the chief activity of the ustashies is lead and that in North America Croats that are living in Chicago (Illinois), and in South America thsoe living in Buenos Aires (Argentina).

The propaganda is performed over the Croatian newspapers in Chicago "Hrvatska Gruda", and in Canada in the "Hrvatska Danica".

The files, of the "Secret Field organisation" exists in Naples, Taranto, Redoj-Emilija, Venice and Trieste.

The representatives of the Ustashi organisation in the mentioned places are the following:

Naples: till a short time ago ustashi colonel VRKLJAN, who in the beginning of September 1946 was arrested by the allied authorities and managed to escpae [*sic*], and at present by the ustashi Lieutenant DOSEN, of whom was mentioned above;

Taranto: Ivan PERAS, former director of the newspaper "Nova Hrvatska"

Redjo Emilija: ustashi Lieutenant Novalija DJESKOVICH and Mrs. Mara ERENCICH, the wife of General ERENCICH (in this town are still living around 17 former employers [*sic - here and below, probably "employees"*] of PAVELIC's legation in Rome; the names and addresses of these people are being looked for);

Venice (town): Dr. Nikola RUSCANOVICH, former, mayor head for Susak;

Trieste: the already mentioned BABICH, TURICH and the brothers PUSICH, as also the illfamed Ivan HLADNIK, the chief of the Ustashi "Crna Ruka" (Black Hand) in Trieste;

Courrier service [*sic*] inbetween the center in Rome that is to say in Fermo and the files are lead by:

- Stanko RAJICH relations Rome-Fermo;

- Josip SAVOLJA relations Fermo-Redjo Emilija;
- Ivica HITREC relations Fermo-Senegal-Ricone;
- Boza RAJICH, ustashi lieutenant, relations Fermo-Banisli-(Naples)-Termini;
- Jure NISETICH, student of law, relations Fermo-Trieste,
- Ivan TAJNFLOR, student of medicine, relations Rome-Trieste.

The place where the distinguished ustashi functioniers live: The present place of habitation of the distinguished functioniers, who have been proclaimed *[sic]* criminals of war:

- Dr. Ivan SARICH, Arch-Bishop of Sarajevo, lives together with the Slovenian Bishop ROZMAN in Klagenfurt in Austria in the Bishops palace there.
- (Dr.) Zafer KULENOVICH, former, Vice President of the Independent State of Croatia, handed over by the allies to Tito.
- (Dr.) Osmanbeg KULENOVICH, former, minsiter without portopholio *[sic]*, handed to Tito.
- (Dr.) Viktor GUTICH, former High Governor from Banja Luka and well know *[sic]* ustashi killer, handed to Tito.
- Marshal KVATERNIK, handed to Tito.
- General Miroslav NAVRATIL, former, Yugoslav Air Force Lieutenant in pension, from Sarajevo. His father is of Chekoslovak *[sic]* origin, who was a rail road employers during the time of Austria. He was pensioned before the war because of being pro-German. In the Independent State of Croatia he changed his name to "Fridrich" and said that he was of German origin. He was Minister of War. He escaped when the partisans were coming forward and lived in Austria in Zell am See where he was caught by the Allies and for some time he was in an SS camp with captured Germans. From there later on he was handed to Tito.
- Mehmed ALAJBGOVICH, former, minister of Foreign Affairs of the Independent State of Croatia, handed to Tito.
- General Mafije *[?]* CANICH, foremer *[sic]*, Yugoslav Colonel later on PAVELICH's general and minister of the army. At present he is living in Rome, his address is being looked for. On him depend many HSS politicians in Rome and say that he was alright. There was even a letter that he be received in the camp of Eboli, which was refused.
- General Dragutin RUPCICH, is hiding somewhere in Italy.
- Dr. HEFER, former, minister of the peasants in the Independent State of Croatia, is living at present in Rome (address not yet known); formerly he was a member of Parlament for the HSS and joined PAVELICH. But otherwise the followers of the HSS say that he is not mixed in any ustashi dirty work.
- Dragutin TOT, is still in Allies hands and was shut in the camp Terni in Italy, from where he manged *[sic]* to escape. He is hiding somewhere in the surrounding of Naples.
- General KREN, former, active Yugoslav Air Force Captain, who just before the war started escaped to Autria *[sic]* to the Germans. Later

he was minister and commander of the Air Force *[sic]* of the Independent State of Croatia. He was in the P.W. camp Grumo near Bari in the hands of the Allies. This camp has been reformed. For his present place of habitation there is a search.

- Vjekoslav BRANCICH, former, minister of the Independent State of Croatia he was in the hands of the Allies in the camp of Terni, from where he managed to escape and at present is hiding in Rome.

- Danijel *[illegible]*, ustashi lieutenant, otherwise a priest, also of PAVELICH, and next to that the chief of the ustashi Propaganda, he was in Italy in the ustashi camp Fermo, from where he managed to escape. Not known at present where he is.

- Dr. Stijepo PERICH, PAVELICH's former ambassador in Rome, he is hiding somewhere near Naples.

- STIR, ustashi colonel, was till a short time the administrative organ in the camp Baniali near Naples, where he talked ideology and published the ustashi newspaper "Velebit". In August 1946 he was arrested by the British authorities and taken to an unknown place.

- Ljubo MILOS, illfamed ustashi killer from Jasenovac and Lepoglav. He says that he personally killed 4,000 Serbs. By one report he is in the ustashi camp Fermo, and by another he escaped from camp and is hiding somewhere in Italy.

- Dr. Mirko PUK, well known "criminal from Glina", is in exile. It is said that he is either in France or *[sic]* in Spain.

- Zivan KUEGDZICH, peasant from Ilach, otherwise former PAVELICH minister without portfolio, is in Allied hands. Where he is shut up is not known.

- Vjekoslav BLASKOV, PAVELICH's chief of the Worker Union, is in Allied hands. Where he is shut up is not known.

- Viljim CECELJA, priest, is somewhere is *[sic]* exile in Austria.

- Dr. Josip BALEN, PAVELICH's minister for the forest, is in exile somewhere in Austria.

- Janko TORTICH, PAVELICH's minister of Social *[sic]* Politics, is in exile somewhere in Bavaria.

- Dr. Andrija ARTUKOVICH, is in hiding somewhere in France, most likely in Paris.

- (Dr.) Joze DUMANCICH, PAVELICH's minister of Transport, is in hiding somewhere in France.

- Dr. Edo BULAT, managed to go to Argentina.

- Milovan ZANICH, died in prison in Terni, Italy.

FINANCIAL MEANS. Next to the great amount of gold, which Vilko PECNIKAR brought when he escaped from Yugoslavia the ustashi organisation is helped by:

- American Croats-Ustashies. Their sendings arrive over (Dr.) Franje KNEZEVICH, Dr. Ivan JURISICH and Petar SIMICH who are all in Rome.

- The Vatican from their means for information service. These means are given over Dr. Fra Dominik MANDICH in Rome.

MORAL HELP. On the first place moral help to the ustashies is shown by the Vatican, over which also goes a great deal of correspondence, as also contact with ustashies left behind and especially with priests in the country. On the second place come the American Croats, who help them with propaganda and newspapers. On the third place and *[sic]* the Allies themselves, being from not knowing the situation, or from some special reasons. The best proof for this, is that in Naples is employed by the British of the work one group of 320 Ustashies from the camp of Fermo, and under the command of the Ustashi Killer DOSEN. Dressed in British uniforms, these Ustashies carry on their sleeve the Croatian arms, and on their caps a "U" separate sign something like PAVELICH's unit "Danica".

Finally, moral help is given to the Ustashies by all the fascist elements in Italy, helping them in holding contact and giving them material help.

THE POLITICAL PROGRAM, is unchanged. Hate towards the Serbs, and also towards all those who represent the Yugoslav outlook.

Political-Cultural-Educational work in the camp Fermo is very wide spread and is lead quite in the spirit of the ustashi ideology.

WORK IN CROATIA. The wish of the Ustashies in emigration is that the **Crisaders** *[sic]* movement in Croatia is changed over to the Ustashi. On the formation of this plan everything is done through the ustashi priests and bringing into the country ustashies, especially the smaller leaders in the country whom the Crusaders should have to change successively into Ustashies. On this is especially working Dr. DRAGANOVICH. Regarding in valid information there has been sent to Croatia a certain number of armed ustashies. The arms were received by the Italian fascists organisation.

C O N C L U S I O N .

1. Even if small numbered, the ustashies are very active in their work, having the help of the catholic church, Italian fascist reaminder *[sic]*, Croatians who are on their side in emigration in America and till a certain point the British Allies and Americans. - They represent a great harm and great danger for the state when it is freed of the present Tito regime.

2. For open fighting against the Ustashies, apart from the press and propaganda there are no momental conditions, therefor one has to go full force ahead on these means, trying especially to show to the Western Allies the Ustashi real colors, and to unale them.

3. Of the work and movement of the ustashies one has to lead a strong evidence and to gather details of the whole work and of everyone of them, so that in the moment, when an open battle can lead against them, there would be the necessary materiles *[sic]* and proofs.

:: filing information ::

Title: The Organization of the Ustase Abroad

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: November 4, 1946

Added: January 23, 2003

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

Background Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

This is a follow-up report to Counter-Intelligence Corps Agent Robert Clayton Mudd's earlier **report** in which he indicated that the Monastery of San Girolamo was acting as a haven for Ustase fugitives, and that he had run an agent into the network smuggling accused Ustase war criminals out of Croatia. Mudd appeared earlier to be suspicious that Ustase agents had infiltrated legitimate networks to help refugees, rather than that these networks themselves had been set up in order to smuggle out hunted Ustase officials. His conclusions in Paragraph 15 remain unchallenged to this day. This is an improved copy of the document originally published here, found among the CIA papers on **Krunoslav Draganovic**.

HEADQUARTERS
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ALLIED FORCES HEADQUARTERS
APO 512

February 12, 1947

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

SUBJECT: Father Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC,

RE: PAST Background and PRESENT Activity.

1. Fr. **Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC** is a Croatian Catholic priest in the Monastery of San Geronimo [*sic - here and below*], 132 Via Tomacelli. ROME. This man has for some time now been associated with Ustashi elements in Italy and, while in many instances it is hard to distinguish the activity of the Church from the activity of one man whose personal convictions might lie along a certain line, it is fairly evident in the case of Fr. DRAGANOVIC that his sponsorship of the Ustashi cause stems from a deep-rooted conviction that the ideas espoused by this arch-nationalist organization, half logical, half lunatic, are basically sound concepts.



CIA File: Organization of the Ustase Abroad

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Documents: The US Army Files

Misc: Search

Exhibition: Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File

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2. Fr. DRAGANOVIC is a native of TRAVNIK where he finished his elementary and secondary school. Shortly after this he went to SARAJEVO to study theology and philosophy. Here he fell under the personal magnetism of **Dr. Ivan SARIC**, archbishop of SARAJEVO, whose particular interest he soon became and after graduation he was sent to ROME under the auspices of Dr. SARIC who had some good connections in the **Vatican**.

3. Having completed his studies at ROME where he majored in ethnology and Balkan affairs he returned to SARAJEVO where he held various political offices, all of a minor importance. Shortly after the formation of the Independent State of Croatia under **Ante PAVELIC** in April 1941 DRAGANOVIC became one of the leading figures in the Bureau of Colonization. In the middle of 1943 however he became involved in a disagreement over the relative merits of the younger Eugen KVATERNIK, whom he called a "madman and a lunatic", and he left Croatia and returned to ROME.

4. According to a reliable informant it is believed that this departure of DRAGANOVIC from Croatia to Italy is a classic example of "kicking a man upstairs" inasmuch as it is fairly well established that the leaders of the Independent State of Croatia expected the prelate, through his good connections in the Vatican, to be instrumental in working out the orientation of Croatia towards the West rather than the East. These same leaders, being occidental-minded and knowing full well that Croatia's militant Catholicism [*sic*] made her a "natural" in such a deal, relied on DRAGANOVIC to assist them in their aims. He was eminently unsuccessful.

5. DRAGANOVIC has a brother still in ZAGREB who is a member of the Napredak Co., who recently was ignored in the elections to determine the members of the Board of Directors. He has another brother, whereabouts unknown, who was a member of the Croatian Embassy in BERLIN. He is in touch with his brother, ZVONKO, in ZAGREB but not with KRESO, whose [*sic*] whereabouts are not definitely [*sic*] known although he has been reported in the British zone in Germany.

6. About a year ago DRAGANOVIC is alleged in some circles to have somewhat denounced his now ardent pro-Ustashi sentiments during a conference of Croats in ROME. Having been accused by a certain Dr. KLJAKOVIC (apparently a member of the Croat Peasant Party) of being in very close contact with only Ustashi emogrees [*sic*] DRAGANOVIC is said to have replied that if working for an independent Croatia meant being an Ustasha then "I am an Ustasha". "However," he added, "I disassociate myself from all other attributes of the Ustashi."

7. With this aim in view DRAGANOVIC is working with the Ustashi

and also with some leftovers of the **Croat Peasant Party** in exile. When Milan PRIBANIC, erstwhile Commandant of the Guard of Vlado MACEK, appeared in ROME, he immediately contacted him and thus made his aims and purposes clear to MACEK.

8. Many of the more prominent Ustashi war criminals and Quislings are living in ROME illegally, many of them under false names. Their cells are still maintained, their papers still published, and their intelligence agencies still in operation. All this activity seems to stem from the Vatican, through the Monastery of San Geronimo to Fermo, the chief Croat Camp in Italy. Chief among the intelligence operatives in the Monastery of San Geronimo appear to be Dr. DRAGANOVIC and Monsignor MADJARAC.

9. The main messenger between the Vatican, the Monastery and Fermo is an Ustasha student by the name of BRISKI. BRISKI was interned in the 209 POW Camp at AFRAGOLA and was with the Ustashi Cabinet members when their escape was organized from there. His physical description is as follows: 25 years old, medium height, black hair, seen mostly without a hat. Has very bad teeth in upper and lower jaw. Appears to be very wise.

10. This Agent managed to run a counter-operative into this Monastery to find out if possible if the internal setup of the place was as had been alleged, namely that it was **honeycombed with cells of Ustashi operatives**. This was established and several things more but operations were stopped abruptly when it became too dangerous for the counter-intelligence agent in the Monastery. The following facts were ascertained:

11. In order to enter this Monastery one must submit to a personal search for weapons and identification documents, must answer questions as to where he is from, who he is, whom he knows, what his purpose is in the visit, and how he heard about the fact that there were Croats in the Monastery. All doors from one room to another are locked and those that are not have an armed guard in front of them and a pass-word is necessary to go from one room to another. The whole area is guarded by armed Ustashi youths in civilian clothes and the Ustashi salute is exchanged continually.

12. It was further established that the following prominent ex-Ustashi Ministers are either living in the monastery, or living in the Vatican and attending meetings several times a week at San Girolamo:

1. Ivan DEVCIC, Lt. Colonel
2. VRANCIC, Dr. Vjekoslav, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
3. TOTH, Dr. Dragutin, Minister of Croat State Treasury.
4. SUSIC, Lovro, Minister of Corporations in Croatian Quisling Government
5. STARCEVIC, Dr. Mile, Croat Minister of Education.

6. RUPCIC, General Dragutin, General of Ustashi Air Force.
7. PERIC, Djordje, Serbian Minister of Propaganda under NEDIC.
8. PECNIKAR, Vilko - Ustasha General and CO of Ustashi Gendarmerie
9. MARKOVIC, Josip, Minister of Transport in Pavelic Government.
10. KREN, Vladimir - Commander-in-Chief of the Croat Air Force.

13. While this "Croat", directed by this Agent to try to penetrate the Croat intelligence network, was inside the Monastery he personally heard a conversation ensue between this Monsignor MADJERAC and Dr. SUSIC, who, at the time of the conversation, was in the Vatican library. He also heard a conversation between two of the Ustashi in the monastery which established the fact that a brother of Dr. PERIC runs a hotel in ROME, and that often this hotel is visited at night for the purpose of holding important Ustahi *[sic]* conferences. The money for the purchase of the hotel was given this man by his brother, Dr. PERIC.

14. It was further established that these Croats travel back and forth from the Vatican several times a week in a car with a chauffeur whose license plate bears the two initials CD, "Corpo Diplomatico". It issues forth from the Vatican and discharges its passengers inside the Monastery of San Geronimo. Subject to diplomatic immunity it is impossible to stop the car and discover who are its passengers.

15. DRAGANOVIC's sponsorship of these Croat Ousilings definitely *[sic]* links him up with the plan of the Vatican to shield these ex-Ustashi nationalists until such time as they are able to procure for them the proper documents to enable them to go to South America. The Vatican, undoubtedly banking on the strong anti-Communist feelings of these men, is endeavoring to infiltrate them into South America in any way possible to counteract the spread of Red doctrine. It has been reliably reported, for example that Dr. VRANCIC has already gone to South America and that Ante PAVELIC and General KREN are scheduled for an early departure to South America through Spain. All these operations are said to have been negotiated by DRAGANOVIC because of his influence in the Vatican.

16. This agent will continue to make an effort to keep abreast of the situation in this area and also to advise G-2 of any new plans or changes of operations on the part of DRAGANOVIC and his satellites.

[signed]

ROBERT CLAYTON MUDD,
SPECIAL AGENT, CIC DISTRIBUTION:
AC of S, G-2, AFHQ (2)
Chief, CIC, AFHQ (1)
File (1)

:: filing information ::

Title: Background Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

Source: CIA, declassified September 12, 1983

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

The Croatian Resistance Movement (II)

The following document is undated, but contextual references date it to 1948 at the earliest, and a stamp on the document indicates it had been reviewed by September 18, 1949. It is more or less the type of periodic review of other documents collected by Army intelligence by analysts, in this case concerning the **Hrvatski Narodni Otpor**, or HNO, its philosophy, its leaders and prominent supporters. This document captures a certain moment in history, however: the period toward the end of the **Krizari campaign** - former Ustase soldiers sent by Western intelligence agencies as commandos into Yugoslavia; a singularly disastrous operation which resulted, as the end of the document alludes, to the trial and execution of scores of captured insurgents - and the period of America's support to Yugoslavia following the Tito-Stalin break. Paragraph four contains still another damaging admission of American support for the *Krizari* - namely, that the US Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC) investigated one of the *Krizari*'s "traitors" - hardly a likely procedure without some breach of operational security, and in this case an alleged source who "not only signed many death sentences but also executed them himself." "Kavran," mentioned in 1(c), is Bozidar Kavran, referenced in another CIA report on the *Krizari* published [here](#). "Boban," mentioned in 2(a)5 is Rafael Boban, former head of the terroristic *Crna Legija* or "Black Legion" unit which perpetrated untold atrocities on the civilian population before it was disbanded in 1942. The figure mentioned in 4(b) is certainly Vladko Macek, leader of the **Croatian Peasant Party**. The "Croatian sculptor" mentioned in 4(c) is probably Ivan Mestrovic. According to the author of *Zasto Jasenovac*, Dr. Marko Rucnov, the chief of police in the town of Varazdin (referenced, but censored, in paragraph three) was Krunoslav Batusic, a commander in Vladko Macek's bodyguards before the war. First stationed as chief of police in Bihac, Batusic worked in close collaboration with Luburic, sending many civilians to **Jasenovac**. According to Dr. Rucnov, the same Batusic later became leader of the extremist emigre organization *Hrvatska Odbrana* (Croatian Defense), providing yet another link between the Ustase, the *Krizari*, and the tiny extremist wing of the Croatian emigre community. Many thanks to Dr. Rucnov for his assistance.



CIA File: Croatian Resistance Movement (I)
Documents: The Krizari
Documents: Otpor
Documents: The CIA Files
Documents: The US Army Files
Misc: Search
Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree
Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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SUBJECT: The Croatian Resistance Movement

1. The Croatian Resistance "HRVATSKI NARODNI OTBOR" (**HNO**) / is a Secret Organization which is limited to members of the Emigration as the connections to their country are only loose ones. Its direction was in SALZBURG, Austria, until late summer 1948 (Proceedings in AGRAM). Its chief leaders were:

- a. Ex-Minister [REDACTED]
- b. [REDACTED]
- c. KAVRAN (executed in the meantime)
- d. DR. SAPOLIC (executed in the meantime)
- e. TOMJENOVIC (executed in the meantime)
- f. Ex-Minister [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had an office in SALZBURG. [REDACTED] [*Krunoslav Batusic -Ed.*] the former chief of police of VARAZDIN, was his closest collaborator. One night in July 1948 [REDACTED] was kidnapped and disappeared without leaving any traces. [REDACTED] got the aggressors to escape and they took [REDACTED] then succeeded in escaping. At present he is living near the German-Austrian border using several names. His former code-name in Austria was [REDACTED].

The leaders of HNO say that [REDACTED] was a traitor. Investigations made by CIC and the Austrian Police resulted in some incriminating facts. The family of [REDACTED] stayed in Yugoslavia which could have been a threat. On the other hand [REDACTED] was a severe combatant against the partisans during his period in office as the chief of police. He not only signed many death sentences but also executed them himself.

Simultaneously with the abduction of [REDACTED] the arrest of members of HNO who had gone to Yugoslavia to strengthen and support resistance groups there, became known. The Yugoslavian press explained in detail and propagandistically evaluated the proceedings against more than 90 Ustaschi who were once in leading positions and the death sentence against more than 40 persons.

2. a. Generals with known code-names as mentioned in identity request No. 34 are not known here.

- (1) [REDACTED]
- (2) [REDACTED]
- (3) [REDACTED]

Generals mentioned who are known:

(4) BOBAN

(5) [REDACTED]

At the time of the collapse both were colonels. [REDACTED] was commanding an Ustascha Unit in the area of SARAJEVO. His present residence is not known.

BOBAN is considered to be the most capable high ranking Ustascha officer. Prominent circles of the HNO say that BOBAN is now staying in the mountains but is refusing any contact with the emigration. Until now people were of the opinion that BOBAN had died during the war. Information received from a third source says that BOBAN, wounded at the beginning of 1948, was captured and executed.

b. [REDACTED] charged [REDACTED] with the organization of the whole of the Croatian Resistance Movement in case Yugoslavia was occupied. [REDACTED] cooperated with German authorities. He allegedly was wounded and escaped to Hungarian territory (he speaks Hungarian well) and has since disappeared. According to recent information (19 Nov 1948) [REDACTED] sent news from France where he is said to be active. This is all that is known about him.

c. Code-names mentioned and the persons' correct names are known as follows:

- (1) ZMAJ OD BOZNE (Dragon of Bosnia)
- (2) ZRINSKI (Historical figure of Croatia)
- (3) MATIJA GUBEC (Historical figure of Croatia)

Ad (1): Josip TOMJENOVIC had the code-name ZMAJ OD BOZNE. He was military attache of HNO for the Croatian Territory. Until he became active he lived mostly in Italy. Shortly after crossing the Austrian-Yugoslavian border he was arrested. At the proceedings in AGRAM he was sentenced to death and hanged (according to Yugoslavian press information).

Ad (2): The person bearing the code-name ZRINSKI is not known.

Ad (3): Dr. Vladimir SABOLIC had the code-name MATIJA GUBEC. Dr. SABOLIC was charged by the NHO [sic] with the direction of Civil Affairs (Interior). He was also hanged.

3. The following is known about other persons mentioned in the

report attached to identity request No. 34:

- a. The leader of the German group is [REDACTED]
- b. The General Secretary of the German group is the former Major Geza von ALTMANN, who is not living near Munich but in Austria (ATTERSEE/SALKAMMERGUT). He is known under the code-name KOVACS (not identical with our members bearing this name).
- c. It is likely that AGALITSCH is identical with Tahir ALAGIC recently hanged in AGRAM. Some months ago he went with one of the groups to Yugoslavia, was captured and sentenced to death. ALAGIC was originally from Bosnia. He is a member of the Military Sub-Committee of HNO.
- d. [REDACTED] is not known.

4. The situation of the Croatian Emigration is about as follows:

a. The emigration based everything on the election of DEWEY as they had best relations to Republican Councillors. Before the elections the Croatian Emigration submitted a memorandum to DEWEY who promised assistance. After the election of TRUMAN the Croatians tried to extend their Democratic relations. It must be considered that the Croatians in the USA who are united in the BRATSKA ZAJEDNICA (Brotherly Communion) are mostly for TITO and their leaders are adherents of TITO (communists).

b. The leader of the New Emigration is the HSS leader, [REDACTED] [*Vladko Macek -Ed.*] now living in Washington. (**HSS** - HRVATSKA SELJACKA STRANKA - Croatian Farmer's Party). HNO recognized him but is watching him distrustfully as he has not given an explanations regarding an independent Croatia (the aim of HNO) but is leading negotiations on the grounds of a federal Yugoslavia. [REDACTED] who is probably living in Argentine [*handwritten note in margin: "or Rome?"*] keeps away from politics. HNO is, however, in contact with him. A strong group of Croatians in Argentine is being led by the former ambassador, [REDACTED], who has good relations to the Foreign Ministry of Argentine and to PERON. [REDACTED] maintains contact with the HNO.

c. They are striving to gather all emigrants in a Main Organization "UJEDINJENI HRVATI" (United Croatians). It is intended to elect [REDACTED] president in case he resigns his office as HSS party leader and recognizes the "UJEDINJENI HRVATI" as the sole Organization. Their country shall decide upon the form of State when the time has come. In case [REDACTED] is not accepted they intend to ask the famous Croatian sculptor [REDACTED] (USA) [*probably Ivan Mestrovic - Ed.*]. The second man in charge of HSS is [REDACTED] now living in

London and supporting these movements. He is for an independent Croatia.

d. USA politics regarding the present Yugoslavia are considered most distrustfully. One supposes that information received in respect to negotiations USA - TITO and ENGLAND is true. It is learned from explanations of different Croatian Emigration leaders that one is reckoning with de GAULLE and this is very promising for an independent Croatia. [REDACTED] activities in France confirm the supposition that the Croatians, as well as other emigrant's Nations from the Balkans, try to find support in France where they may reckon with strong political assistance.

e. From a military point of view, representatives of the Croatians concerned are trying to find support with all Western Powers. The Croatian colonel, [REDACTED] in SALZBURG, chief of the Military Sub-Committee of HNO, is in contact with the Americans.

GENERAL PERICIC, who was against the action of HNO that led to the more than 40 death sentences, is living in KAERNTEN. He was negotiating with the British without any success. He only intends to be active when solid ground for the cooperation with one of the Western Powers has been created.

5. This matter is considered as being concluded.

:: filing information ::

Title: Croatian Resistance Movement (II)

Source: CIA, declassified January 16, 2003

Date: c. 1948

Added: October 15, 2003

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

CIA Internal Memo

An interesting internal document in which a CIA analyst, through an unknown source, comments on various other reports by other CIA analysts and unknown sources. Paragraph three mentions a split between Ustase leader Ante Pavelic and Ratline operative Krunoslav Draganovic, and further comments on attempts by Draganovic to broker alliances with the Croatian Peasant Party and the new organization being organized by Branimir "Branko" Jelic, one of the original founders of the Ustase who was interned in London at the start of the war and afterwards formed a splinter of the Croatian nationalist movement in Germany. The "split," for what it was, is more properly classified as a division between Pavelic and Jelic rather than Pavelic and Draganovic. The agent correctly notes that Draganovic was more or less attempting to form a European front organization for Ustase activities - a task which was finally accomplished by Pavelic loyalist and savage Ustase leader Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic in Spain in 1956. Two years later, at least according to **this report**, Draganovic was still acting as Pavelic's eyes and ears among Croatian refugees in Italy.



CIA File: Croatian Peasant Party

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: Search

Essays: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

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scans: page 1 - 2 - 3

Subject: Comments on Information coming from [REDACTED]

Report No: [REDACTED]

Date of Info: August 1950

Place Acquired: [REDACTED]

Date Acquired: September 1950

Evaluation: [REDACTED]

Date of Report: 16 October 1950

Source: [REDACTED]

(Field Comment: The identity of [REDACTED] is not known to this station. It is known, however, that [REDACTED] is not Source's informant because all of Source's reports carrying the above subject are made in reply to a [REDACTED] report. Evidently [REDACTED] is a direct [REDACTED] informant and his reports are transmitted to Source for confirmation as to their contents. This report represents Source's commentary on information received from [REDACTED]. This might possibly be [REDACTED] in Trieste and well known to



headquarters).

1. Report dated 22 July 1950. In the Rome Dalmatian circles *[sic]* the information concerning the creation of a pro-Dalmatian movement is unknown. This movement allegedly was recently promoted in Trieste for the purpose of asking the ONU for an eventual autonomy of Dalmatia from Croatia based on historic data. The Rome Dalmatian Committee, located on Piesan Firenze 27, directed by former Senator TACCONI, Antonio (at present at Lido di Venice) knows nothing about this movement.

2. In circles of the Committee it has been added that the constitution in Trieste of a new Dalmatian movement does not seem reliable because at Via Via *[sic]* del Bastione 4, Trieste, a Dalmatian Committee has already existed for several years, directed by Lino VLAHOVIC who, if he had taken any initiative of this kind, would have informed his association in Rome.

3. Ustascha political emigres in all countries, including those in South America (majority of them live in Argentina) are divided into two groups: One still favorable to (Dr.) **Ante PAVELIC** and the other against PAVELIC. This last group points out that PAVELIC is too compromised and that, with his ideologies, he cannot obtain future substantial support from the Anglo-Americans. This second group, which is against PAVELIC, in order to better its chances in politics, proclaims itself the Party of United Croatia and tends to unite into a single bloc the former Ustascha and members of the **Croatian Peasants Party** (HSS) of (Dr.) MACEK. This development is particularly strong in Europe and has as its leader (Dr.) Branko JELIC, resident of London, and the priest, (Dr.) **Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC**, who lives in Rome at the College of S. Girolamo degli Illirici. For this reason, Dr. DRAGANOVIC recently had a talk with Dr. JELIC in Austria (perhaps in Klagenfurt *[sic]*).

4. While in America, members of this group are in contact with Dr. MACEK. In Europe Dr. DRAGANOVIC has made approaches to the representative of Dr. MACEK in Italy, i.e. Mirolsav DIDEK. However, MACEK and DIDEK have turned down all proposals for collaboration, inasmuch as the followers of JELIC and DRAGANOVIC are considered Ustascha ex-collaborationists and many have been declared war criminals.

5. According to MACEK, the above named leaders have not abandoned their Nazi-Fascist concepts and with their intended union with the Croat Peasant Party, they aim at suffocating all traces of their past and start a new moral and political life.

6. Following the failure to be admitted to a collaboration with MACEK, the Ustascha headed by DRAGANOVIC has established in Italy a movement called "Movimento Indipendente Croato" (Croatian Independent Movement) which intends to assemble all Croats abroad. This project also aims to cover up the purely Ustascha program. This movement two weeks ago promoted a restricted meeting of Ustaschas in Villa Massimo during which a Croat group was elected which is to create the Italian section of the movement for the European Union. However, this group was not accepted for participation in

the recent congress of the European Union movement because the direction had already received the collaboration of representatives of Dr. MACEK, i.e., Miroslav DIDEK and *[illegible]*.

7. One of DRAGANOVIC's collaborators is Ante BUDIMIROVIC, living in Rome at the S. Agostino College, Via del Corso 45, former deputy of MACEK, who, during the PAVELIC government, joined the Ustascha movement. BUDIMIROVIC is to leave for the Middle East for the purpose of organizing Ustascha refugees resident there, inducing them to join the movement headed by DRAGANOVIC. It is true that the expenses are to be sustained by Josip GIAMUZINA, former Ustascha functionary, resident in Rome, Via Marianna Dionigi 17.

8. According to a reliable informant in Italy, GIAMUZINA has always engaged in black market and in illegal traffic and also handles clandestine emigration to Argentina. From this latter activity he has reportedly amassed a fortune. Apparently through false witnesses he obtained documents which indicate him as the son of an Italian, one BELLI, former resident in Istria. On the basis of this document, GIAMUZINA succeeded in changing his name to BELLI-GIAMUZINA, Giuseppe and in obtaining Italian citizenship. In the Yugoslav circles in Rome it is stated that he is a son of a priest who is in a convent in Herzegovina who was guardian father of Dr. Domenico MANDIC, at present Economy General of the "Curia Generale del Frati Dinori Francescani" located at Via Aurelia, Rome. Dr. MANDIC has always protected and supported GIAMUZINA whose position in fact has become strong in regard to the Italian authorities and in the Croatian refugee circles.

9. Report of 16 August 1950. It is true that Dragoslav KRSTANOVIC now collaborates with JEVDJLVIC, who, however, has not been left by other collaborators.

10. The episode of the Russina Church of 15 July 1950 was already known. The commemoration of the deceased General Draza MIHAJLOVIC took place on the 23rd of July.

11. In Via Mangili 15, Rome, the Commercial Office of the Yugoslav Legation has had its office for about two years.

12. There are no indications that the Yugoslav authorities buy up Cominformist publications. Yugoslav newspapers continue to be normally sold.

13. The activity which the Yugoslav authorities carry out in regard to political refugees to convince them to repatriate enters the normal function of foreign representations. It is noted, however, that the Yugoslav propaganda is less inciting and provocative. Contacts between (Colonel) *[illegible]* and the Slovene Vjekoslav DUCAR were interrupted about a year ago for personal differences. (DUCAR wanted to be presented to King PETER on occasion of the latter's brief stay in Rome). Successively *[illegible]*

several times has raised doubts on DUCAR, whom he accuses of collaborating with the British.

14. It is true that Ivan POPOV was economy chief of the King PETER's court. *[illegible]* continues to regularly receive subsidies from King PETER.

15. "STEFANO's" report is returned herewith. "STEFANO", as always, reports information and circumstances which are inexact and inconsistent.

16. Report dated 18 September 1950, source DEPENDENT. The arrest of Colonel General Gojko *[illegible]*, head of the Yugoslav Medical Corps, is not confirmed.

17. It is re-affirmed that there exists a concentration camp for Cominformists at Dugi Otok.

18. As to the visit of TITO and other Yugoslav leaders to that island, it was possible to establish that the information responds to the truth. Visits of Yugoslav personalities to Cominformist concentration camps have the purpose of converting the internees.

19. In regard to Yugoslav repressive action against Cominformists, according to reliable information, the Yugoslav police have made numerous arrests. Among the persons capture was the Vice-President of the Montenegro Republic, Bozo VUKOVIC, the ex-Serb Minister of Public Health, Julka MESTEROVIC, the ex-Minister of Light Industry, Savo MATIC, Generals *[illegible]* DJUJIC and Mirko *[illegible]*, about 30 deputies of the various Republics, about 10 Colonels and about 100 other officers.

20. In regard to the arrested, the sanctions of the Belgrade government are not severe. They are sent to concentration or labor camps and are object of intensive propaganda for the purpose of converting them to Titoism, propaganda which shows to be really efficient and in many cases had determined conversion in mass.

:: filing information ::

Title: CIA Internal Memo

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: October 16, 1950

Added: January 31, 2003

The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

Notes from the Foreign Language Press

A partial summary of articles from several South Slavic-American newspapers of various leanings. The first describes Father Krunoslav Draganovic's eligibility for a US visa. It mentions nothing of his role in escorting Ustase fugitives out of Italy, but proves that Draganovic and another prominent operative on the Ratline, Dr. Dragutin Kamber, were known figures, and that their past, if not their present activities, were being discussed critically at least as early as 1950. The second article describes attacks on Croatian Peasant Party leader Vladko Macek by the Ustase-oriented journal *Danica* which, ironically enough, would later hire another Draganovic associate, Fr. Dominik Mandic, as editor. The third and fourth articles are of limited interest. The first and last parts of this report have not been located.

3. Against Admitting a Former Ustashi to USA.

Glas Kanadskih Srba, Windsor, Ont. October 12
(Voice of Canadian Serbs)

Weekly - Circulation: 3,000

Trend: critical of Croats but Yugoslav-oriented, anti-Tito

Prints Dr. Branko Miljus' protest to the IRO authorities in Rome concerning Dr. **Krunoslav Draganovic**, formerly a theology professor at the University of Zagreb. Dr. Miljus claims that Dr. Draganovic had been one of the leading active supporters of Dr. **Ante Pavelic**, ex-head of the German-sponsored Independent State of Croatia. In spite of it, writes Dr. Miljus from Paris, France, the IRO authorities in Rome have declared Dr. Draganovic to be "eligible" for obtaining an entry visa to the United States.

The editor of the paper adds that another notorious Ustashi has already been admitted to this country, and that he now writes for Dr. Macek's newspapers under his own "dirty" signature. His name is Dr. Dragutin Kamber.

Rec'd 11-8-50 from CIA via
Liaison, captioned "Notes from



Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Documents: The Office of Strategic Services (US Branch)

Misc: Search

Essays: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

text-only version
scans: page 1 - 2 - 3



4. Renewed Attacks on Dr. Macek's Pro-Yugoslav Stand.

Danica (The Morning Star), Chicago, October 11

Croatian Weekly - Circulation: 7,000Trend: anti-Tito, rabidly
separatist

The paper renews its attacks on Dr. Macek's alleged pro-Yugoslav stand. It does not believe that financial reasons are having influence on Dr. Macek to such an extent that he would suppress his true feelings in exchange for the \$500.00 he receives monthly from the National Committee for a Free Europe. Still, the paper thinks that Dr. Macek, as the leading spokesman for a whole people, has no business to receive money from a "foreign agency" since it might affect his political independence. Besides, asks the paper, has Dr. Vladko Macek ever told the National Committee for a Free Europe the "real truth" about the Croats - that they want to be no part of any Yugoslavia, not excluding Dr. Macek's, but work instead toward having an independent state of their own with the River Drina as its eastern border.

5. Dr. Krnjevic a "bankrupt Politician;" Bogdan Radica a "Political Opportunist"

Jugoslovenski Americki Olasnik, San Francisco, October 6 (delayed)
(Yugoslav American Herald)

Weekly - Circulation: 3,000
Trend: anti-Tito, Yugoslav nationalist

Taking note of Dr. Juraj Krnjevic's recent visit to the United States and Canada, the paper describes him as a "bankrupt politician" whose chief aim in life is to stir up hatred against the Serbs and destroy the unity among the Yugoslav people. The paper calls Bogdan Radica, who "led Krnjevic around", a "political opportunist" who once worked for Tito and has now joined the ranks of those who "allegedly condemn Pavelic but support all he ever wanted and did."

[title cut-off]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Weekly - Circulation: 3,000

Trend: anti-Tito, pro-Macek

Under the headline "The Policy of the Voice of America toward the Croatian People," the paper carries a long article (presumably written by Bogdan Radica) about the efforts made in the last few months by "all distinguished Croat emigre circles" to have the Voice of America broadcast also in Croatian, not only in Serbian and Slovenian. The Yugoslav section of the Voice of America is described as consisting of "former leftists, Stojadinovic's, [illegible] and present Fotic's followers" who use past, Greater Serbian methods to rule exclusively by themselves. The article states that the known Croatian newspaperman,

[the rest of the document is missing]

:: filing information ::

Title: Notes from the Foreign Language Press

Source: CIA, declassified December 24, 1981

Date: 1950

Added: January 25, 2003

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



timelines



documents



who's who



essays



misc./&c.

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (1)

The two reports from Munich to the US State Department (the second of which is [here](#)) create a fascinating picture of the wide spectrum of Croatian emigrant groups in the period between the escape of the Ustase's leaders from Europe after the war and the formation in 1956 of the **Croatian Liberation Movement** (HOP), the most long-standing of the Ustase successor organizations. This report covers the period from April to June, 1954, when Ustase leader Ante Pavelic was leading the short-lived Croatian State-Forming Party from his refuge in Buenos Aires. These documents were originally written in German (copies available, though not reproduced here); the following translation is the official version sent from Munich to the State Department, and punctuation is as in the original. The "Croatian Farmers' Party" is a mistranslation of the **Croatian Peasant Party**; the "Croatian Brotherly Community" likewise should be read as the Croatian Fraternal Union, a long-standing, moderate American organization. "Vrancic" is Pavelic's loyal secretary, former minister in the Independent State of Croatia **Vjekoslav Vrancic**, and more on his and Pavelic's fitful bargaining with Croatian territory is in the second Munich Report. "Dr. Jelic" is **Branimir "Branko" Jelic**.

BAV-1228

23 August 1954

SECURITY: CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Department of State, CO, 66th CIC Group, APO 154, Att'n: Capt. REILLY

FROM: Mr. J. H. LENZ, Political Section, AHCONGEN, MUNICH, APO 108

REF:

SUBJECT: Croatian Emigrant Movement

1. Attached are translations of a recent LfV study for your information and carding. No answer required for here.

Tel: NUN 25531/435

Distribution:



related links

Documents: MUNICH
REPORT: Croatian
Emigrants Movement (2)

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US
Army Files

Documents: The Croatian
Liberation Movement

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The Pavelic Army File

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Family Tree

Timeline: The Ustase
Movement

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3- Capt. REILLY
1- Mr. PARKINSON
2- AHCONGEN, Emigre Expert

TRANSLATION

12 July 1954

Report on the Political Development within the Croatian Emigrants Movement during the Period from 1 April 1954 to 30 June 1954

GENERAL SITUATION:

Activities within the Croatian Emigrants Movement have been continued. The individual groups are making efforts to get new followers. This is being done partly by staging events, partly by leveling at each other accusations and defamations, with the latter activities being concentrated on the differences of opinion between clericals and anti-clericals. Also belonging to the clerical groups is now the "Kroatische Nationalkomitee" (Croatian National Committee) in MUNICH, because of its close ties with the Franciscans in CHICAGO, mainly, however, because of its favoring the HAPSBURG plans concerning the Danube area. The anti-clerical groups, i.e., the "Croatian Farmers' Party", the "Ustaschi Movement" and the "Ustaschi dissidents", although being tolerant toward the Catholic Church, are opposed to any attempts to subordinate the Croatian national aims to the aims of the Vatican.

The magazine "Kroatischer Gedanke" (Croatian Idea) published again an appeal for unity by Dr. Ante BUTKOVIC. The appeal contained the following guiding rules for the Croatian emigrants:

1. Strengthening of the existing Croatian groups, morally and materially, thus enabling them to carry out large-scale actions.

2. Discontinuation of all mutual attacks and defamations; the entire forces are to be directed against the enemy.

3. Increased journalistic activities.

4. Joint action of the Croatian Government in exile, the Croatian Farmers' Party, and the Croatian National Committee, the aim of their activities being the restoration of an independent Croatian State.

5. Intensification of the relations with foreign politicians, journalists and military men.

6. Organization of special groups for special missions on special occasions.

7. All party-political interests and programs are to be suspended until after the liberation and restoration of the independent Croatian state.

The Farmer's party refuted as being incorrect the rumors, circulated in connection with above proclamation, that Dr. KRNJEVIC, the Secretary General of the "Croatian Farmers Party", would travel to Argentina to enter into negotiations with the leader of the Ustaschi Movement, **Dr. PAVELIC**.

RIGHTIST-RADICAL:

Hrvatska Drazvotvorna Stranka - HDS
Croatian State-Forming Party - Ustaschi Movement
(Croatian State Government in Exile)

Seat: BUENOS AIRES; representation in MUNICH.

According to reports from BUENOS AIRES, the Movement took part in the establishment of a "circulo centraleuropeo anticomunista" consisting of "old Nazis, Fascists, Pfeilkreuz-men, members of the HLINKA-Guard, and others". The former Vice Admiral WITZMANN, commander of the German naval units in the Black Sea, 1945 in TRIESTE, was to become the President of the organization. At the charter-meeting on 24 May in the CROATIAN [illegible] in BUENOS AIRES the representative of Dr. PAVELIC, **VRANCIC**, assured the Italians of the "eternal Croatian friendship" and promised "recognition of the legal Italian demands concerning the Adriatic Sea".

After the official part of the meeting had been concluded, disputes arose between Croatians who were of a different opinion and

Italians; thereupon the latter left the meeting, declaring that they would refrain from further cooperation "as long as Croatian circles were of the opinion that the Italians pursued imperialistic aims."

Recently the Ustaschi have shifted their main activities to the military organization "Hrvatski Domobron" [*sic*] (Croatian Home-Guard). The staff in BUENOS AIRES issued another circular to all sub-organizations, instructing them to reject all offers for joining "supra-national military organizations" and to demand, always and everywhere, the creation of purely Croatian units with Croatian commanders.

Ujedinjenij Hrvata - UH
("Vereinte Kroaten" - United Croatsians - Ustaschi)

The 15th anniversary of the day of the re-establishment of the independent Croatian State (10 April 1941) was celebrated on 11 April in the "Donnersberger Bierhalle" in MUNICH. Present were about 50 persons, including representatives of the emigrants' groups belonging to the ABN: Dr. WALTSCHEFF (Bulgarian National Front), Dr. POKORNY (Slovak Liberation Committee).

The Honorary President of the "United Croatsians", dr. St.KUKOLJA, delivered a speech in which he pointed to the necessity of establishing contact with the orthodox Croatsians. He demanded that efforts be made to forget all hatred and seek a common way. He stressed that the adherents of the orthodox church were also Croatsians who under the rule of the Turks had adopted the orthodox faith only in order to escape persecution. Those of them who regarded themselves as Serbs should emigrate to Serbia. In a free Croatia all nationalities and denominations must have equal rights and duties. However, Serbian-orthodox undermining activities for the benefit of the Serbs or the idea of Yugoslavia would not be tolerated.

The other speeches held contained nothing but words of praise for Dr. Ante PAVELIC.

RIGHTIST:

Hrvatska Seljacka Stranka - HSS
(Croatian Farmers' Party)

Seat: WASHINGTON, representation in MUNICH

The party has been accused of double-dealing. The reason for this accusation was the participation of a leading member of the party, Ilija JUKIC, in the memorial service for Nikola, son of Prince Paul, who met with a fatal accident in LONDON. This had given new stimulus to those having doubts about the national-Croatian policy of the **Farmers' Party**. It was said that on the one hand the party announced, through Dr. KRNJEVIC (Secretary General and leader of the right, anti-Yugoslav, wing of the party), its demand for an independent Croatian State, while, on the other, leading members by order of HSS President MACEK were working behind the stage, together with the Serbs, for the establishment of a third Yugoslavia. In this connection attention is called to the founding in NEW YORK of the "Council for the Liberation of Yugoslavia".

The attempt, made by the HSS, to establish within the party in MUNICH a "Croatian Work Union", has so far failed, due to lack of persons interested. However, such an organization is said to have been created in TRIESTE.

Hrvatski Radnicki Savez - HRS
(Croatian Workers' Union)

Seat: PARIS

The HRS commented on the founding by Dr. KRNJEVIC (HSS) of the "Federation of Free Croatian Workers" as follows:

"The HRS in France stands for the unity and cooperation of all democratic workers in exile adhering to the democratic, anti-Communist idea. The HRS is a supra-partisan trade union organization which may be joined by all Croatian workers regardless of the denominations or parties to which they belong. The HRS in France is ready to actively support Dr. KRNJEVIC's plans for an overall organization, for the uniting of all Croatian workers in Western Europe and the international recognition of their trade unions. However, it must be mentioned that the resolutions of 25 October 1953, the day when the above-mentioned "Federation" was founded, are undemocratic, non-trade-unionist, and party-politically-totalitarian."

The "Croatian Workers Union" (also known as "Independent Croatian Workers' Union") is a member of the Federation of Christian Trade Unions - CFTC. The fact of its being non-partisan and belonging to the CFTC is used by the clerical Croatian groups as an argument against the "federation". Benefiting from this struggle between clericals and anti-clericals is Dr. TOPALOVIC, the representative of the "Yugoslav Trade Union in the Free World", who has been recognized by the "International Federation of Free Trade Unions".

Due to these dissensions, Dr. KRNJEVIC's efforts for admission of the Croatians to this Federation are likely to remain unsuccessful for the time being.

Hrvatski Pokret za Europsku Federaciju
(Croatian Movement for a United Europe)

Seat: Great Britain

The Movement which so far is existing only in Great Britain, was founded by members of the "Croatian Farmers' Party". At the annual meeting on 31 March Ilija JUKIC, the secretary general, reported on the difficulties that have arisen in connection with the recognition of the Croatian national group by the Center in PARIS.

Hrvatska Brateka Zajednica - HBZ
(Croatian Brotherly Community)

Seat: USA

Above organization was founded 60 years ago by Croatian emigrants as a non-political, social and economic aid organization having the form of an insurance cooperative, intended to render aid to newly arrived or sick fellow-countrymen. It is the biggest and richest Croatian organization in the USA, having 106,000 members and properly amounting to 23 million Dollars.

During the first world war it made its first appearance on the political stage, supporting the fight against Austria-Hungary and favoring the creation of Yugoslavia. During world war II the organization, aligning with the policy at the time pursued by the USA, was opposed to PAVELIC and in favor of TITO.

After the last war the members became politically divided. The members of one group are in favor of Yugoslavia and TITO, the others are opposed to TITO and Communism but in favor of Yugoslavia, while the third group is opposed to Yugoslavia and stands for a free, independent Croatia. Recently the third group seems to be gaining the upper hand; however, a clear-cut line has not crystallized as yet.

CENTER:

Hrvatski Narodni Odbor
(Croatian National Committee for Europe)

On 11 April 1954 the Committee celebrated in MUNICH the 15th anniversary of the re-establishment of the Croatian State. Prior to the celebration a dispute arose between Dr. JELIC and Dr. BUC. The latter refused to speak at the meeting if Dr. JELIC delivered a speech, and vice versa. At the last moment the dispute was settled; Dr. JELIC held the main speech. He presented the demand for a sovereign Croatian state and urged the representatives of all nations still suppressed to unite in the struggle against Communism and to cooperate in the shaping of the free Europe of the future.

The attention paid to the events staged and the actions carried out by the Committee (protest against the planned speech by PIJADE over the Bavarian radio) was used by the Committee for launching a large-scale propaganda action among the Croatian emigrants. The Committee demands to be recognized as the sole Croatian representation in Europe and to be given the right to conduct binding political negotiations concerning the liberation of Croatia and the reorganization of the Danube area.

Although the activities of the Committee are appreciated, it cannot be conceded the right to conduct political negotiations of vital importance for Croatia and the Croatian people.

The Committee has also strongly been criticized for its leaning toward the "HABSBURG-Kreis". It is feared that participation in the legitimist plans for the Danube area may result in the loss of Bosnia/Herzegovina. In addition, the possibility is taken into consideration that Otto von HABSBURG may be ready at the expense of the Croats to make concessions to the Hungarians whom he needs for the realization of his plans.

The "Croatian Society" (Kroatischer Verzin) in Belgium, connected with the Committee, also held a meeting in commemoration of the re-establishment of the Croatian State. Among the participants there was Dr. Josef TRISCHLER, member of the Vorstand of the "Jugoslawiendeutsche Landsmannschaft". In his speech he expressed himself for a free Croatia. The Germans from Croatia would always be ready to support the Croatian struggle for liberation, he said. However, this declaration is contradictory to the decision of the Jugoslawiendeutsche Landsmannschaft not to interfere in the disputes between Serbs and Croats.

:: filing information ::

Title: MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (1)

Source: State Department, declassified January 31, 2003

Date: August 23, 1954

Added: June 4, 2003

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



timelines



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who's who



essays



misc./&tc.

MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (2)

The second of two Munich Reports (the first is [here](#)) contains, among other things, two key pieces of information. First, it confirms the earlier report that Ustase leader Ante Pavelic, through his loyal secretary **Vjekoslav Vrancic** was negotiating with right-wing exiles from Italy and Hungary, hoping to buy off their support by promising to cede pieces of Croatian territory to them if the Ustase would return to power. The second is the rapprochement between Pavelic and Milan Stojadinovic, for a time Prime Minister of Yugoslavia before the war and a leader of the Serbian puppet regime during World War II. The two exiles in Buenos Aires met, as is reported here, and agreed upon the approximate borders between the future independent states of Croatia and Serbia, with Pavelic apparently abandoning the sacred goal of Croatia *sve do drine*, or "to the Drina River." Pavelic was at this time eagerly awaiting a confrontation between the US and USSR which would overthrow the Communist regime in Yugoslavia, so the conversation was not then as farcical as it appears today. "Umberto" is a reference to the exiled Italian king.

TRANSLATION

**Report on the Political Development within
the Croatian Emigrants' Movement during the
Period from 1 July 1954 to 30 September 1954**

GENERAL REMARKS:

In June a delegation of Croatian priests handed over to President EISENHOWER and the Secretary General of the UN a memorandum containing the Croatian demands, which was signed by 153 Croatian priests. Although, on the whole, this step was welcomed by the Croatian emigrants' groups there were numerous persons warning against the "politicalization" of the clergy since this might result in the Croatians being suspected of having committed themselves to a



related links

Documents: MUNICH
REPORT: Croatian
Emigrants Movement (1)

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US
Army Files

Documents: Vjekoslav
"Maks" Luburic

Documents: The Croatian
Peasants Party

Misc: Search

Essay: The Poglavnik's
Family Tree

Timeline: The Ustase
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one-sided political course. It would have been more advisable, those critics say, if the Croatian priests had assumed the role of mediators between the individual Croatian groups and had taken care that such an important document was signed also by the representatives of those organizations since this would have demonstrated the solidarity of all the Croatian emigrants' groups.

RIGHTIST-RADICAL:

Hrvatska Drazvotvorna Stranka - HDS
(Croatian State-Forming Party - Ustaschi-Movement)
(Croatian State Government in Exile)

Seat: BUENOS ARIES; representation in MUNICH

Considerable sensation among the Croatian and Serbian emigrants was caused by an interview which two representatives of the Ustaschi-movement had in BUENOS AIRES with the former Yugoslav Minister President Dr. M. STOJADINOVIC. On that occasion the Serbian politician who formerly had been pro-Yugoslav expressed himself in favor of two separate states, Serbia and Croatia. The event made big headlines in the Ustaschi press; however, the names of the interviewers were not disclosed. According to confidential information, this had been a conversation between Dr. STOJADINOVIC and the leader of the party, **Dr. PAVELIC**, which had taken place in the Italian Embassy in BUENOS AIRES, at the initiative of Italian Monarchist circles (adherents of Umberto). According to reports, further talks are expected to take place, with border problems being one of the main points of discussion. PAVELIC is said to be inclined to waive the claim to the "historical border on the Drina" if the Serbs give up their claims to Croatian territory (Syrmia). In addition, PAVELIC is said to have reconfirmed the former agreements concerning the cession of Dalmatian coast areas and in talks with Hungarian "Pfeilkraus" men (Hungarist Movement) to have expressed his readiness to eliminate the controversial border problems by the cession of the so-called Mur-island. All these actions have allegedly been initiated by the Italian monarchists who in that way want to counteract the HAPSBURG plans for restoration.

Following above "interview" leaflets were disseminated among the Croatian emigrants in Argentina, in which PAVELIC was called a traitor who is planning to "sell out" Croatia in order to realize his personal ambitious plans. The authors of the leaflets are allegedly extreme-nationalist Ustaschi. A split among the Ustaschi is regarded as possible if the "agreements" should come to the knowledge of wider circles. In the case of a split the extreme elements among the

Ustaschis are expected to join **Max LUBURIC** (known in exile as **General DRINJANIN**), commander of Group V (Europe) of the "Croatian Armed Force in Exile", seat: MADRID. Differences of opinion have allegedly been existing between LUBURIC and PAVELIC for a long time.

Ujedinjenih Hrvata - UH
(United Croats - Ustaschi)
Seat: MUNICH

The group is inactive. Since its founder, Dr. KUKOLJA, has withdrawn from political activity and left the organization the latter is general called "a head without a shepherd". For some time there had been rumors that a person, devoted to PAVELIC, would come to MUNICH to assume leadership of the Ustaschi-movement in the Federal Republic; however, it seems that these plans have come to nothing.

RIGHTIST:

Hrvatske Seljacka Stranka - HSS
(Croatian Farmers' Party)
Seat: WASHINGTON; Representation in MUNICH

The party celebrated its 50th anniversary and simultaneously the 75th birthday of its leaders, Dr. MACEK. On this occasion a dinner took place in the "Kroatischen Kultur- und Wohlfahrtsvereinigung Radic" (Croatian Cultural and Welfare Association Radic) in MUNICH (united in that association are the MUNICH adherents of above party). Taking part were about 50 members and guests. The speakers attempted to justify the policy pursued by the party (and, thus, by MACEK) saying that it had been adapted to political circumstances. These speeches were held in an effort to refute the numerous accusations, leveled at MACEK, that his aimless policy was responsible for the fate of Croatia.

An incident occurred when one of the persons present made reference to the period from 1941 to 1945 and wanted to know what standpoint the party takes with regard to an **independent Croatian state** under Dr. PAVELIC. The President of the Association, Nikola PRCE, rejected the demand, pointing out that they were celebrating the anniversary of the party and the birthday of their leader MACEK and nothing else was of interest at the moment.

From the above, as from all other Croatian events, it appears that no agreement can be achieved among the Croatian emigrants.

Also of some importance was the celebration held for the same reason in Belgium in the presence of the Secretary General of the party, Dr. KRNJEVIC. In his speech and in interviews with Belgian journalists KRNJEVIC declared there could be no doubts that CROATIA will be free some day in the future. However, he was doubtful with regard to the restoration of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy and the preservation of the Yugoslav state. He warned that the mistakes of the past must not be repeated. To restore peace it was absolutely necessary to create small states - Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia -, to insure their autonomy and incorporate them into a confederation of the Danube area, he said. In his opinion this was the only possibility in that part of Europe to secure peace in the spirit of the principles of freedom and democracy.

KRNJEVIC's declarations contained something new: the mention of Macedonia as a state. Until now the party's attitude toward the Macedonian problem had been reserved. Croatian circles consider that remark as an indication that a Yugoslavia liberated from Communism will be organized in a way similar to the present one, i. e. it will consist of six provinces: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, and, perhaps, as the 7th province Vojvodina which at present as an autonomous province belongs to Serbia. Since Dr. KRNJEVIC has very good relations with England it is believed that the English plans concerning Yugoslavia are about the same.

On 5 September 1954 the HSS held in MUNICH a meeting at which Ilija JUKIC from London spoke as a guest on the general political situation in Europe, European unification, and the Croatian interests. JUKIC is a member of the HSS management and the Secretary General of the "Croatian Movement for a United Europe". JUKIC is planning to visit BONN, too. The main purpose of his trip is to make propaganda for the movement and the founding of local groups. The aim of the whole action is: 1. to get the Croatian emigrants at one table, under a neutral name; 2. to strengthen the Croatian representation in the European Federation; and 3. to popularize the demand, recently emphasized by the HSS, for a free and independent Croatian Republic as a federative member of the Community of European States.

Taking part in the meeting were about 40 persons, among them **Dr. JELIC** and Dr. SUSNJARA of the "Croatian National Committee". Dr. Grga VUKOVIC, representative of the HSS in MUNICH, delivered the opening address. The speeches that followed stressed, above all, the necessity of understanding to be established among the Croatian emigrants, as the only way for the Croatians to enforce their demands. The reasons why so far they had had little success in

defending their interests JUKIC saw in the Croatian inclination to egotism and particularism, manifesting itself, on the one side, in the enmity between the individual Croatian groups and showing, on the other, that the Croats consider themselves as the center of the world events and are unable to coordinate their interests with those of world politics and make plans for the long range. He recommended that the Croatian groups become more tolerant and refrain from defaming from the very beginning every action taken by another group. Each group should utilize its own possibilities and connections in the interest of the Croatian cause; however, above all, cooperation must be insured because the decision on the fate of the whole people could not be left to one group and, still less, to one individual. (These remarks referred, first, to PAVELIC and his policy before and during the war and, second, to the cooperation of certain clerical circles with Otto von Habsburg.)

With regard to the EDC Treaty and the defense against Communism Ilija JUKIC declared it was regrettable that the EDC had been rejected in France but a new way for the common work would undoubtedly be found. It was impossible, he said, to defend or protect Europe against the Communists without the Federal Republic, just as it was not possible to save Asia without the help of the Japanese. Both Asia and Europe would not be safe from Communism until each of the two countries mentioned had again a strong army. The neutralization of Germany must be rejected since the only one benefiting therefrom would be the East. The plan calling for a "neutral belt", i.e.: neutralized Germany, Austria and Yugoslavia (which is favored especially by TITO), might at present perhaps appear to be advantageous, however, in the long run it must necessarily lead to the ruin of the Western world. It was understandable that the Germans insisted on reunification and the restoration of their former borders. The key to the realization of these demands, he said, was in the hands of the Soviets who, when the time had come, would say: "Join us, then you will get your reunification and your borders," thus trying to win the Germans over to their side, and this would be tantamount to the destruction of Europe.

JUKIC was of the opinion that a new Big Four conference will take place which will be just as unsuccessful as all former ones. He was convinced that England would not allow herself to be separated from America by the Russians because she was dependent on the USA, in Europe as well as in Asia. What the British wanted to prevent was the withdrawal of the USA from Europe in the belief that the best protection for Europe against the Soviet Union was a German army. After the failure of another Big Four conference the Soviet Union would return to its old tactics of force, JUKIC said.

With regard to the problem of Yugoslavia JUKIC declared that then TITO's day would come, too. The Western peoples must make all efforts possible to be well-prepared for that day. They must not once

again, as in 1948, miss the opportunity to smash the Soviet Block. TITO will, then, find himself confronted with an alternative. In the West everything will be ready to "seize" Yugoslavia, and then the day of the Croats will have come; they will attain freedom earlier than the other oppressed peoples. Therefore, JUKIC said, it was high time, "24 hours", so to speak, for the Croats to establish unity and, with the support of the American policy, to make preparations for the liberation.

During a confidential conversation JUKIC expressed the opinion that the Croatian demand for independence has little prospect of being realized; 95 percent of the prominent Western politicians were against a dismemberment of Yugoslavia whose Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian areas had grown together since 1918, especially under TITO's regime. To divide that state would, in the opinion of the West, shake the economy and the political life of the whole area and prevent its consolidation for a long time to come. However, JUKIC added, the future Yugoslavia was expected to be a Federation. The reason why the HSS now officially and with emphasis presented its demand for an independent Croatian state was that it wanted to have a sufficiently wide margin for future negotiations. The HSS rejected a Danube Federation as was favored by certain Croatian as well as by Austrian and Hungarian circles, JUKIC said.

Hrvatski Pokret za Europsku Federaciju
(Croatian Movement for a United Europe)

Seat: Great Britain, representation in MUNICH

The HSS representative in MUNICH, Dr. Grga VUKOVIC, who has been charged with the task of organizing above group is making efforts to win over to the movement also the adherents of other Croatian groups in MUNICH. So far his efforts have had little success. He is now planning to convene a large-scale charter-meeting. Invitations will be sent to all Croatian emigrants' organizations in MUNICH and to "neutral" persons. No decision has as yet been made as to whether that meeting will be held before JUKIC returns to MUNICH in mid-October or during his stay there. The general opinion is that the new movement will be nothing but a new group of the HSS, which will struggle along the same way as the others.

Independent Croatian Club
MUNICH

The Croatian paper "Hrvatska Zora" published a report on the

HAPSBURG tendencies existing in part of the divided Ustaschi Movement. After the last Eucharists' Congress in Spain, where some PAVELIC-friends had met, the "Independent Croatian Club" was founded in MUNICH. The former Croatian Homeguard General BROZOVIC was elected to the office of President of the club; the priest BUZANCIC was appointed secretary. Only 24 hours after the founding of the organization the Yugoslav Consulate in KLAGENFURT was in possession of the minutes of the charter-meeting. BUZANCIC was accused of having forwarded the copy to said Consulate and as a result he was compelled to resign. At another meeting BROZOBIC [*sic*] was again elected President. Vice President of the organization is JELIC; Dr. BUC was appointed secretary.

The Club has HAPSBURG tendencies and is in favor of Croatia being incorporated into a new Danube Monarchy.

CENTRIST GROUPS:

Hrvatski Sredisnji Odbor - HSO
(Croatian Central Committee)
Seat: MUNICH

With regard to the dissensions among the Croatian emigrants' organizations it must be mentioned that the planned reorganization of above Committee could not be carried out because the "United Croatians", the "Croatian National Committee" and the "Croatian Catholic Academic Association STEPINAC" refused to cooperate. Architect Ivo KIEFER who was in favor of the reorganization and had become chairman of the provisional Praesidium, with the aim of creating an active cultural and social organization, has withdrawn from all and any activities. Dr. VUKOVIC, the honorary President, has in the past few months made efforts to reorganize the Committee but all his efforts have failed. Thus, the Committee now exists practically only on paper.

Croatian National Committee for Europe
Hrvatski Narodni Odbor - HNO
MUNICH: Brunnstrasse 9

On 20 June the Committee held a celebration in KAISERSLAUTERN in honor of Cardinal STEPINAC's "Namenstag". Main speakers were Dr. SUSNJARA and Dr. OMRCANIN. While almost all of the Croatians

living in KAISERSLAUTERN took part in the Church service, the meeting itself was attended only by the adherents of the Committee. (The majority of the Croats in KAISERSLAUTERN who are employed in the Labor Service Company are adherents of PAVELIC.) Among the German guests there was Count EIZ whose family originates from VUKOVAR and who is a member of the "Abendlaendische Akademie" in MUNICH. Among the welcoming letters there was one sent by Count DEGENDORF who conveyed greetings from Otto von HABSBURG.

The Croatian colony in BERLIN held on 27 June a STEPINAC-celebration; speaking on that occasion was Dr. JELIC.

The dispute between JELIC and BUC has not yet been settled. Although *[sic]* JELIC in the event of an open clash could count on the support of the majority of the members and sympathizers of the Committee he wants to avoid such a clash since it "would do greater harm to the reputation of the HNO than the arbitrary ways of BUC". It was said that it was JELIC, not BUC, whose voice was decisive in important political matters; arrangements made by BUC with other groups and organizations were not binding on the HNO as long as they had not been decided by the entire HNO leadership.

In this connection it must be mentioned that after the meeting held by the HSS on 5 September Dr. JELIC had with JUKIC a talk concerning the problem of cooperation. Thus, it may not be expected that as a result of JELIC being dissatisfied with BUC a reorganization of the HNO will be carried through.

Both Croats and Slovenes sharply criticized an article published in the July/August Bulletin of the HNO, in which BUC called the Catholic priests in Slovenia of today "helpers of the Communist regime" propagandizing the Communist idea of "Away from Rome". In this connection BUC referred to an item contained in the ZAGREB paper "Vijesnik", according to which 75 percent of the Catholic priests in Slovenia are members of the Communist-directed, government-sponsored Priests' Association "Kyrill and Methodi". The Croats among those criticizing that article restrict themselves to the remark that it is not very wise to publish such articles which mean a strain on the relationship between Slovenes and Croats in exile. To enforce their own demands the Croats need the support of the Slovenes; therefore, efforts should be made to win the Slovenes over to the Croatian side, instead of annoying them by publications of the kind mentioned.

The Slovenes reacted sharply to the article in question and declared that they would not permit the Croatian "Habsburg-adherents" to interfere with their own affairs; it was simply impudent to publish such defamations based on reports of the Communist Croatian press. They stressed it was common knowledge that the Slovenian Catholic priests, like the Croatian priests, today are engaged in a serious

struggle against Communism and for their church.

Hrvatsko Akademske Drustvo Alojzije Stepinac
(Croatian Catholic Academic Association Alois STEPINAC)
Seat: MADRID; representation: MUNICH, Forstenriederstrasse 414.

The young Croatian intellectuals among the more recent arrivals are making efforts for the founding of an organization outside the existing Croatian groups which are considered as out-dated and are rejected because they are dominated by private and personal interests. Zvonimir PAVLINIC, MUNICH, is making attempts to united these young Croatians in a new group. For the time being they are planning to hold meetings only on a small scale for the purpose of discussing the possibilities of cultural and, later, political activities.

So far these talks have resulted only in the decision to reorganize the Croatian Academic Association.

Croatian Workers' Associations:

The symptoms of disunity shown by various Croatian emigrants-organizations are apparent also in the Croatian workers' associations. The "Independent Croatian Workers' Union" in PARIS is trying in vain to establish cooperation with the "Union of free [*sic - here and below*] Croatian Workers" in Belgium which is connected with the HSS and a member of the "Federation of free Croatian Workers". For its refusal the Belgian Union gave the reason that the PARIS organization is influenced by the clergy. It was stated that the Union of Croatian Workers must adhere to the principles of "supra-confessionality" since a large number of the Croatian workers in exile are moslems.

The "Federation of Free Croatian Workers" is making further efforts for being admitted to the "International Federation of Trade Unions" (internationaler Gewerkchaftsbund).

:: filing information ::

Title: MUNICH REPORT: Croatian Emigrant Movement (2)

Source: State Department, declassified January 31, 2003

Date: c. October 1954

Added: June 4, 2003

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State Department Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

On September 10, 1967, Father Krunoslav Draganovic, one of the lead agents and architects of the Nazi smuggling Ratline, crossed to the Yugoslav side of the Italian border beyond the city of Trieste. Croatian organizations - including Pavelic's Croatian Liberation Movement - alleged that the "Golden Priest" had been kidnapped, but it appears today that Draganovic surrendered to the Yugoslav authorities of his own volition. The state of confusion in the Croatian diaspora was nothing compared to the panic in the American intelligence community, which regarded Draganovic as a highly valuable, if flawed, asset, with a tremendous knowledge of American espionage in and around Yugoslavia. Draganovic's surrender to Yugoslavia was equivalent to the defection of a bureau chief to the Soviet Union. This report was submitted approximately four months after Draganovic's defection to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Security, and contains a summary of what was known of Draganovic's "public" persona. The second paragraph is largely illegible, but appears to be a brief overview of his early life and education in Croatia from earlier documents.

[handwritten: "summary complete to 68"]

[stamp: "9 JAN 1968"]

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security
Department of State

FROM: Deputy Director for Plans

SUBJECT: Dr. Krunoslav Stjepan DRAGANOVIC

1. Per verbal request of Mr. Ora Wilson of the Department of State, the following biographic information on Dr. **Krunoslav Stjepan Draganovic** has been prepared based on the information contained in the files of this agency. This information is provided for your internal use only.

A. Activities Prior to April 1941:



related links

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Documents: Ivan Saric

Documents: Croatian Peasant Party

Misc: Search

Essay: The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

Exhibition: Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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- 5 - 6 - 7

Krunoslav Stjepan DRAGANOVIC, aka Father DRAGANOVIC, aka Dr. Fabiano, one of four children of Petar DRAGANOVIC (the others being [illegible]), was born in Brcko, Bosnia [the rest of this paragraph is largely illegible]

Following the graduation from the seminary he was ordained a priest and served in Sarajevo from 1930 to 1932. During this period he came in direct contact with Dr. **Ivan SARIC**, the Catholic Archbishop of Bosnia, perhaps the most rabid opponent of the Orthodox Serbs and the Yugoslav Royal family (the KARADJORDJEVIC Family), which is of Serbian origin, and a vociferous champion of the Independent State of Greater Croatia (which would include all of Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina to the Drina River in the East, and also Slavonia and Srem, i.e., the lands North of the Sava River and South of the Danube River right up to the confluence of the Sava with the Danube at Belgrade). It was under the auspices of Archbishop SARIC that he was sent to Rome in 1932 to attend the Instituto Orientale Ponteficio where he majored in [illegible] and Balkan affairs. He obtained his Doctorate in 1935 and returned to Sarajevo, where he acted as secretary to Archbishop SARIC from 1935 through 1940. In February 1941 he was appointed teacher of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Zagreb, Croatia.

B. Activities from April 1941 to mid-1945:

There are conflicting reports regarding Subject's activities during the period from April 1941 to August 1943. According to some reports, shortly after the Independent State of Croatia was established in April 1941 by the late **Ante PAVELIC**, the leader of the Ustasha (a Croatian political organization), via the support and approval of Nazi Germany, Subject became a leading figure in the Office for Colonization, an office engaged in engaging the property of the Orthodox Serbs living in Bosnia, Hercegovina, the Lika area of Croatia (in which lived the majority of the Serbian minority of Croatia), Slavonia and Srem, and distributing said property to the Ustashes. Subject reportedly was in the habit of travelling in the above listed areas in the uniform of an Ustasha Colonel. He was also said to have been armed while in uniform. Other reports identify Subject as a member of a Committee that forcibly converted thousands of Serbs from the Serbian Orthodox to the Roman Catholic Church. (As a result of their opposition to such forcible conversions, several hundred thousand Serbs living on the territory of the Independent Croatian State reportedly died at the hands of the Ustasha and Domobran military forces during World War II, or more specifically, while the Independent Croatian State was in existence. This resulted in many Serbs, and even many Croats who were opposed to such inhuman methods, joining the Partisan

guerrilla units to fight both the Germans and the Croat State, even though they were not in favor of Communism.) Since the end of World War II, many Serbs living outside Yugoslavia have accused Subject of being personally responsible for the deaths of over 10,000 Serbs from Croatia, killed by the Ustashas as a part of their drive to exterminate the Serbs living in Croatia. Subject has denied these charges, as well as the charge that he was Military Chaplain of the Domobran and Ustasha military units. (The Ustasha military units were elite units, while the Domobran were the actual Armed Forces of the Croatian State.) According to his own statements, Subject was instrumental in setting up a Croat-Slovene Committee for the Relief of Slovene Refugees in Zagreb in the fall of 1941, and became President of the Committee.

Subject evidently became involved in mid-1943 in a feud with Eugen (aka [illegible]) KVATERNIK, a major figure in the Government of Croatia and a close associate of Poglavnik (leader) Ante PAVELIC, the head of the Croatian State. He called KVATERNIK "a madman and a lunatic." This resulted in his "being kicked upstairs," which is to say, in August 1943 he went to Italy to represent the Croatian Red Cross on a mission to secure the release from camps or otherwise help Yugoslav internees. His sponsor was **Alojzije STEPINAC**, the Archbishop of Zagreb. He returned to Zagreb at the end of 1943, but returned to Rome again in January 1944, and was still in Italy when the Croatian State collapsed in mid-1945 at about the same time as the war ended in Europe.

He continued to represent the Croatian Red Cross, but was also regarded as an unofficial Charge d'Affairs of the Croatian State at the Vatican. Thus when the Croatian State collapsed, he was in the ideal position to help the many Ustashas who fled Yugoslavia, and as Secretary of an organization known as the Confraternite Croata in Italy he issued Identity Documents with false names to many Croats, primarily Ustashas who were considered war criminals, and is the individual most responsible for making it possible for the Ustashas to emigrate overseas, primarily to Argentina, but also to Chile, Venezuela, Australia, Canada and even the United States. He is alleged to have provided even some German Nazi war criminals with false Identity Cards with false Croatian names, thus enabling them to emigrate from Europe and avoid standing trial in Germany for their war-time activities. Subject and his Croatian supporters claim that Subject assisted Serbs, Slovenes and other Yugoslavs as well as Croats, and deny that he had been motivated by any but charitable and compassionate reasons in this activity.

C. Activities from Mid-1945 to Date:

Subject's activities in Rome were conducted from the Ecclesiastical College of San Girolamo degli Illirici, 132 Via Tomacelli, Rome. The

college is sponsored by the Vatican and was used by young Croatian Catholic priests as their home in Rome while pursuing various courses of study. It also became the sponsor of the San Girolamo Asylum for the Ustasha and other Croat emigres in Rome. Rector of the College of San Girolamo degli Illirici at the time was Monsignor Dr. Juraj MADJEREC, a close collaborator of Subject's in his activities on behalf of the Croats.

In 1946, Subject defended himself on the charges that he was an Ustasha by stating that if working for an Independent Croatia meant being an Ustasha, then "I am an Ustasha. However," he added, "I disassociate myself from all other attributes of the Ustashes." He is also known to have defended the late Ante PAVELIC on the grounds that PAVELIC organized the Ustasha Movement in 1929 (this is after the assassination of Stjepan RADIC, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, in the Yugoslav Parliament by a Montenegrin, i.e. Serbian deputy), as a Croat answer to the Serbian Chetnik Movement, which Subject claims had been an instrument of Serbian oppression of the Croats. He also admits that he is a proponent of an Independent Greater Croatian State and that he supports the Pan-Danubian Federation composed of Slovenia, Croatia, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland (sometimes referred to as a "Cordon Sanitaire" between Western Europe and the Soviet Union, or even as the Catholic Outpost confronting the Godless Communists and the heretic Orthodox States.) And finally, Subject has claimed credit for helping in the release of over 10,000 Yugoslav internees in Italy during 1943, 1944 and early 1945.

In 1949, Subject went to Argentina in the company of the late Ante PAVELIC, but he returned to Rome shortly thereafter. In 1950 he was known to be using a Diplomatic Passport, issued to him by the Vatican. In August 1951 he went to Beirut, Lebanon on orders of Ante PAVELIC in an effort to convince Djafer KULENOVIC to accept the post of President of the Ustasha Government-in-Exile, which was constituted in Buenos Aires on 10 April 1951 (the tenth anniversary of the forming of the Independent Greater Croatian State in Zagreb on 10 April 1941.) Sometime in the 1950's he had a falling out with PAVELIC, and attempted to establish *[illegible]* relations with the late Vlatko MACEK, who inherited the leadership of the **Croatian Peasant Party** after the assassination of Stjepan RADIC, but was rebuffed by MACEK. Subject then organized a movement called the Croatian Independence Movement, which was intended to assemble all Croats outside Yugoslavia. Being in opposition both to the followers of the PAVELIC Ustasha Movement and the Croatian Peasant Party of Vlatko MACEK, this new movement appealed to only a fraction of the Croats but, as an individual, Subject nevertheless continues to enjoy a position of some importance among the Croats outside Yugoslavia.

Finally, in 1952 Subject became Secretary of the "Bratovatina Relief Association" with Headquarters in Rome. His close associate,

Monsignor Dr. Juraj MADJEREC, with whom he organized the Association, became president.

Subject's political activities eventually became an embarrassment to the Vatican, and in October 1958, Monsignor Djuro KOKSA, Vice-Director of the College of San Girolamo, asked him to leave the College, on order of the Secretary of State of the Vatican. He then moved to an apartment at 28 Via Oslaria, Rome. In time he moved from Italy to Vienna, Austria, and became an Austrian citizen, and it was while living in Austria that he visited Trieste, from where he disappeared around mid-September 1967, leading the Croats to conclude that he had been kidnapped by the Yugoslavs and forcibly taken back to Yugoslavia. Throughout the post-war period the Yugoslav government had labeled Subject a war-criminal and has repeatedly requested the Italian and Austrian authorities that Subject be extradited to Yugoslavia so that he could be tried for his "war crime activities."

D. Intelligence Activities:

Subject has been accused of working for the Soviet Intelligence Service. He and his friends have disclaimed such activity, and claim that he is being slandered by the Serbs and by the Communist Regime in Yugoslavia, in order to discredit him and hamper his humanitarian work. There is no proof that he has ever worked for the Soviets or any Communist intelligence Service. There are, however, indications that he had worked for [REDACTED] Intelligence Service. Whether or not he still works for [REDACTED] is not known.

Subject also had contact with the United States Military Intelligence during the 1950's and early 1960's, but this association was terminated by the Military "with prejudice" in January 1962. (If you require additional details of this association, please address your inquiry to the Department of the Army.)

2. It may be of interest to note that while the Yugoslav Government has officially stated that Subject voluntarily requested in writing that he be permitted to return to Yugoslavia, and that such a letter has been read over the Yugoslav Radio and TV news programs, Subject himself has not been put on display by the Yugoslav authorities, even though they claim that he is living in Sarajevo and is free to move around awaiting an official decision on whether or not he will be tried by the Yugoslav Court for his war-time activities. Subject's brother Zvonimir is or was a bank clerk in Zagreb, and his sister Danica was a teacher in Sarajevo, while his other brother, Kresimir, was reported to have been living in the British Zone of Germany in

1947. Our files contain no information which could help resolve the question of whether Subject was kidnapped by the Yugoslavs or if he returned to Yugoslavia of his own accord.

Distribution:

Orig & 1 Addressee

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

:: filing information ::

Title: State Department Report on Krunoslav Draganovic

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: January 9, 1968

Added: February 6, 2003

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A Telegram to Mussolini

Letter sent by Ante Pavelic to Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, heralding the start of the invasion of Yugoslavia. Pavelic had spent almost ten years in Italy, through varying states of favor with the authorities.

8 April, 1941

Duce,

In this decisive hour - after twenty-two years of oppression for the Croatian people by the imposition of the Treaty of Versailles and the Serbian tyranny - I address to you the salute of all Croat nationalists, of all combatant organizations and the entire Croatian people.

All of Croatia rejoices at your glorious soldiers and all our nationalist forces, our organized and ready combatants will fight with them for the freedom of our people and for the independent state of Croatia for which we have for so long and so bloodily fought.

We see in you the great friend of the oppressed [*lit: "the small people"*], and the founder of a new government of justice, and we stand ready to testify with our eternal gratefulness. I assure to you that, at this hour, and in the future we will be always with you.

Long live the independent State of Croatia! Long live Italy!



Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [Italian Sources](#)

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: A Telegram to Mussolini

Source: Private collection. Translated by Cali Ruchala.

Date: April 8, 1941

Added: October 2002

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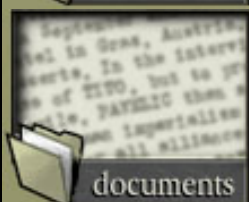
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Article: "The Renewal of Medieval Times"

This article appeared in the Fascist-controlled press in Italy on September 18, 1941. The author, Corrado Zoli, was traveling through Bosnia and witnessed the Ustase massacres - and the assistance of Franciscan priests in the butchery - firsthand. There can be little doubt that this article appeared with the agreement of the Fascist Party in Italy, and the Italian Army had already begun to stand between the Ustase and their victims in zones of the NDH under their authority.

There were special bands who performed the massacres and are probably still doing so, actually led and incited by Catholic priests and monks. This is more than confirmed. There was a monk near Travnik with the crucifix in one hand who was inciting a band of people whom he had organized and was leading. This happened in the first few days after my arrival there.

"This therefore means the renewal of medieval times," remarked the correspondent.

"Yes, but made worse by machine guns, hand grenades, dynamite, barrels of gasoline and other means of terrorism."

"Was this committed by the local Croat people?" asked Zoli.

"That's it, but by the worst element of the Croat population, just young men of around 20, collected, armed and led by Croats who came from Zagreb. This was all taking place among people who pretend to be civilized and who brag about having accepted the Mediterranean and Roman culture, sometimes even stating that they are the direct descendants of the Goths. It was a terrible massacre! It was a living terror! Entire families, men women, babies, old men, the sick and children massacred and tormented by the worst imaginable Chinese tortures."...

...The first brother of Assisi spoke with the birds and fish, calling them brothers and sisters, but his disciples and spiritual heirs, filled with hate, massacre the people in the Independent State of Croatia, who are before God and the Father, their own brothers, brothers of the same blood, the same language, the same mother earth which



related links

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Italian Sources](#)

Documents: [Newspapers in the NDH](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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has nourished them with the sap from her breasts. They massacre, they kill, they bury people alive. They throw their victims into the rivers, the sea and into crevices. Bands of these killers still exist and they are in a state of frenzied excitement, led on by the priests and the Catholic religious officials.

:: filing information ::

Title: Article: "The Renewal of Medieval Times"

Source: Article by Corrado Zoli in *Il Resto del Carlino*. Quoted in Paris, Edmond. *Genocide in Satellite Croatia*

Date: September 18, 1941

Added: October 2002

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Pavelic's Radio Address to Croatia

On April 5, 1941, just before the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia, **Ante Pavelic** read a speech from an Italian radio station to be broadcast into Croatia. The following excerpt indicates that the Ustase plan for "cleansing" Croatia of "enemies" and "eradicat[ing]" all "weeds" was already well conceived, even before Pavelic had set foot in the country.

The moment of liberation has come! Croatian people! Rise on your feet, take your arms. Align into combat ranks and stand under the Ustase flag, on which the glorious deeds of victory are already written. Rise, the moment of our liberation has come, arise to cleanse *[cistimo]* our homeland from enemies and to establish our freedom in our own house, in a sovereign and Independent State of Croatia, in which all Croatian lands will be united... Our victory is assured... The Croatian Ustase movement has placed itself not today, but ten years ago at the side of our friends, at the side of Hitler and Mussolini, those great leaders of those great nations, whom no one can resist anymore, who are standing in our defense and will guarantee our liberation, our victory, our freedom and our Independent State of Croatia. In the entire Croatian historical and continuous national area... With help from God and our great friends... *[there]* arises the free and Independent State of Croatia, in which, Croatian peasants, all land and all authority will be in your hands, in which law and fairness will rule, and in which all weeds will be eradicated *[iskorijenjen sav korov]*, which were planted by the foreign hand of our enemies. In the state of Croatia bread and prosperity, freedom and honor will be ensured for long centuries for generations of Croats!



related links

Document: [A Telegram to Mussolini](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The Ratline](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Essay: [The Poglavnik's Family Tree](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

[text-only version](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: Pavelic's Radio Address to Croatia

Source: Bzik, Mijo. *Ustaska pobjeda*, pp 69-70. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, p. 536 (Zagreb, 1947). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: April 5, 1941

Added: May 18, 2004

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Decree: On the First Croatian Government

In this decree, Ante Pavelic proclaims himself head of state and names his closest advisors as state ministers of the NDH. During the four-year lifespan of the NDH, Pavelic orchestrated more than seven government reshuffles, though most of the figures named in this founding decree remained fixtures in the government until its collapse in May of 1945. Kvaternik was forced out as head of the army in 1943. The actual duties of the "Minister of Association" is uncertain; Jozo Dumandzic (sometimes spelled "Dumancic" in other NDH records) was soon replaced in this position by Janko Tortic, though Dumandzic remained in the government.

NUMBER 12

DECREE

On the Appointment of the First Croatian Government

Zagreb, 16 April 1941 (by the Poglavnik's Cabinet)

I, Poglavnik of the Independent State of Croatia appoint the first Croatian government:

1. The affairs of the head of state and foreign affairs will be handled by me personally.
2. I appoint as deputy head of state Osman Kulenovic of Bihac.
3. As commander of the army and minister of the Croatian Home Army, consisting of land, air, and sea forces and all men under arms, and as minister of traffic I name Field Marshal Slavko Kvaternik of Zagreb. For active operations the Poglavnik will name deputies on his own based upon necessity.
4. I appoint as Minister of Justice Mirko Puk of Glina.
5. I appoint as Minister of Internal Affairs **Andrija Artukovic** of



related links

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Ljubuski.

6. I appoint as Minister of Health Ivan Petric of Solta.

7. I appoint as Economic Minister Lovru Susic of Mrkoplje.

8. I appoint as Minister of Religion and Education **Mile Budak** of Sveti Roka.

9. I appoint as Minister of Forestry and Mines Ivica Frkovic of Lickog Novi.

10. I appoint as Minister of Association *[ministrom udruzba]* Jozo Dumandzic of Klobuka.

11. I appoint as head of the legislative committee Milovan Zanic of Senj.

Poglavnik
of the Croatian State:
Dr. Ante Pavelic, v.r. *[by his own hand]*

:: filing information ::

Title: Decree: On the First Croatian Government

Source: Exhibit introduced in the Trial of Dinko Sakic.

Date: April 1941

Added: November 2002

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Katolicki List: The Foundation of the Independent State of Croatia

The following is a translation of a transcript made of the front page of the first issue of the Catholic paper Katolicki List published after the formation of the Independent State of Croatia. Katolicki List was published by the Archdiocese of Zagreb, led by Archbishop (later Cardinal) Stepinac, and Item 4 below speaks directly in the name of the church. Stepinac never denied his initial support for the NDH, but it is quite another matter to recount the neo-fascist spectacle described in Item 3 without passing judgment as to what this could possibly mean. The Ustase, as is clear, left little doubt that the NDH would be ruled by the fist, with Poglavnik Ante Pavelic's ministers swearing "You command, and we will obey; you order, and we will execute!" As the NDH had been created in the wake of Nazi bayonets, one is shocked by the naiveté and willful ignorance on the part of the church as to just what this meant. Prior to April 1941, the names "Ustase" and "Pavelic" had hitherto been connected in the public mind with bombings, assassination and other forms of terrorism, their image one of unapologetic fascism with "Sieg Heils," black tunics and a language of violence and militarism aimed at Serbs and Jews as well as members of the Croatian Peasant Party who had signed the "treacherous" autonomy agreement with Belgrade just two years before. Public opinion on Mussolini and especially Hitler were equally well-informed by April 1941; regardless, their telegrams bestowing their blessing on the NDH are prominently printed with all due consideration.



related links

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THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA

1. With amazing speed, the events of Easter week turned the circle of history of the Croatian people. After a day of anxiety, alarm and concern, Easter Thursday came. Already at noon the first news had reached Zagreb that in Bjelovar, Croat soldiers had rebelled, and that German troops had crossed the Drava River in a broad line, advancing towards Zagreb very quickly. In the city itself, all around, a great excitement was felt. The public didn't yet know that at about half past two in the afternoon the Ustase Poglavnik's deputy Mr. Slavko Kvaternik took command of the police. The public found out about the change at about 4:00 pm on the radio when Mr. S. Kvaternik, in the name of the Poglavnik, Dr. Ante Pavelic, proclaimed the Independent State of Croatia in its entire historical area and took

control. Not long after that Dr. V[ladko] Macek called all Croatian people to obey and sincerely cooperate with the new state government. On the streets of Zagreb, Croatian flags were unfurled when the first German motorized troops entered the city. German troops were greeted by loud cheering. The Croatian state authorities manifested themselves very quickly, because all police squads and civilian defense authorities behaved just like the Ustase squads, functioning perfectly in maintaining order and discipline. On Easter Saturday, General S. Kvaternik appointed members of the Croatian leadership which will temporarily run state affairs. On Easter Sunday the **Poglavnik Dr. Ante Pavelic** arrived with his escort on the territory of the State of Croatia, and he was ceremonially welcomed in Karlovac. On Easter Tuesday he finally arrived in Zagreb.

2. On Tuesday, the 15th [of April] Poglavnik dr. Ante Pavelic gave all Croatian radio stations the following statement:

"Croatian people! Today, as I assume control of the state authorities of the NDH in Zagreb, I am happy that I can announce the following to you: Yesterday I sent telegrams to Fuehrer of the German people and the Duce of Fascist Italy in which I requested their immediate recognition of the NDH. With great joy I announce to you, the Croatian people, that to those requests I received the following telegram replies:

Dr. Ante Pavelic, Zagreb

I am grateful for your telegram and also the telegram of General Kvaternik, in which you notified me of the proclamation of the NDH in conjunction with the will of the people, and in which you ask me to recognize the NDH in the name of the German Reich. It is a particular joy and pleasure for me to express to you that the German Reich recognizes the NDH at a moment when the Croatian people have found their long desired freedom by the victory of the troops of the Axis powers. The German government will be glad to discuss the borders of the new state with the Croatian government in a free exchange of thoughts. All my wishes I direct to you and to future of the Croatian people.

Adolf Hitler

To Dr. Ante Pavelic, Zagreb.

I received the telegram by which you notified me of the proclamation

of the NDH in conjunction with the will of the people, and in which you ask me to recognize the NDH in the name of Fascist Italy. With the greatest pleasure I salute the new Croatia, which today obtained its long desired freedom when the Axis powers destroyed the artificially created Yugoslavia. I am happy to express to you that the Fascist government recognizes the Independent State of Croatia. Fascist Italy will be glad to discuss with the national Croatian government, in a free exchange of thoughts, the borders of the new state, to which Italian people give our fondest wishes.

Benito Mussolini

"Croatian people! Long live the NDH! Long live Fuehrer Adolf Hitler! Long live Duce Mussolini!"

The State of Croatia was also recognized by Slovakia and Hungary.

3. On Wednesday, the 16th of April at 8 p.m. the Poglavnik of the State of Croatia appointed the first Croatian state ministers, and together with the new government he swore an oath.

On that occasion he made the following speech:

"Croatian people!

"The Croatian people founded their state 1400 years ago. In the year 1102, the Croatian State lost for the first time the important designation of its complete sovereignty. From 1102 until today - therefore a full 839 years - the Croatian people did not have an independent state. Now, a full 839 years after which for the first time a completely sovereign independent state of Croatia was constituted, the moment has come to constitute a competent government in the NDH. At this moment I appoint and nominate the first Croatian state government. The presidency over the government and the portfolio for foreign affairs I am taking over myself.

"I appoint as deputy head of state Osman Kulenovic of Bihac.

"As commander of the army and minister of the Croatian Home Army, consisting of land, air, and sea forces and all men under arms, and as Minister of Traffic I name Field Marshal Slavko Kvaternik of Zagreb. For active operations the Poglavnik will name deputies on his own based upon necessity.

"I appoint as Minister of Justice Mirko Puk of Glina.

"I appoint as Minister of Internal Affairs **Andrija Artukovic** of Ljubuski.

"I appoint as Minister of Health Ivan Petric of Solta.

"I appoint as Economic Minister Lovru Susic of Mrkoplje.

"I appoint as Minister of Religion and Education **Mile Budak** of Sveti Roka.

"I appoint as Minister of Forestry and Mines Ivica Frkovic of Lickog Novi.

"I appoint as Minister of Association [*ministrom udruzba*] Jozo Dumandzic of Klobuka.

"I appoint as head of the legislative committee Milovan Zanac of Senj."

Text of the oath by the Poglavnik:

"I, Dr. Ante Pavelic, Poglavnik of the NDH, swear to God Almighty and All-Knowing, that I will be faithful to the Croatian people and do everything for their benefit, and that I will preserve and defend the independence of the Croatian state, and that I will at all times live by the Ustase principles in my work. So help me God!"

Before the ministers took their oath, the Poglavnik directed the following words to them:

"Ministers, you are committing a solemn act by which you will swear an oath to take into your hands the people's affairs, state affairs, the NDH's affairs. I am bringing to light before your eyes the oath and the consequences before God and the Croatian people for the things you will do, your responsibility before God and the Croatian people for every act or mistake you would do to the harm of the Croatian people and the NDH." Afterwards, the ministers spoke in order, and swore an oath in this way: "I Slavko Kvaternik, I Dr. Mirko Puk and so on... swear to God Almighty and All-Knowing, that I will be faithful to the Croatian people, to the NDH and to the Poglavnik as the representative of its sovereignty, that I will respect and adhere to its constitutional articles and its laws, that I will work at all times for the benefit of the NDH and the Croatian people, and that I will do so with true devotion, and that I will invest all my power and knowledge in performing my duties. So help me God! Amen!"

Ministers swore this oath repeating the words of Poglavnik, who congratulated each and every one of them after the oath was taken.

After that the Poglavnik's deputy, warrior Slavko Kvaternik, saluted the Poglavnik and said:

"Poglavnik! In the name of the Croatian people, in the name of all present ministers, I assure you that we will knowingly perform these duties. You command, and we will obey; you order, and we will execute! All of us and the whole of the Croatian people are with you through both life and death!"

4. These events marked the foundation of NDH.

The state of Croatia is a fact. It was, as an ideal, carried over the centuries in souls of our ancestors, until Almighty Providence materialized it in the year of our great national jubilee. The Catholic Church, which for over 1300 years has spiritually guided the Croatian people through their hard, painful and delightful days, joins in the joy and delight of the Croatian people in these days marking their ascension and the restoration of state independence. The Church is convinced, that by preaching Christ's religious and well-bred science, it preserved the living essence and fortified the robust resistance of the Croatian people. That it gave the Croatian people the moral strength to endure difficult temptations, which finally brought about the restoration of state independence. Just as the church in those difficult days of temptation faithfully stood with its priests in spiritual service to the Croatian people, in this new period of state independence it will faithfully stand by their side, fortifying their strength and preserving their morals, so that it can achieve genuine, total prosperity and comprehensive progress. The church prays to God, that all Croats, united together, find in the state of Croatia the fulfillment of its justified aspirations. That all people with their responsible leadership can become the people of the Lord. The Church is convinced that there are objective and subjective terms by which our people have fulfilled the words of the Lord: "Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord!" With those wishes and prayers we enter the era of the NDH.

The Editors

Title: *Katolicki List*: The Foundation of the Independent State of Croatia

Source: *Katolicki List*, No 16, 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, pp. 546-549, Zagreb, 1948. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: April 1941

Added: April 5, 2003

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News: In the Sign of Sacrifice

The following is an excerpt from an article by Father Franjo Kralik, anti-Semite, Serbophobe and protege of the Archbishop of Sarajevo **Ivan Saric** in the newspaper controlled by the Archbishopric, *Katolicki Tjednik*. The article praises the "Crusaders" youth organization as being in tune with the Ustase movement and participating in the events which led to the formation of the Independent State of Croatia just a few weeks before. In 2003, the group's founder, Dr. Ivan Merz was beatified by Pope John Paul II.

Sacrifices must be even more persistently accepted by those generations, who even made sacrifice a central part of their program: the men and women of the Crusaders! In light of recent events it was made clear what an important role this organization performed by spiritually preparing "the new, young, Godly Croatia." The breeding of the Crusader youth, thanks to the late Dr. Ivan Merz and the present Dr. Ivo Protulipac, was radically Croatian. The spiritual program of this organization is coherent with the spiritual program of the Ustase, as has been expressed numerous times at various Crusader functions by Dr. Ivo Protulipac, but also by other Crusader speakers. Therefore, may the Crusaders' sacrifice in the future come to an even greater expression, but not so much with words as much as with action.



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:: filing information ::

Title: News: In the Sign of Sacrifice

Source: *Katolicki Tjednik*, April 27, 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, p. 585 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: April 27, 1941

Added: February 6, 2004

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Pastoral Letter from Archbishop Stepinac

After an interview with the newly-decorated "Field Marshal" Slavko Kvaternik and speaking on a radio broadcast supporting the new regime of the Independent State of Croatia, Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac met with the *Poglavnik* in person and promised the support of the Croatian Catholic Church. On April 28, 1941, the following pastoral letter from the Archbishop was delivered to all parishes in the NDH and printed in all official Catholic publications - in fact, in *Katolicki List*, it was immediately followed by the publication of the **Principles of the Ustase Movement**. At this point, one could argue, the true barbarity of the NDH was not yet known - and yet the "Principles" already suggest the use of applied eugenics. Just two days later, the Ustase **racial decrees** were issued and "Aryanization" was put into practice.

Honorable brethren!

There is not one among you who did not recently witness the most significant event in the life of the Croatian people among whom we act as heralds of Christ's word. These are events that fulfilled the long dreamed of and desired ideal of our people. These are the hours when the tongue does not speak, but blood speaks by its mysterious union with the earth in which we saw the divine light, together with people from which we grew out of. Is it necessary to emphasize that even our hearts beat more lively? Nobody intelligent could condemn it, and nobody honest could resent it, because love for your own people is written with God's finger into human beings and is God's commandment! And who could resent us for this, as we spiritual shepherds are making our contribution to the national feast and fervor, when we full of deep affection and warm gratitude turn to God's Majesty? Because, as much as the course of these portentous events is complicated; as much as the factors that influence the course of events are heterogeneous, it is still easy to discern the hand of God at work. *A Domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris* - "This is the Lord's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes." (Psalm 117, 23). [KJV: Psalm 118, 23]

However, as I speak to you today from this ancient mansion, in the shadow of this ancient temple that served as silent witness to our Croatian history, I do not speak to you only as a son of the Croatian



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Documents: Ivan Saric

Documents: The Vatican

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people but even more as a representative of the Holy Church. I speak to you as the representative of the divine institution that grew out of the lap of infinity and which is the ending in infinity in a completely special meaning of this word. As the representative of that church, which is *firmamentum et columna veritatis* - "the pillar and ground of the truth" (I. Tim., 3, 15). and which was not afraid to tell the truth through my mouth, when it had to be said, though unfortunately its voice often remained a voice crying in the wilderness (John 1, 23).

Therefore by speaking to you as the representative of the Church and a shepherd of souls, I ask and invite you to strive and work with all your strength to make our Croatia the land of God, because only then we will be able perform two important tasks, which the state has to perform to the benefit of its members.

Loyal to God and to Holy Christ's Church, our Croatia will perform the elevated mission which an earthly homeland has to perform in promoting the spiritual welfare of its members. Faithful to God and to the Church, our homeland will show that it believes that the final goal of all human ambition is eternity, where there is the true eternal homeland. By respecting and protecting religious and moral values, our homeland will show that it believes, that the earthly homeland is the true mother only when it puts our arms together and teaches us "to give unto God what is God's," and that it is the true guardian of our lives only when it directs our steps in paths that lead high and when it removes discord from souls that God created for himself. But in its faith to God and to the Church, our Croatia will not only fulfil its duty of uplifting the spiritual welfare of the Croatian people, but also lay the most solid foundations for the healthy development of earthly national values and national freedom and solidity. The Church, which has observed the turns in the history of the world for two thousand years, is the witness of centuries as *regnum de gente in gentem transfertur propter injustitias et injurias et contumelias et diversos dolos* - "as kingdoms pass from one nation to another because of injustice and wrongdoings and disgrace and various deceits." (The Church 10, 8). Therefore we have to consider that our greatest duty in these crucial hours in the history of the Croatian people is to spiritualize our entire national being by looking toward eternity. We have to warn everywhere and teach that the holy fervor and noble enthusiasm in building the foundations of the young state of Croatia should be inspired by the fear of God and love for God's Law and His commandments, because only with God's Law, and not on the false principles of this world, will the state of Croatia be built on a solid foundation.

You should therefore readily answer my call to do elevated work for the safeguarding and progress of the Independent State of Croatia

Knowing the men who today control the destiny of the Croatian people, we are deeply convinced that they will offer our people their

full understanding and help. We believe and expect that the Church in the resurrected State of Croatia will be able in full freedom to proclaim the irrefutable principles of the eternal Truth and Justice. Therefore the Church will follow the words of the Scripture: *Verbum Dei non est alligatum* - "The word of God is not bound" (II. Tim., 2, 9). And it shall consider its holy duty *opportune, importune, arguere, increpare, obsecrare in omni patientia et doctrina et cum omni apostolica libertate* - "in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all longsuffering and doctrine" (II. Tim., 4, 2) and with all apostolic freedom. That is how it shall do and it will consider it a valuable help in the difficult work in building our dear Homeland and State of Croatia.

If the good Lord allows, may it be so. And in order for it to be so, I invite you honorable brethren priests, not to stop inciting believers entrusted to you to prayers, but to raise your arms even more at the altar of the Lord to the "Father of the Stars," "from whom each good gift and every perfect present comes down." (Jakob 1, 17). --To fill the *Poglavnik* of the State of Croatia with the spirit of wisdom, so that he may perform the elevated and so responsible service to the honor of God and to the salvation of the people in justice and truth; so that the Croatian nation becomes the Divine nation, loyal to Christ and his Church built from Peter's cave! However, if in the eyes of the world prayer seems a needless thing, we consider it to be more important than anything in life, for "except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." (Psalm 12, 1). [KJV: Psalm 127, 1]

The Church of the Lord has never been lost in phrases, but it also never failed in that persistent work, on which the foundations of a fortunate future of individuals, nations and states are being created. Show that, honorable brethren, and now fulfil your duty towards the young state of Croatia.

In light of this we determine, that on Sunday May 4th this year a solemn *Te Deum* should be performed in all parochial churches, to which the parochial offices should invite the local authorities and the faithful. I hope that these festivities will be performed. And if circumstances will not allow it, it should be performed on the first available day. Regarding the cathedral in Zagreb, I will determine that for you in concord with the state authorities.

In Zagreb, April 28, 1941.

Archbishop Alojzije

:: filing information ::

Title: Pastoral Letter from Archbishop Stepinac

Source: *Katolicki List list*, April 28, 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, pp. 550-552 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: April 28, 1941

Added: February 6, 2004

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Decree: "On Racial Affiliation"

NUMBER 76

Upon recommendation of the Minister of Internal Affairs I hereby
issue and proclaim the following

DECREE

On Racial Affiliation

Article 1

A person is of Aryan descent who descends from forebears who are members of the European racial group or who descend from descendants of this racial group outside of Europe.

In the event that other provisions do not exist for special services, Aryan descent is proven by a certificate of baptism (birth) and marriage of one's first- and second- generation forebears (one's parents and grandparents). Members of the Islamic religious group, who are unable to submit the above documents, must provide written testimony by two reliable witnesses who knew their forebears and that among them are no persons of non-Aryan descent.

In ambiguous cases a decision is made by the **Ministry of Internal Affairs** upon the recommendation of the Racial Policy Commission.

Article 2

Persons who in addition to Aryan forebears have one forebear in the second generation who is a Jew or other European non-Aryan by race are considered to be equal, with respect to the acquisition of citizenship, to persons of Aryan descent.

Persons with two forebears in the second generation who are Jews by race also may be considered equal to persons of Aryan descent, with respect to citizenship, unless otherwise stipulated in Article 3.

Article 3



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For purposes of this decree the following are considered to be Jews:

1. Persons who descend from at least three forebears in the second generation (grandparents) who are Jews by race. The grandparents are considered to be Jews if they are of the religion of Moses or if they were born into this religion.

2. Persons having two forebears in the second generation who are Jews by race in the following instances:

a) If they were on April 10, 1941 members of the religion of Moses or if they later converted to this religion;

b) If they have a marital partner who is considered to be a Jew, as per 1;

c) If after the enactment of this decree they concluded marriage with a person having two or more forebears in the second generation who are Jews by race, and the descendants of such a marriage;

d) If they are illegitimate children to a Jewish man, as per 1; and born after January 31, 1942;

e) If the Ministry of Internal Affairs decides, upon justified recommendation by the Racial Policy Commission, that they are to be considered as Jews.

3. Persons born outside the territory of the Independent State of Croatia to parents who do not originate from the Independent State of Croatia, if they were on April 10, 1941 members of the religion of Moses or have at least two forebears of the second generation who are Jews by race, or are considered to be Jews according to the laws of the country from which they originate.

4. Persons who after the enactment of this decree concluded, by circumventing the decrees on protection of Aryan blood, a marriage that is prohibited, and their descendants.

5. People who are the illegitimate children borne by Jewish women, as per 1.

Article 4

For purposes of this decree a person is considered to be a Gypsy who descends from two or more forebears in the second generation who are Gypsies by race.

Article 5

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, a Racial Policy Commission is hereby established which issues opinions and recommendations in all ambiguous cases of racial affiliation.

The final decision in ambiguous cases of racial affiliation is issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Regulations regarding the organization and scope of activity of this Commission will be issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in a separate decree.

Article 6

Persons who prior to April 10, 1941 have shown themselves to be deserving before the Croatian people, especially toward its liberation, as well as their marital partners with whom they concluded marriage prior to the enactment of this decree and the descendants of such a marriage, in the event these persons may be affected by this decree, may **receive recognition** of all rights belonging to persons of Aryan descent at the discretion of the head of state, regardless of the provisions of this decree.

Article 7

Implementation of this decree is entrusted to the **Ministry of Internal Affairs**.

Article 8

This decree is effective on the day of its publication in *Narodne Novine*.

In Zagreb, on April 30, 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelic, v.r. *[by his own hand]*

:: filing information ::

Title: Decree: "On Racial Affiliation"

Source: Exhibit introduced in the trial of Dinko Sakic. Translated by **Snezana Lazovic**.

Date: April 30, 1941

Added: October 2002

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Decree: "On the Protection of Aryan Blood"

NUMBER 77

Upon recommendation of the Minister of Internal Affairs I hereby issue and proclaim the following

DECREE

On the Protection of Aryan Blood and the Honor of the Croatian People

Article 1

The marriage of Jews and other persons who are not of Aryan descent with persons of Aryan descent is prohibited. Similarly prohibited is the marriage of a person having, in addition to Aryan forebears, one forebear in the second generation who is a Jew by race or other European non-Aryan, with a person who is of the same descent by race.

Which persons are considered to be Jews or non-Aryans is determined by the decree on racial affiliation.

Article 2

Special permission to conclude marriage is necessary in the following cases:

1. For marriage of a person with two forebears in the second generation who are Jews by race with a person having one forebear in the second generation who is a European non-Aryan by race, or a person who is of Aryan descent;

2. For marriage of a person having among his forebears members of other non-European races with a person of the same descent, or with a person having one or two forebears in the second generation who are Jews by race or one forebear in the second generation who is a Gypsy by race, or with a person of Aryan descent;



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3. For marriage between citizens and other members of the state [i.e., non-citizens] unless prohibited under Article 1.

Permission for such a marriage is issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs after consultation with the Racial Policy Commission.

Article 3

Extramartial sexual relations of Jews or other persons not of Aryan blood with a female member of Aryan descent are prohibited.

A male non-Aryan violating this prohibition commits the crime of racial defilement and is therefore punished by confinement in a prison or dungeon. In especially serious instances, especially in the case of the rape of an innocent girl [i.e., virgin], the death sentence may be imposed.

Article 4

Jews or other persons who are not of Aryan descent are forbidden to employ in their households female persons of Aryan descent younger than 45 years of age.

Article 5

Non-Aryans and other members of the state [i.e., non-citizens] are forbidden from flying the Croatian state and national flags and displaying the Croatian national colors and emblems.

All changes to Jewish surnames after December 1, 1918 are hereby declared null and void and must be replaced with the original surnames.

Who is a Jew is defined by the decree on racial affiliation.

Article 6

The Minister for Foreign Affairs will issue orders for the implementation of this decree.

Article 7

This decree is effective on the day of its publication in *Narodne Novine*.

In Zagreb, on April 30, 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelic *[by his own hand]*

:: filing information ::

Title: Decree: "On the Protection of Aryan Blood"

Source: Exhibit introduced in the trial of Dinko Sakic. Translated by
Snezana Lazovic.

Date: April 30, 1941

Added: October 2002

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Comparison Between Nazi and Ustase Racial Decrees

On April 30, 1941 - just twenty days after the formation of the Independent State of Croatia - Ustase *Poglavnik* Ante Pavelic signed the "Aryan Decrees." These infamous documents (located [here](#) and [here](#)) gave a precise legal definition for who was a Jew and who was an "Aryan." Far from being the result of Nazi "pressure" on the new state, these decrees were in reality *more* narrow and restrictive for Jews than those in Nazi Germany. The following table is reproduced from Holocaust scholar Raul Hilberg's monumental *The Destruction of the European Jews*. Hilberg notes that "As one might expect, the Croatian authorities dutifully followed, and even improved upon, the original Losener definition. We need only recall the problems to which the original German definition gave rise to realize that the Croatian definition, with all its improvements, was drafted by expert hands... In a very short time the Croatian government also proceeded to enact all those measures which German bureaucrats had toiled over for eight years: the prohibition of intermarriage, of employing female Aryan servants under forty-five, of raising the Croatian flag; the revocation of name changes adopted since December 1, 1918; the marking of Jewish stores and persons; the registration of property; the removals from the bureaucracy and the professions; the termination of business activities; and transfer of enterprises. The impoverishing process spread with great rapidity. By the end of August 1941, after only four months of Croatian government, most Jewish enterprises worth less than 200,000 kuna (RM 10,000, or \$2,500) had been 'Aryanized.'" The noted exception to the tight enforcement of the Aryan Decrees was that Pavelic reserved for himself the right to grant full "Aryan rights" to non-Aryans, which, as **Hannah Arendt has pointed out**, led to the great enrichment of select Ustase leaders.



related links

Decree: On Racial Affiliation

Decree: On the Protection of Aryan Blood

Excerpt: Hannah Arendt on "Honorary Aryans"

Documents: Jewish Victims

Documents: Serbian Victims

Documents: Decrees

Documents: NDH Archive

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

GERMAN AND CROATIAN DEFINITIONS OF "JEW"

German	Croatian
<p>1. A person who had at least three Jewish grandparents</p> <p>2. A person who had two Jewish grandparents and who</p> <p>(a) belonged to the Jewish community on September 15, 1935, or joined it on a subsequent date, or</p> <p>(b) was married to a three-quarter or full Jew on September 15, 1935, or married one on a subsequent date, or</p> <p>(c) was the offspring of an extramarital relationship with a three-quarter or full Jew, and was born out of wedlock after July 31, 1936</p>	<p>1. A person who had at least three Jewish grandparents</p> <p>2. A person who had two Jewish grandparents and who</p> <p>(a) belonged to the Jewish community on April 10, 1941, or joined it on a subsequent date, or</p> <p>(b) was married to a Jewish person on April 30, 1940, or married a Jewish or half-Jewish person on a subsequent date, or</p> <p>(c) was the offspring of an extramarital relationship with a Jew, and was born after January 31, 1942, or</p> <p>(d) was classified as a Jew by decision of the Croatian Interior Minister acting upon a recommendation of a "race-political" commission, or</p> <p>(e) was born outside of Croatia of parents not resident in Croatia</p> <p>3. Any child of an unmarried Jewish mother</p> <p>4. Any person (including one-quarter Jews and full Aryans) entering into marriage with a Jew after April 30, 1941</p>

:: filing information ::

Title: Comparison Between Nazi and Ustase Racial Decrees

Source: Hilberg, Raul. *The Destruction of the European Jews*, pp 710-711 (New York 1985)

Date: 1941

Added: May 17, 2004

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Stepinac Letters to Artukovic

The following excerpts are taken from letters written by Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac, head of the Croatian Catholic Church, to the Interior Minister of the Independent State of Croatia, **Andrija Artukovic** on matters relating to the application of the Ustase **racial laws** and their application to Catholic subjects and their spouses.

April 23, 1941

Mr. Minister,

On the occasion of the announced promulgation of the **anti-Semitic law**, I have the honour to draw your attention to the following facts:

There are good Catholics of the Jewish race who have been converted to Catholicism. There are among them those who have excelled as good Croatian patriots. I think it necessary to take account of such converts in the promulgation of the laws.

[.....]

May 22, 1941

Mr. Minister,

I had the honour on April 23 of this year to address you with respect to Jews converted to Catholicism. The laws promulgated on April 30, however, took no such notice this Catholic affiliation. Daily there have been severe privations which have hit equally the guilty and the innocent. Today's newspapers carried the order that all Jews, without regard to age or sex or Catholic affiliation, must wear Jewish insignia.

Already there are so many measures that, those who know the real situation, will say of us Croats that not even in Germany were the racial laws applied with such vigour and haste.

[.....]



related links

Documents: [Alojzije Stepinac](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Andrija Artukovic](#)

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

[text-only version](#)

March 7, 1942

I take the liberty, Mr. Minister, of asking you to prevent, through your offices, all unjust proceedings against citizens who individually can be accused of no wrongdoing.

I do not think that it can bring us any glory if it is said of us that we have solved the Jewish problem in the most radical way - that is to say, the cruelest. The solution of this question must provide only for the punishment of Jews who have committed crimes, not for the persecution of innocent people.

[.....]

November 2, 1942

Mr. Minister,

I have twice asked the *Poglavnik*, personally, to make possible entrance to **Jasenovac**, Gradiska and Labor. Although we are certain that the dying have asked for a priest so that they may prepare for death, this has not been granted.

Can the Ustase movement count on receiving a divine blessing when it refuses to the dying what all civilized states will grant them?

I address you, Mr. Minister, to ask you respectfully to take all necessary steps with the proper authorities in the ministry you command so that when the sick and dying ask for priests they can go there without interference.

... I know there are such *[mixed]* marriages among the chief leaders of our Croatian State and these are protected. It is against logic and against justice that these are protected and others are not.

If even dumb animals protect their young and will not let themselves be separated by force, who among you can believe that thousands of people in mixed marriages will be able to watch passively as their families are destroyed by force?

Is it not precisely because of such measures, so full of injustice, that our people are driven by force into the ranks of the Partizans? This is the case with many Croats who can no longer tolerate the injustices.

In Italy there are thousands of innocent Croats from Gorski Kotar, Primorje, and Dalmatia living in concentration camps and when my delegation together with Ustase representatives of our Croatian State sought to free these people, the Italian Foreign Minister told us, "Why do you interfere in our treatment of these people after all that you've done in Croatia?"

:: filing information ::

Title: Stepinac Letters to Artukovic (Excerpts)

Source: Private Collection.

Date: April 1941 - November 1942

Added: November 26, 2003

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Order: The White Armbands

Contrary to the later apologies written by top Ustase fugitives such as Stjepan Hefer, punitive measures taken against the Serbs began almost immediately after the founding of the Independent State of Croatia, and not as a result of an organized rebellion. This order is dated May 12th - weeks after the NDH was formed, one day after the "Chetniks" were formed in far-away Ravna Gora, Serbia, and almost two full months before the Communist-led Partizans mobilized for battle on July 4. It instructs the municipal authorities in Velika to ensure that any Serbs traveling outside of the nearby villages are adorned with white armbands with the letter "P" for "Pravoslav" (Orthodox). Similar armbands for the Jews were introduced as well according to the testimony of **Alexander Arnon** at the Eichmann Trial.

USTASHE STATION POZEGA
Number 540/1941

In Pozega, day 12th of May 1941.

TO THE MUNICIPALITY LEADERSHIP

V e l i k a

Immediately notify all the Orthodox of your municipality through village leaders, that they must not leave their village without white armband on their left arm on which must be written *PRAVOSLAVAC* (ORTHODOX).

Those who violate this order will be arrested and most severely punished.

MUNICIPALITY LEADERSHIP
Velika
Number 1692-1941

Velika, day 13th of May 1941.

Ustashe commissary: u z:



related links

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archives](#)

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

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Jozo Srdak v.r.

MILOS BUDIMIR

R A D O V A N C I

To be immediately implemented within 24 hours

Commissary

[signature illegible]

(M.P.)

MUNICIPALITY LEADERSHIP - VELIKA

:: filing information ::

Title: Order: The White Armbands

Source: Army Archive, Archive of the NDH, k.313, reg.br.55/1-2.
Quoted in *Zlocini: Na Jugoslovenskim Prostorima u Prvom i Drugom
Svetskom Ratu, Zbornik Documenata*, p 44. Translated by Sinisa
Djuric.

Date: May 13, 1941

Added: January 2002

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News: Victor Gutic's Visit to Petricevac

The following text (translated in the style it was written) appeared in the *Hrvatska Krajina* newspaper on May 16, 1941, describing the visit of Victor Gutic, the Ustase *stozernik* (headquarters commander) in the area of Banja Luka, to the Franciscan monastery at Petricevac. Before the friars, he begs forgiveness from God if during the "prearranged, well-calculated plan" to "cleanse Croatia of unwanted elements," he may "overstep the narrow bounds of religious morals and ethics." On May 27, 1941 - eleven days later - Gutic ordered Ustase under his command to seize the Orthodox Bishop of Banja Luka, gouge out his eyes, cut off his nose and ears and then ignite a fire on his chest before finally putting the poor man out of his misery (Paris, *Genocide in Satellite Croatia*, p. 80). Gutic was also one of the first Ustase officials to be publically quoted elucidating the plan for "cleansing" (*ciscenje*) Croatia of "unwanted elements" - before an audience of Franciscan friars, as reported below.

At the entrance the guests were welcomed by reverend father guardian Fra Jozo, along with former guardian and dean Fra Alfonso Kudric and other friars, among whom young, veteran associates of the Stozernik stand out - fighters for Croatian freedom, who have *sit venia verbo* sinned a little and against blind penance, identified faith with nationalism, and entered the struggle side-by-side with the current Stozernik, who a month ago received approbation and dispensation [*aprobaciju i dispens*] from the bottom of the heart of their old man Fra Jozo, himself eager to fight, a well-known zealot and Croatian fighter.

Passing under the marvelously decorated arched gateway, ornamented by Croatian flags, the Stozernik and the entire escort were taken into the reception room, as these formalities represent for us Bosnians a characteristic intimacy, revealing kindred spirits and the vigor of intellectual friendship. The customary "treat" is not forgotten, which is how the visit should end - but, completely sympathetic and intolerant of objections and delays, guardian Fra Jozo directed the entire company to the dining room, the same one where for the last two decades numerous Croatian fighters have been fed, which can pride itself on often serving even our current Stozernik, Dr. Viktor Gutic, who, by breaking the obstacles of the reactionary police laws directed only against Croats, inspired



News: In the Sign of Sacrifice

Documents: NDH Newspapers

Documents: NDH Decrees

Documents: The NDH Archive

Documents: The Vatican

Documents: Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac

Documents: Archbishop Ivan Saric

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Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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generations of young priests by his ideas, sometimes perhaps even with the disapproval of the old-fashioned elders, he whose ideas may be skeptically viewed by many, but by his merit brought about the realization the loftiest ideal of every honest Croat.

Contrary to the rule that the achievement of an ideal is accompanied by a certain disappointment, not a single honest Croat was or could have been disappointed by the realization of a Free Croatia, but feel a justified hope growing in the imminent organization and progress of the entire state apparatus...

And again the "derogation" of blind penance, breaking of the house rules, now not only by sympathetic young friars, but by the representative of the convent himself, that laws, let alone house rules, are not eternal, but adjusting them to the rhythm of life is the smartest thing to do, he ignored the very noticeable tablet with a sign "*Silentium*" and with a passionate and very cordial speech he greeted the Stozernik Dr. Viktor Gutic in repose at the honorary seat, evoking the memories of the activities of the Franciscans in the national struggle from the time of the creation of their Order, and then spoke about the struggle during the last two decades and pointed out the qualities and virtues of the protagonist of that struggle, the current Stozernik Dr. Viktor Gutic. Although his activities in all fields of national work could be described only in rough descriptions, the Stozernik with his proverbial modesty rejected all merits, attributed everything to God's Providence and the conscience of our Nation, passed over all personal insults, and intrigued by the early unanimity of all Croats he appealed to unity even in the future, as the only guarantee of progress of our dear Croatian homeland...

Like an angel with a sword of fire the Stozernik Dr. Gutic raised his previously low voice and declared emphatically:

"Every Croat who today solicits for our enemies not only is not a good Croat, but also an opponent and disrupter of the prearranged, well-calculated plan for cleansing our Croatia of unwanted elements..." [*unaprijed smisljenog, dobro proracunatog plana za ciscenje nase Hrvatske od nezelenih elemenata...*] He appealed to the mercy of the Lord to forgive him if during his patriotic labours he sometimes overstep the narrow bounds of religious morals and ethics, knowing well that God's Majesty is in his great strictness, but also in his greatest goodness and mercy, who will approve the struggle for the preservation of independence of the distressed, but faithful-to-God Croatian people...

:: filing information ::

Title: News: Victor Gutic's Visit to Petricevac

Source: *Hrvatska Krajina*, May 16, 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, pp. 704-705 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: May 16, 1941

Added: February 19, 2004

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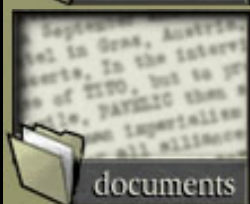
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Decree on the Establishment of Courts-Martial

Describing his encounters in the NDH, dissident and former Communist Party official Milovan Djilas in his memoir *Wartime* writes that "We knew of the circulating drumhead courts-martial and of Pavelic's 'laws,' which contained few articles but always decreed the death sentence." The following is the complete text of the decree which established those courts-martial; the only legal sentence *permitted* was death by firing squad. It is important to keep in mind that the Ustase court-martial was intended for *civilians*, not officers or military personnel, and the date of the decree - May 17, 1941 - predates any large scale uprising within the Independent State of Croatia. In fact, the court-martial, replacing ordinary courts, became exclusively an instrument of repression. A guilty sentence meant immediate execution, as Articles VIII and IX make clear. Pavelic's legal background as a lawyer in the 1920s - and his promotion of Mirko Puk, one of the most intolerant and brutal Ustase leaders, as Minister of Justice the month before - would suggest that repression was precisely the desired result.

On the recommendation of the Minister of Justice I authorize and declare this

DECREE on courts-martial

Article I

Courts-martial established within district courts are defined as extraordinary courts for the prosecution of criminal acts listed under Article II of this decree, when the Minister of Justice sets up a court-martial for the area of a district court. The court-martial must act in this area in a comprehensive manner.

Article II

To the court-martial the following cases shall be sent:



related links

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

Documents: [Newspapers from the NDH](#)

Documents: [Jewish Victims](#)

Documents: [Serbian Victims](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Who's Who: [Mirko Puk](#)

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1. one who commits any of the criminal acts outlined in Articles 154, 167 Sections 1 and 2, 188, 189, 191, 201 Sections 1 and 2, 206, 207 Section 1, 209 and 326 to 328 of the Criminal Code of January 17, 1929;

2. one who, after a certain deadline set by the public appeal of the authorities, does not turn over firearms and sidearms for which he does not own a permit;

3. one who hides or in any other way aids individuals whom he may suspect have violated the acts listed in this Article under Section 1 or those preparing to violate those acts.

For every criminal act committed from the day of the establishment of the court-martial, the penalty of death by firing squad is determined.

Article III

The court martial can only be convened by the authorization of a state attorney.

Article IV

The court-martial consists of a council of three judges. One of those judges does not need to be a lawyer, but the council must be presided over by a lawyer.

The entire procedure against an accused person must be heard from beginning to end in front of the convened court, and if possible without interruption.

Article V

The procedure before the court-martial is public and oral.

Discussion in front of the court-martial begins with an oral indictment by the state attorney.

If the defendant does not choose an advocate, he will be assigned one by the court to ensure the regularity of the process.

The procedural regulations of the Criminal Code of February 16, 1929 are to be applied, unless determined otherwise by this decree.

The procedure must be limited to proving the criminal act by which the court-martial was convened.

Procedural compensation as a result of the court-martial is not to be given.

As soon as the procedure is over, the state attorney must elaborate his final proposition. The defendant and his advocate always have the right to respond to the state attorney. After the speeches by the prosecution and defense are concluded, the presiding judge closes the discussion.

Article VI

Immediately following the conclusion of the discussion, the court determines its verdict in a closed session, which is then made public.

If the defendant is found guilty, the court-martial must declare a sentence of death by firing squad.

Article VII

The record of the discussion and of the ruling of the court-martial must be signed by all judges and the clerk.

Article VIII

Against the conviction of the court-martial no legal remedy is permitted, and an appeal for pardon has no power of delay.

Article IX

The death sentence must be carried out by a firing squad three hours after conviction.

Article X

Except for the acts outlined Article II Section 2, a court martial will prosecute only those criminal acts of Article II committed after April 6, 1941, if the court martial is convened within the three months following this decree's propagation.

Article XI

The establishment of this decree is entrusted to Minister of Justice.

Article XII

This decree gains legal power on the day of its publication in *Narodne novine*.

In Zagreb, May 17, 1941
Number LXXXII.-148-Z. p.-1941

Poglavnik
Dr. **Ante Pavelic** *[by his own hand]*

Minister of Justice:
Dr. **Mirko Puk** *[by his own hand]*

:: filing information ::

Title: Decree: On the Establishment of Courts-Martial

Source: Private Collection, translated by Sinisa Djuric

Date: May 17, 1941

Added: June 27, 2003

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Archbishop Saric on his Pre-War Meetings with the Ustase

Archbishop Ivan Saric had never been intimidated by official censorship, and used the Catholic newspapers of the Sarajevo diocese he headed as an outlet for his political musings as well as his naive amateur poetry. This piece appeared a month after the Ustase took power.

I was with our Ustase in North and South America. The bishops there, Americans, Germans, Irish, Slovaks and Spaniards, with whom I came into contact, all praised the Croat Ustase as good, self-sacrificing believers, as godly and patriotic people... How many times have I heard the Ustase ask where they would be without their priests!

...I sang with the Ustashe with all my heart and voice the song "Our Beautiful Homeland," all with big tears in our eyes. And with eager hope in its beautiful, its sweet and its golden freedom, lifting ourselves upwards to God, we prayed to the Almighty to guide and protect **Ante Pavelic** for the liberation of Croatia. The good God heard and, behold, he answered our cries and supplications.



related links

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Alojzije Stepinac](#)

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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Title: Archbishop Saric on his Pre-War Meetings with the Ustase

Source: *Sarajevski Novi List*, by Archbishop Ivan Saric. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, pp. 555-556.

Date: 1941

Added: October 2002

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Article: "Love Has Its Limits"

This piece is often attributed to Archbishop Ivan Saric, but it was actually written by one of his intimates, Father Franjo Kralik, in one of Saric's Sarajevo diocese newspapers. It was part of a campaign to explain to the masses why the Jews around them were being "disappeared" - a campaign in which Saric and other Ustase priests gladly participated in.

The descendants of those who hated Jesus, who condemned him to death, who crucified him and immediately persecuted his disciples, are guilty of greater excesses than those of their forefathers. Greed is growing. The Jews who led Europe and the entire world to disaster - morally, culturally and economically - developed an appetite which nothing less than the world as a whole could satisfy...

Love has its limits. The movement for freeing the world from Jews is a movement for the renaissance of human dignity. The all-wise and Almighty God is behind this movement.



related links

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Jewish Victims](#)

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Article: "Love Has Its Limits"

Source: "Why Are the Jews Being Persecuted?" by Father Franjo Kralik, *Katolicki Tjednik (Catholic Weekly)*, Sarajevo. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*.

Date: 1941

Added: October 2002

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The Expulsion of Serbs from Slavonia and Srem

In June of 1941, the Ustase were already carrying out the finer points of their plan to "kill a third, convert a third, and expel a third" of the Serbian population. This letter, dated June 2, 1941, concerns the "cleansing" of about 3,000 Serbs from the regions of Slavonia and Srem, over the border to Serbia proper. By referring to the planned disembarkation points in the precincts of Bosanska Raca and Bijeljina, this document proves that the cleansing operation was organized and planned well in advance, rather than a result of "overzealous" Ustase prefects.

PLATOON HEADQUARTERS BIJELJINA

Number 16.

June 2nd, 1941.

In Bijeljina

Request for reinforcement of
the platoon during transition of
emigrants to Serbia:

TO THE BORDER POLICE HEADQUARTERS

TUZLA

On the 31st of May 1941. the undersigned was informed by the Ustase commissar from the main Ustase headquarters in Zagreb, Mr. Grgic Tomislav, and in agreement with the district commissariat in Bijeljina, that between the 8th and 15th of June 1941, there will be about 3,000 Serbs from the territory of Slavonia and Srem sent to Serbia over the river Drina. -The mentioned people will cross the border of the state of Croatia to Serbia on the territory of police stations Bosanska Raca and Bijeljina of this platoon.

So that the transport could be carried out undisturbed it is necessary to reinforce mentioned stations with needed number of policemen, that is with 15 more policemen at both stations, so that this way this job could be carried out undisturbed.

I deliver the above for a competent decision.



related links

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archives](#)

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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Platoon commander,
Frane Debeljak
Master Sergeant.

:: filing information ::

Title: The Expulsion of Serbs from Slavonia and Srem

Source: Army Archive, Archive of the NDH. Quoted in *Zlocini: Na Jugoslovenskim Prostorima u Prvom i Drugom Svetskom Ratu*, Zbornik Documentata, p 71. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: May 31, 1941

Added: January 2002

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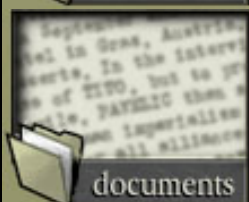
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News: Speech by Minister Milovan Zanic

On April 16, 1941, Ante Pavelic **named Milovan Zanic** head of the legislative committee, a ministerial level position in the first government of the Independent State of Croatia. Six weeks later, on June 3, 1941, the newspaper *Novi List* published the following transcript of a speech Zanic delivered to an Ustase rally in Nova Gradiska, exhorting his audience to "cleanse" the NDH of Serbs, and assuring them that it was state policy to do so. Zanic's speech could be taken as empty boasting - were it not clear that deeds were following words, as in **the order** to prepare for the expulsion of 3,000 Serbs from Slavonia and Srem given the previous day.

Ustase! You should know: I speak openly: This state, this homeland of ours must be Croatian and no one else's. And that is why those who came here have to go. Events over the centuries, and especially during the last twenty years, show that every compromise must be excluded. This must be the land of the Croats and no one else's and there is not a method that we, the Ustase, won't use to make this land entirely Croatian and completely cleanse it [*ocistimo*] of Serbs, who endangered us for hundreds of years and who would endanger us again on the first occasion they get. We don't keep that a secret, this is the policy of this state and when we finish that business, we will only finish what is written in the **Ustase Principles**. We must not forget that outside our borders, in America itself, we have about eight hundred thousand Croats, who left for America to look for a better life, because they didn't have it in their own homeland - we will not forget those poor people. Those people should return and settle on hearths that we will completely cleanse [*ocistiti*].



related links

Documents: Newspapers in the NDH

Documents: NDH Decrees

Documents: The NDH Archive

Documents: Jewish Victims

Documents: Serbian Victims

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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:: filing information ::

Title: News: Speech by Minister Milovan Zanic

Source: *Novi list*, June 3, 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, p. 606 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: June 3, 1941

Added: February 6, 2004

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Ustase Command-Dubrovnik Order No. 188:44

Ivo Rojnica became Ustase prefect of Dubrovnik in the first days of the Independent State of Croatia. He slipped away after the war to Argentina, and became a leader in the Croatian community there along with fellow exiles Vinko Nikolic and future Croatian Liberation Movement leader Ante Bonifacic (who later moved to Chicago and became the head of Pavelic's **Croatian Liberation Movement**). After Croatia achieved independence in the early 1990s, Rojnica became President Franjo Tudjman's nominee to become Croatia's ambassador to Argentina until outrage by Jewish organizations forced him to withdraw. The Simon Wiesenthal Center considers Rojnica one of the top war crimes suspects still living who fled to Argentina after the war.

Ustase Command - Dubrovnik
No. 188:44

Dubrovnik - 25 June, 1941

ORDER

1) All owners of radios are ordered to hand in their equipment to the Ustasha Command Office in Dogana by the 12:00 noon of the 26th of this month. Domestic and allied military personnel and institutions are exempt from this order.

2) All Serbs and Jews are forbidden to be out in the streets or keep their businesses open from 7 pm until 7 am all days.

3) All grievances against this Order (addressed or brought) to the Ustasha Command Office are forbidden.

All those who do not comply with the above stated order will be most strictly punished in accordance to Ustasha rules and procedures.

This order comes into effect immediately and remains in force until recall.



related links

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

Documents: [Newspapers from the NDH](#)

Documents: [Jewish Victims](#)

Documents: [Serbian Victims](#)

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Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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Za Dom Spremni!

City Military Commander:
Ivo Rojnica (by his own hand)

:: filing information ::

Title: Ustase Command-Dubrovnik Order No. 188:44

Source: Private Collection

Date: June 25, 1941

Added: March 9, 2003

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"The NDH is an Islamic State"

Excerpt from a speech by Mile Budak in 1941 on the role of "Islamic Croats" in the Independent State of Croatia. This was adopted as policy by the Ustase.

The NDH is an Islamic state wherever our people belong to the Islamic faith. I emphasize this because it is necessary to know that we are a state of two creeds, Catholic and Muslim. We know how big is the role **our church** has played in our history and therefore we cling to it. We would have held to it even only for political reasons, for it has been the only bulwark that Belgrade could never surmount... We Croats must be happy and proud that we have our faith and at the same time we must be aware that our brother Muslims are also the purest Croats, as our revered leader **Ante Pavelic** has already declared.



related links

Documents: [Mile Budak](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

[text-only version](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: "The NDH is an Islamic State"

Source: Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, p. 603.

Date:

Added: October, 2002

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Hercegovina in 1941

Milovan Djilas was sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to Montenegro to lead the uprising against the occupation in July, 1941. The train-ride from Belgrade to Montenegro crossed the areas of Bosnia and Hercegovina where the newly-formed Ustase Army led personally by Maks Luburic had begun the massacre of the Serbs. The following passage describing that journey is from *Wartime*, Djilas' memoir of the war written several years after leaving the Communist Party and serving his first jail term.

At a small station near Bileca a cluster of Serbian refugees got on the train. At first they were close-mouthed and apprehensive, but once they realized there were no authorities on the train, they relaxed. They were fleeing from the Ustashi terror. A fair, robust peasant in his thirties, with bruised cheekbones and curly hair matted with dried blood, told us how the Ustashi had surrounded his village and driven everyone - men and women, young and old - to a rocky ravine, then struck them down with clubs. The peasant freed himself of his bonds at the very edge of the ravine; though he had been struck in the face, he was able to scramble into a brush-covered mound of boulders. "They are killing every Serb in sight!" he lamented. "Like cattle - a blow on the head, then down the ditch. They are mostly Turks [*Bosnian Muslims*]. Their time has come. They want to wipe out the poor Serbian people."

For me this was a new story. Later, in the course of the war, I was to hear it many times and almost always the same: a village surprised and the men all bound, murdered, and thrown into a ditch. Religious and ideological murders do not require any imagination, just efficiency: in this lies all the horror and - for the victims - "relief."

Yet I was not as shocked as I should have been. I was already familiar with the Ustashi ideology - an amalgam of primitive Croatian nationalism with modern fascist totalitarianism. While in prison I had come to know many leading Ustashi. I had followed the evolution of their ideology from militant separatism to fascism and total anti-Serbianism. Reports had reached us in the Central Committee in Belgrade concerning the persecution of Serbs in Croatia; then came the first of many large droves of refugees. We knew of the circulating drumhead courts-martial and of Pavelic's "laws," which contained few articles but always decreed the death sentence. My own lack of horror reflected the atmosphere - the nature of the groups pitted against each other, the flood of propaganda, and the



related links

Documents: Vjekoslav
"Maks" Luburic

Documents: Jasenovac

Documents: NDH Decrees

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Ustase
Movement

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bloody events themselves.

Those simple people, mostly peasants, were even less horror-stricken. One could not even say that they were bitter: a misfortune had come along, terrible because it was human, but perhaps for this very reason surmountable. In the group there was also a slight, dark girl in city dress. She told us calmly that the Ustashi had assembled all the prominent Serbs in her town - merchants, priests, and officials - and two or three days later loaded them on a truck and took them away, supposedly to Mostar, but in fact to be murdered and thrown into a ravine. The Serbs who remained in the little town, mostly women and children, helplessly awaited a similar fate. This girl was fleeing to Montenegro, but she was not too happy about having escaped. Death had suddenly become commonplace, something as ubiquitous as the air and the soil.

"Well," I said turning to the injured peasant, "why don't you defend yourselves?"

"Who can defend himself?" the peasant lamented. "We didn't expect anything. We couldn't believe a government would attack people just like that. We have no weapons. We are left to ourselves like cattle. But at Nevesinje they did rise up and finish off a lot of Ustashi."

People got on and off at each station, but the telling of Ustashi massacres continued - of course, with new details. I don't remember whether my brother joined the conversation: after being followed by the Ustashi in Sarajevo and my constant warnings, he was subdued.

:: filing information ::

Title: Hercegovina in 1941

Source: Djilas, Milovan. *Wartime*, page 11.

Date:

Added: October 2002

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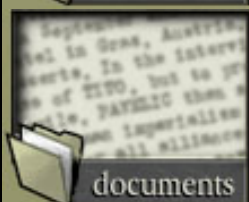
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"The Franciscans Haven't Gotten a Dime"

This letter was sent from Father Andelko Gregic, a Catholic priest in a Bosnian village, to an Orthodox priest, Father Bogdan Deanovic, who had been expelled from the Independent State of Croatia and was now a refugee in Serbia. There is no date on the letter but Viktor Novak, who published the document, places it in the Summer of 1941, at the height of the Ustase massacres in the NDH.

With pain in the soul and great disapproval we have condemned the happenings and the policies in regard to the Orthodox Church, but this was a furious storm against which we were powerless to act. People looked on helplessly at what was happening, and everyone in his heart condemned it, but at the same time we had to let it happen. Many others have gradually come to share your fate. Above all the intelligentsia. They have tried to deal with the peasants in another way by making them say that they feel and call themselves Croats. And indirectly they've tried to get them to join the Catholic faith. They began understandably with people from mixed marriages. A mass of others followed, many of them state functionaries who feared for their lives. It was no use saying it wasn't right to convert people without personal convictions or understanding of the tenets of the faith. They were terrified.

I know that you abroad have observed what's happening here, and that it's detrimental to the Orthodox Church. However, my dear colleague, if you consider the human beings involved, it has done them good and a favor. If we hadn't done it, God knows what might have happened in the village. Seen from a spiritual point of view, we've accomplished that unity of the faith that has always been our ideal. In fact they have stayed with their own beliefs. All they've had to do is acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope in Rome, and for ordinary people that's of no significance. I know it hasn't been done in a legal fashion, for there have been moral pressures, but the responsibility for that doesn't lie with individuals. It's been done under orders. The Church officially condemns forced conversions because they're done for material advantage, but to have stuck by the rules would have been hard and damaging.

The church at Borovo now has Catholic services and the church's goods now belong to the Church. Your vineyard and orchard have



related links

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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gone to some Dalmatians and I fear they'll ruin it unless it goes back into good hands. That's how the revolution has been, and God alone knows what might happen.

I don't know whether you blame and curse me but, my dear colleague, as far as your personal things and property are concerned, the Franciscans haven't got hold of or spent one single dinar. I've saved everything that could be saved. The icons and pictures are secure. I've had the gold and silver service cleaned, and you know what it looks like now? Great!

:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: "The Franciscans Haven't Gotten a Dime"

Source: Letter from Father Andelko Gregic to Father Bogdan Denic, quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, pp 697-698.

Date:

Added: October 2002

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Letter: "Nature Takes Its Course"

A letter from a Franciscan priest, Ivo Brkan, to an Ustase prefect on the subject of the marriage of widowed Serbian women whose husbands have been murdered (euphemistically, "those taken away," later admitted explicitly) to Croatian men. Author and journalist Richard West calls this "one of the vilest documents ever written."

In the surrounding villages there are some 500 to 600 widows ready to marry, young and desirable things who have quickly forgotten those taken away... Nature takes its course and now these widows would like to marry, naturally with Catholics, for there are no Serbs in the neighborhood.

This is an opportune moment to inculcate them and their children with the Catholic faith and Croatian consciousness in the quickest time and with little difficulty for the government and the Church. The government would have to set up a school to teach Catholicism and Ustase Croatianism... and also authorize the Church to explain the factual truth that the deaths occurred because of rebellion, so that the widows can now marry with our people.

This materially prosperous community of perhaps 500 houses, and probably more, is ready to change to the Croat and Catholic faith, so that through marriage, which most of them want with our people, they can come to our religion... Our people have already got **their eyes on that land** and the beautiful women but are conscious of the difficulty of the state in admitting to the killing of some 900 to 1,000 people, and for that reason we are asking for instruction of how we may legalize their deaths while safeguarding the reputation of the state.



related links

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: "Nature Takes Its Course"

Source: Letter from Father Ivo Brkan of Koraca to the Ustase prefect at Dervanta, July 31, 1942. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, pp 677-678.

Date:

Added: October 2002

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Bishop of Mostar's Letter to Archbishop Stepinac

As head of the Catholic Church in Croatia, all religious matters - including forced conversions by the Serbian population to Catholicism - were the responsibility of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac of Zagreb. This excerpt is a response from the Bishop of Mostar to a letter Stepinac sent inquiring as to the progress of forced conversions in his diocese - the capital of Hercegovina and scene of the worst Ustase massacres during the Spring and Summer of 1941. Stepinac passed this letter on to Ante Pavelic, but otherwise took no action.

By the mercy of God there was never such a good occasion as now for us to help Croatia to save the countless souls, people of good will, well-disposed peasants, who live side-by-side with Catholics... Conversion would be appropriate and easy.

Unfortunately the authorities in their narrow views are involuntarily hindering the Croatia and Catholic cause. In many parishes in the diocese... very honest peasants of the Orthodox faith have registered in the Catholic Church... But then outsiders take things in hand. While the newly-converted are at Mass they seize them, men and women alike, and hunt them down like slaves. From Mostar and Caplina the railway carried six boxcars of mothers, girls and children under eight to the station of Surmanci, where they were taken out of the boxcars, brought into the hill and thrown alive, mothers and children, into deep ravines. In the parish of Klepca seven hundred schismatics from the neighboring villages were slaughtered. The Sub-Prefect of Mostar, a Muslim, publicly declared (as a state employee he should have held his tongue) that in Ljubina alone 700 schismatics have been thrown into one pit. In the town of Mostar itself they have been bound by the hundreds, taken in wagons outside the town and then shot down like animals.



related links

Documents: Alojzije Stepinac

Documents: Ivan Saric

Documents: The Vatican

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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Title: Bishop of Mostar's Letter to Archbishop Stepinac

Source: Letter from Bishop of Mostar Alojzije Misic to Archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac. Quoted in Alexander, Stella. *Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945*, p 32.

Date: Summer 1941

Added: October 2002

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Letter: Slovenian Settlers on Massacres Near Vojnic

During his first meeting with Adolf Hitler, *poglavnik* Ante Pavelic agreed to permit thousands of Slovene settlers to move to territory in the NDH vacated by murdered or expelled Serbs. The Slovenes - who had no more stomach for leaving their own land than to settle in that of another - probably had little inkling that they were moving into a warzone. On August 2, 1941, after witnessing an especially bestial massacre of unarmed Serbian civilians by the Ustase, several representatives drafted this letter to the German Plenipotentiary in Zagreb, General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau, either because they viewed their welfare as his responsibility or - more likely - because they correctly presumed that what they had witnessed had been done with the official sanction of the Croat authorities.

...In Krnja, Vojnic, Krstinjak and Tusilovic, the people are entirely of the Orthodox religion. A few days ago the president of the municipality and the Ustase commissar of Krnjak ordered some peasants, whom he had marked on a list, to bring to the town hall a certain amount of various agricultural products for the newly arrived Slovene settlers.

When the men delivered these agricultural products, the Ustase arrested them and took them away. Many more people were brought from other places, then all of those who had been captured in this way, about 400 of them, were simply executed without any kind of due process...

The murder of those 400 victims happened on July 29th, between 16:00 and 19:00 hours.



related links

Report: The "Cleansing" of Serbs near Slunj

Report: The Slaughter of Serbs near Pokupje

Documents: The NDH Archive

Documents: NDH Decrees

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: Slovenian Settlers on Massacres Near Vojnic

Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: August 2, 1941

Added: December 2002

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Report: Seven Hundred Hostages Shot by the Ustase

From the NDH Archive, in the following police report from Banja Luka, August 1941, Colonel Novak of the Croatian police reports rather blandly that over the course of two days, seven hundred Serbs being held as hostages were massacred by the local Ustase. By this time, Ustase atrocities in Bosnia and the Krajina (both incorporated into the NDH) had led to a full uprising, flooding the ranks of the Communist-led Partizans and the Royalist Chetniks with thousands of new recruits. No less an authority than **General Vladimir Laxa** blamed Ustase units recently arrived from Hercegovina - the scene of bloody massacres in June of 1941 - for provoking the uprising. The "Dr. Stojanovic" mentioned in section two is Mladen Stojanovic, according to translator Sinisa Djuric.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE 3. CROATIAN POLICE REGIMENT

Number 217/J.S.

Report on the situation in the area of the platoon in consideration of Chetnik actions is delivered. -

TO THE SUPREME POLICE HEADQUARTERS
Z A G R E B

Banja Luka, 6 August 1941.

Commander of the police platoon Sanski Most in report number 103 of 3 August 1941 reports the following:

"1-/ On 2 August 1941 in Sanicka Rijeka, Kljuc district, local Ustase captured in a mill Chetnik Jovan Konta, who is 19 years old, from a Chetnik detachment located on Mt. Grmec, and his statement is enclosed with this report.

2-/ On 3 August 1941 one Orthodox *[grko-istocnjak]* peasant, who



related links

Order: Request by General Laxa for Ustase to Leave Bosnia

Report: Report on the Death of Peasants in Jablanica

Documents: The NDH Archive

Documents: NDH Decrees

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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lives near the village Sasina, area of police station Maricka, informed the Ustase station in Sanski Most that near the village Bosanski Novi /area of Maricka station/ there is a group of about 40 Chetniks. The leader of this group is some teacher named Savan Bojovic, who is armed with a machine gun. The leader of the whole Chetnik action is Dr. Stojanovic from Prijedor. This is being checked and the data was sent to the Prijedor police platoon.

3-/ During the night of the 2nd and during the day on 3 August 1941, Ustase soldiers shot about 700 Orthodox, who had been imprisoned as hostages, or were captured by soldiers during cleansing actions.

Yesterday the district chief from Sanski Most came to Banja Luka, allegedly to negotiate with relevant authorities on behalf of the mentioned hostages, but they were already dead.

4-/ Today at around 16:00 hours a telephone connection was established with the post office in Budimlic Japra. The post office asked for help from the army because an attack by Chetniks was being prepared.

A truck with 30 Domobrans and Ustase was immediately dispatched in the direction of Budimlic Japra, however since Chetniks fell beech timber on the road, the truck had to return back from Stari Majdan.

Since a telephone connection with the police station in Budimlic Japra was established, the commander of the station reported that during the night of 31 July 1941, a larger group of Chetniks appeared, who sent him a threatening letter, due to which he had to leave the police barracks and await help from the army. In the meantime, Chetniks burned 6 Muslim houses in Budimlic Japra, broke all windows and damaged the door of the police station, they also smashed a telephone. In addition they cut the telephone connection with Stari Majdan and other directions. All policemen are now in Budimlic Japra.

5-/ According to the statement of the chief of the Sanski Most railway station, a train could pass through to Srnetica today. The railroad, which was damaged by Chetniks near Sanicka Rijeka, has been repaired.

6-/ On 3. August 1941. around 20:00 hours information was received that about 500 armed Chetniks are moving from the village of Dabar towards Sanski Most with the intention of taking the town.

The Ustase army, Domobrans and policemen immediately undertook measures of precaution - all entrances to the town were seized in anticipation of the arrival of the Chetniks, who however didn't show up at all.

7-/ From police stations Lusci Palanka and Benkovac no news was received."

The above report I deliver with an appeal for your consideration.-

Commander, colonel
Novak

DELIVERED TO:
Supreme police headquarters Zagreb,
Directorate for public order and safety,
Head of greater region Sana and Luka and
Vrbas division area.

:: filing information ::

Title: Report: Seven Hundred Hostages Shot by the Ustase

Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: August 6, 1941

Added: May 24, 2003

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Police Report on the Cleansing of Serbs Near Slunj

One of the most frank and shocking accounts of Ustase "purification" in action, this document contains a forwarded report written by a Croatian police commander from Slunj. According to the commander, Ustase units stormed into the area and began slaughtering civilians wholesale in "retaliation" for suspected sabotage by Communist guerrillas. Notable is the commander's plaintive cry of horror that the Ustase not only slaughtered those who had done everything possible to please the new authorities, but attacked the women, children, elderly and infirm from the nearby villages deliberately, often with an eye toward looting the wealthier citizens' property. The officer uses the word *ciscenje* ("cleansing") to refer to the operation, and even coins a new term, *ciscenici*, for those viciously attacked during the operation. The term "ethnic cleansing" would return to general usage in the 1990s in the very same territory described below, though it has been characterized as a Serbian invention in the lexicon of modern language. Events described in this report are also described by a group of Slovenes in a **letter** to General Glaise von Horstenau, and in **this** Interior Ministry document also from the NDH Archives. The concluding portion of this report has never been located. All emphasis - quotation marks and capitalization - is as in the original, as is the officer's ideosyncratic style.



related links

Letter: Slovenian Settlers on Massacres Near Vojnic

Report: The Slaughter of Serbs near Pokupje

Documents: The NDH Archive

Documents: NDH Decrees

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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HEADQUARTERS OF THE 1st CROATIAN
POLICE REGIMENT
Number: 484/j-S.

Report on general situation in the
zone of the regiment, in consideration of
Communist-Chetnik activity.

TO THE DIRECTION FOR PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY
OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA

ZAGREB
Dordiceva St, No. 4

Zagreb, 16th of August 1941.

Commander of the police platoon in Slunj, in report Number 89 of

13th of August 1941, reports the following:

"Until the 27th of July of this year conditions were still satisfactory considering the blow for the Serbian population, which they got by the foundation of Independent State of Croatia. A large number of them had already been reconciled with their fate. Many had already asked to **convert to Catholicism**. It is true that most of them didn't do that **out of conviction**, but if the goals of real Chetniks were fulfilled - these Serbs who convert to Catholicism would be exposed to even greater danger than the Catholics themselves, because they would be marked as traitors not only nationally but also religiously, therefore it could be concluded that they had good intentions. More importantly, most of them wouldn't act against the state, on the contrary they would in their own benefit work for its preservation.

"The sabotage of railroad tracks in the district Vojnic on the 27th and 30th of July of this year was the work of Communists, and the idea came from Communists from Karlovac, while the execution of these actions was confided to domestic people, but of Communist disposition. The Serbian population was scared knowing that the blame will fall on them as a community, even though the vast majority of them knew nothing of this, and didn't want it to happen. This may not be out of love for the state of Croatia but in their own benefit, because they knew they would be the ones to pay for this.

"As of the 29th of July of this year the 'cleansing' [*ciscenje*] by Ustase had begun. This caused panic within Serbian population so that they all ran to the forests in fear of being cleansed [*ciscenjem*]. That lasted until the 8th of August of this year, but the last few days they failed, because the people knew the real situation and were hiding in the forests. They were in a state of general fear. From a psychological point of view, out of crawling and cowardice, but from a different point of view, from a bestial bitterness.

"The work of the Ustase was among other things non-tactical, because they cleansed the less dangerous and least responsible people like many old men, women and children of the youngest age, while those with dark conscience, young and stronger fled to the forests. Described in a single sentence: 'NON-FIGHTERS WERE CLEANSED, AND FIGHTERS STAYED IN THE FORESTS'. The more naive ones and those with a clear conscience didn't even run away at first, because they thought no harm will come to them.

"The cleansing operation is completely achieved in Slunj and effectively around Slunj, while in more remote places there was little success.

"The present condition cannot be specified with exact data because the remaining people are still in the forests, but it is certain that a large number of families lost a member.

"The planning for the Ustase cleansing was almost public, which is one of the main reasons that people hid in the forests. They 'cleansed' in houses, yards, on roads, in the presence of parents, children or vice versa. They plundered houses and property of people in such way that they competed among themselves over who will get a wealthier house and who will be the one to cleanse a wealthier man. During the last cleansing, they took clothing, there were disputes among Ustashe because of that. There was carousing, savage scenes during the 'cleansing' of a child in a cradle, old people, whole families together, sadistic delight in the most horrid tortures before the final cleansing. These kinds of actions caused disfavour even among the honorable and fair Croats and whispers were heard: 'THIS IS DISGRACE FOR THE CROAT PEOPLE, CULTURE AND THE CATHOLIC FAITH.' The pits were mostly dug earlier. There were cases, that 'the ones to be cleansed' [*ciscenici* - literally, "cleansees" -Ed.] carried the tools for digging pits themselves and the like. The burial of people barely alive, leaving the dead unburied or poorly buried, so that their relatives and the ones who fled to the forests came to see them.

"All this caused fear among people, but also such bitterness that there cannot be even a thought about reconciliation. Even if there were some conditions there could still be a possibility, but there were no conditions here and to this day there still aren't any.

"I - like all policemen in general - was completely powerless. Everything was done without our knowledge and with great distrust towards us. If I would say anything, even insignificant, they would threaten my life, directly or indirectly, there were even words: 'Now it's the policemen's turn.'

"Maybe the main reason for distrust towards policemen was that they didn't stand out in the cleansing even if they favoured it. I explained to the same, that we are an organ of authority and that we have to preserve the reputation of the state. Among the Croatian population (many of them) there was also noted a disfavour for this kind of cleansing operation, because it was known that many who were cleansed didn't do any harm to Croats, on the contrary they were despised by earlier regimes exactly because of that reason, because they favoured Croats. These people would have been useful now, because through them, those who fled could be influenced.

"The order came to stop the cleansing and that the people should be called to return to their homes by policemen, the people were called and we are trying to achieve that, but we have had relatively poor success. They've lost all confidence, but then again they had a horrible reason to run to the forest and every one of them is aware of the fact that with just a single mistake (by returning) they could lose everything. Again I would like to point out that a complete return from the forests will hardly succeed.

"There were cases when policemen asked: 'Why are you running away?' The reply was: 'I am running away, sir, to live half an hour longer.' In some houses there were left children alone, even for just one week, in another, an old man alone. Scenes like this are common. Fruits are mostly ruined and the cattle suffered much if they stayed indoors. A lot of cattle were taken away and stolen. Some fugitives claim, even if they would return, to whom would they return and to what would they return.

"These people would have accepted everything: expulsion, **concentration camps**, forced labor, conversion to Catholicism, but not to be cleansed, and they would have liked best if they could stay at home and become whatever it is required of them to become (this of course not all of them, but the majority). The conversion to Catholicism would be most successful through missionaries, because in that way they would have converted with conviction.

"Today, when cleansing began in the Vojnic district, the Italian army was leaving Vojnic, and there were cases that when passing by they told the people: 'Run Serbs, Ustashe are coming and they slit everyone's throats.'

"The situation concerning Communist-Chetnik actions from station to station in the area of this district is as follows:

"SLUNJ: The number of them is negligible, because most of them were cleansed, and the rest of them are harmless and returning to their homes. There is no danger from the domestic ones, and the outsiders will probably not react. Patrols are moving undisturbed throughout the area.

"RAKOVICA: There was not a single event. Policemen have a lot of influence on the people and they are returning to their homes. The cleansing is mostly over, but not completely.

"NOVA KRSLJA: The same situation as in Rakovica.

"PRIMISLJE: In the area of this station there were several attacks on policemen, and on the 7th of August of this year policeman Luka Perkovic was murdered and Mate Stankic was wounded. Part of this area is somewhat cleansed, and the rest are in the forests and only few have returned home. Police patrols are not safe in villages if they are of lesser strength. In the forests there are larger groups, and there are probably some of them from the Plaski area. Catholic settlements are in danger. If the return is not successful, the situation will be more critical.

"VELJUN: In the area of this station the most critical condition for now is in Slunj district. The population is mostly of the Greek religion. The most dangerous place is between Veljun and Cvijanovic

Brdo. In this area there are larger groups of armed people, and there are probably some of them even from Krstinja. In this area there were 3 attacks on police patrols and teachers Ivan Sajfar and Martinic have been taken away. Patrols of policemen cannot go to this area without fear for their lives.

"CETINGRAD: The area of this station borders with the stations from Krstinja and V. Kladusa, so the situation is never safe even though nothing is happening for now. Patrols from this station cannot go into some villages of this area, because fugitives are in power there.

"PERJASICA: There were no significant events, but the population there fled as well. The policemen have good influence with them and they are gradually returning.

"KRSTINJA: The situation in the area of this station is the most critical. The army barracks was attacked for several days in such way that there was no contact with it for 5 days. Now it is mostly liberated, but the situation is still critical. Patrols cannot move through villages at all, and all people are in the forests, or in their villages, but when the authorities come in greater strength, they run to the forests.

"**VOJNIC**: The same situation as in Krstinja station, except that there were no attacks on army barracks.

"KRNJAK: The population is all of the Greek religion. Most of them are fugitives, but some are returning with distrust. Situation is critical even though there were no significant events.

"**VUKMANIC**: There have been frequent sabotages of the railroad tracks and also hand grenades have been thrown at the post office in Tusilovac. This was the work of Communists from Karlovac. Like in other places, the people are fugitives, but police patrols are still in contact with those who are at home.

"In the area of this headquarters (districts Slunj and Vojnic) 350 army rifles with the necessary quantity of ammunition were given to endangered Croatian villages for defence. This could be good on the one hand, but dangerous on the other, if Chetniks attack them and disarm them and in that way get the weapons they need. The weapons were given on request of Ustashe station in Slunj. Besides this, a large number of hunting rifles were given to people..."

[further text in the original is missing]

:: filing information ::

Title: Police Report on the Cleansing of Serbs Near Slunj

Source: Archive of the NDH, quoted in *Zlocini: Na Jugoslovenskim Prostorima u Prvom i Drugom Svetskom Ratu, Zbornik Dokumentata* Vol 1. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: August 16, 1941

Added: December 2002

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Decree: On the Croatian Language, Its Purity and Spelling

One of the most manic decrees to emerge in the early days of the Independent State of Croatia, this one, initialed by **Ante Pavelic** and the Minister of Education (and mediocre novelist) Mile Budak elects to inform all Croats how to write and spell, promising in the future to "determine penalties for the protection of the purity of the language and its spelling." The reason for this decree's issuance is alluded to in the first article, as translator Sinisa Djuric points out: that Croatian had long been considered at least a close sister to the Serbian language, and, except for a handful of words and phrases, for all purposes identical to outsiders. In fact, both Pavelic and Budak had long obsessed over the singularity of the Croatian language. After returning from more than a decade in exile, they found their fellow Croats speaking an "impure" language and, with typical logic, made it illegal to speak incorrectly.



related links

Documents: Mile Budak

Documents: Decrees

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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LEGAL DECREE

on the Croatian language, its purity
and spelling

Article 1.

The language spoken by Croats, by its pronunciation, by its historical development, by its prevalence in the Croatian national area, by the style of pronunciation, by spelling rules and by the meaning of certain words, is the primary and peculiar language of the Croatian people, and therefore not identical with any other language, nor it is a dialect of any other language, nor related to any other nation's common language. That is why it is called the "Croatian language".

Article 2.

The Croatian language is the public welfare of the Croatian people, and therefore nobody should distort or deform it. That is why it is forbidden in pronunciation and in spelling to use words which do not conform with the spirit of the Croatian language, usually foreign words, borrowed from other, even similar languages. Exceptionally, words with special meanings can be used when it is difficult or

impossible to find domestic equivalents.

Article 3.

It is forbidden to give non-Croatian names and identifiers to shops, companies, associations or any kind of institutions, and it is also forbidden to hang or lay out any kind of signs contrary to articles of this legal decree.

Article 4.

The Croatian official and literary language is stokavian dialect with jekavian and iekavian pronunciation. In ikavian pronunciation, the short "i" should be written and pronounced as "je", and also in ikavian pronunciation the long "i" should be written and pronounced as "ie".

Article 5.

On literary works written in any dialect or pronunciation there should be a visible sign in a prominent place, marking that it is written in that dialect.

Article 6.

The indefinite verb form shouldn't be used in the future tense "to" with present tense.

Article 7.

In the Croatian language people should write by word root spelling, not by phonetic spelling.

Article 8.

The Ministry of Education will set up an agency by an order which will determine everything necessary to execute the articles of this decree, and which will take care that the Croatian language is cleansed, and spelling affixed in the spirit of this legal decree, and it will at the same time determine penalties for the protection of the purity of the language and its spelling.

Article 9.

While the agency, mentioned in Article 8, determines final rules of Croatian spelling in the spirit of this legal decree, schools will temporarily use books coordinated on basis of the order of this ministry about spelling dated June the 23rd 1941.

Article 10.

This legal decree gains legal power on the day of its declaration, and its implementation is entrusted to the Minister of Education.

Declared in Zagreb, the 14th of August 1941.

Number CCXLIX-1083-Z-p.-1941

Minister of Education:

Dr. Mile Budak, v.r. *[by his own hand]*

Poglavnik of the

Independent State of Croatia

Dr. Ante Pavelic, v.r. *[by his own hand]*

:: filing information ::

Title: Decree: On the Croatian Language, Its Purity and Spelling

Source: *Zlocini: Na Jugoslovenskim Prostorima u Prvom i Drugom svetskom Ratu, Zbornik Documentata*, Vol. 1, pp. 512-513. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: August 14, 1941

Added: January, 2003

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Order: Request by General Laxa for Ustase to Leave Bosnia

From his reports, General Vladimir Laxa - a former officer in the Austro-Hungarian Imperial army - appears to have been a dedicated soldier first and foremost. Documents which have survived indicate that he attempted to have most of the Ustase army removed from areas where atrocities had been committed, or at least have the authorities in Zagreb rein them in. Eventually, the refusal by NDH officials to curtail the Ustase led Laxa to resign. The following is a decoding officer's transcription of an encrypted communication from General Laxa, requesting that the Ustase from Hercegovina be removed from Bosnia at once, "before it is too late."

Signature of the officer for encoding:

Brigadier Jaksic

Date of encoding 11.9.1941

at 23:10 hours

Label and signature

to whom the decoded document was given:

Operative Section of the Main Headquarters of Domobrans

CONTENTS OF THE DECODED DOCUMENT:

EXTREMELY URGENT!

TO THE CROATIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENSE - Main Headquarters

Z A G R E B

Ustase from Herzegovina have come to Bosnia and continue with their murdering and pillaging.

Outrage as a result of the Ustase's actions is general, no matter the



related links

Report: Report by Laxa on Unrest in Hercegovina

Report: The "Cleansing" of Serbs near Slunj

Report: The Slaughter of Serbs near Pokupje

Documents: The NDH Archive

Documents: NDH Decrees

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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religion, - it can result in a general uprising in Bosnia.

Order the removal of these Ustase from Bosnia, before it is too late.

Our armed forces are too weak to suppress the present rebellion, - reinforcements should be sent.

Lieutenant-General LAXA

V.T.V. number 798

:: filing information ::

Title: Order: Request by General Laxa for Ustase to Leave Bosnia

Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: September 11, 1941

Added: May 24, 2003

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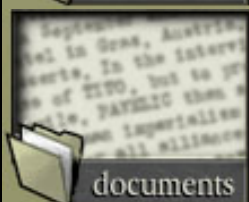
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Letter: Bishop Aksamovic on the "Crusade War"

This notice was published by the Catholic Bishop of Djakovo, Antun Aksamovic, in September 1941, calling on the faithful to join in a "collective prayer" for the quick end of the war after Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union, who had sided with the "evildoers" of the "international order" in Europe. Amid his praise of Hitler and Pavelic, Bishop Aksamovic states that the idea of prayers for the "the Crusade war" originated with Pope Pius XII, through the person of his legate in the Independent State of Croatia, Monsignor Ramiro Marcone. In political matters, Aksamovic - in the words of Richard West - "imitated the seventeenth-century Vicar of Bray in England who changed his politics and his religion according to who was in power." Before the war, Aksamovic had been the most pro-Yugoslav Catholic bishop in the country, but his sentiments for Pavelic and Hitler below are plain. In 1945, accordingly, Aksamovic praised Tito and hosted a peace conference in Zagreb.

Honorable brethren priests and dear believers!

The Holy Father Pope Pius XII sends us his paternal greetings and a salutary message to direct all our prayers in the month of October this year and especially the piety of the holy rosary to the Mother of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, for the imminent ending of the Crusade war and for peace among nations. This news came to us from Zagreb in a highly appreciated letter of His Excellency J. R. Marcone, the legate of the Holy Father *[in Croatia]*.

We all know how much effort was invested by the great prince of peace Holy Father Pope Pius XII for all nations to settle difficult international disputes by equitable treaties, and not by fire and sword, but this voice of the Father did not find a response. It is clear to all of us who is guilty for the war and destruction when we spiritually move ourselves to the battlefield of Bolshevik Russia. The Bolsheviks eschewed all attempts to establish peace, they joined the evildoers of the international order on the European continent, and thus this terrible fire of war, which worries us all. Our Great *Poglavnik*, the hero of the Croatian People, the savior of freedom in our most difficult days, when we trembled in fear before Yugoslavia was erased from the map and our thousand year old state of Croatia emerged with an unbreakable force precisely because of the



related links

Documents: The Vatican

Documents: Ivan Saric

Documents: Alojzije Stepinac

Misc: Search

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supernatural wisdom he exhibited from the start of his reign. He invested a superhuman effort to ensure the development of political and cultural life in the NDH. Aside from all of that our sworn enemies with their assaults dared to cause disorder in some parts of our country.

Our Croatian sons, our proud and brave army, completely loyal to the *Poglavnik*, guarantee a beautiful destiny for the NDH. According to a high order from our Great *Poglavnik*, the Croatian army divided its knightly duties. Some stand in service for the defense of the state, while others are participating in the Crusade war against Bolsheviks. The great leader of the German Reich assigned units from all allies of the peacemaking Axis to the glorious units of the German army, but not because he fears the lack of power of the German army, but to show the full solidarity of all great and small allies, that they are united and equally devoted to establishing peace and liberty for every nation on the European continent according to directives of the Great Leader of the German Reich. The Holy Catholic Church observes these events with concern and love for the warriors on the frontline and for the suffering at home. That is why the Holy Father with his message unites our souls in a collective prayer.

The holy rosary with the Great Patronage of the heavenly Queen of Peace saved Europe during the time of Pope Gregory XIII, and especially during the time of Pope Clement XI in the year 1716. It restored peace in Europe and ensured liberty for all nations. That is why we will readily and gladly obey the voice of the Holy Father and we will all join the prayer action, both devoted parents and innocent children, pious illiterates and the educated, servants and masters, laymen and priests.

The Blessed Lady, the Queen of Peace will make it happen, that the Crusade war against the infidel will end fortunately on all battlefields. In Europe a joyous song will resound: *Victoria, Pax et Dei Benedictio!*

Greetings to all and blessing in the name of the Lord.

:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: Bishop Aksamovic on Prayer for the "Crusade War"

Source: "Glasnik Biskupije Djakovacko Srijemske," 1941, No. 18, 154-155. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, p. 569 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: September 24, 1941

Added: February 6, 2004

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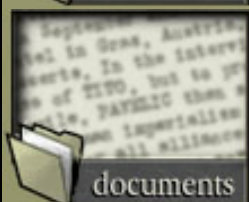
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Stepinac's Letter on the Resettlement of Slovene Monks

The following letter was sent by Archbishop **Alojzije Stepinac** to **Ante Pavelic** asking him to permit a group of Slovene Trappist monks to occupy the three-centuries old (but now abandoned) monastery of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Orahovica. The monks had been exiled by Hitler, as the Serbian clergy had been exiled by Pavelic.

Poglavnik!

I have the liberty to address you about the following matter:

Oo. Trappists had to temporarily leave their monastery in Reichenburg and now they are homeless, temporarily guests of their brothers in the monastery "Marija Zvijezda" in Banja Luka. Whereas they would very gladly like to found their own monastery somewhere in the NDH, which is why I kindly ask you, Poglavnik, to grant them a place, a house and some land, so that they could establish their own monastery.

The order of Trappists is a contemplative order, who by their life of penance, prayers and fasting invoke blessings from the heavens.

Trappists are also occupied with agriculture and industry and in that way they can do a lot of good for their surroundings, giving the best example of how land should be rationally farmed and all its powers exploited, so that farmers and industrialists could learn a lot of useful things from them for the common welfare of all.

The monastery of the oo. Trappists train youth for the next generation at the monastery and teach them in various crafts. At Reichenburg they already had several members of the Croatian nationality, and even now there are several members of the Croatian nationality with them. In time, with the support of the state authorities, an economy school could be founded.

Whereas the oo. Trappists lost everything in Reichenburg, now they are without any resources and it is understandable that they cannot pay now for accommodation nor land. In Reichenburg the oo. Trappists had 380 hectares of fine land, including forests, but of



related links

Documents: [Alojzije Stepinac](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

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course they would be satisfied now with a smaller parcel.

In Reichenburg there were 80 monks and 12 cadets together with about 10 servants. In Banja Luka there are now 30 of them, and some still in Reichenburg, and others are dispersed in various places, but they are all hoping that they could again gather in a common monastery family. Perhaps they could be given the Serbian monastery in Orahovica (once the monastery of our Pavlins).

It is an honor for me to sincerely recommend to you, Poglavnik, that the oo. Trappists should be settled in this archbishopric in order to contribute spiritually and economically to the archbishopric and to the welfare of the entire NDH.

Please accept, Poglavnik, on this occasion the expression of my exceptional respect.

In Zagreb, 3 October 1941,
Dr. Alojzije Stepinac, Archbishop

:: filing information ::

Title: Stepinac's Letter on the Resettlement of Slovene Monks

Source: Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, pp 703-704 (Zagreb, 1948). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: October 3, 1941

Added: May 17, 2004

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Report on the Murder of 800 Civilians near Petrinja

Tersely-worded request by General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau, the German plenipotentiary general in Zagreb, for an explanation regarding reports of a massacre by the Ustase of 800 "men, women and children" near Petrinja. Glaise set up his own intelligence network throughout the NDH, sidestepping Ustase security chief Eugen-Dido Kvaternik, a man Glaise characterized as "the pathological son of the pathological Field Marshal," Slavko Kvaternik.

German General in Zagreb

Zagreb, 3.12.1941

TO THE CROATIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENSE
Z a g r e b

According to reports I received from several sources on 19.11 [November 19], in a single action of retaliation and cleansing in the area southwest of Petrinja, 800 men, women and children were murdered, several villages were burnt down and a lot of cattle were transported to Zagreb.

Since that area is in German occupation zone, and since these sorts of actions as a rule usually result in the expansion of rebel movement, I request, out of the responsibility I have for German occupation troops, for an urgent and detailed report about these events.

German General in Zagreb
Glaise
Major-General

Document number 4481.



related links

Report: Letter: Slovenian Settlers on Massacres Near Vojnic

Report: Report: Seven Hundred Hostages Shot by the Ustase

Documents: German Sources

Documents: The NDH Archive

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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:: filing information ::

Title: Report on the Murder of 800 Civilians near Petrinja

Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: December 3, 1941

Added: May 24, 2003

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Report on the Death of Peasants in Jablanica

Another report from **Colonel Novak** of the Third Police Regiment based in Banja Luka, on atrocities by the Ustase in Jablanica. He states that a total of 107 people - "mostly boys from 12 to 15 years of age" - were taken from their villages by the Ustase, machine gunned and stabbed and then thrown into the Jablanica River. Later that same day, Ustase came across a Serbian funeral in a cemetery in Milosevo and massacred all of the mourners.

INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA
HEADQUARTERS OF THE
3rd POLICE REGIMENT
Number 585

Report on the death of
peasants in Jablanica

TO THE SUPREME POLICE HEADQUARTERS
Z A G R E B . -

Banja Luka, 4 December 1941.

Commander of the police station Orahovo with report number 184 of
1 December 1941 reports:

"On 30 November 1941, according to a telegram report from the district chief in Bosanska Gradiska of 29 November this year in the villages of Trebovljani and Bistrica, Bosanska Gradiska district, I discovered that:

On 25 November 1941 some Ustase companies came around at 15:00 hours in the villages of Sovjak and Milosevo, Bosanska Gradiska district, and took away from Sovjak 57 and from Milosevo 50 people: mostly boys from 12 to 15 years of age, who were shot by machine guns and slaughtered with knives on 26 November 1941 around 6:00 hours a.m. in the Jablanica River.



related links

Report: Report: Seven
Hundred Hostages Shot
by the Ustase

Report: Order: Request
by General Laxa for
Ustase to Leave Bosnia

Documents: The NDH
Archive

Documents: NDH Decrees

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Independent State of
Croatia

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On 25 November 1941, Ustase came by a cemetery in the village Milosevo, where local peasants were burying someone, and they took away all peasants from that funeral (about 20 of them), left the dead man unburied and killed all those peasants in Jablanica.

On the same day Ustase took away 7 Orthodox *[grkoistocnjacke]* peasants from villages Orahovo, Bistrica and Trebovljani, Bosanska Gradiska district, who were in the same way killed in Jablanica, and who were mostly completely poor and peaceful peasants.

Because of this there is anxiety among the Croatians, and among Orthodox people great commotion and alarm.

The citizens of Orahovac and Bistrica, no matter their religion, were until today very peaceful and honest peasants, except one who is a member of a rebel gang for some time and who was an outcast among the peasants for many years.

Following the instructions of the district chief I instructed and advised peasants to be peaceful and to stay in their homes, that nothing will happen to them and that they should trust in the protection of the authorities and the law."

I deliver the above report in relation to the report of this regiment, number 579 of 3 December 1941, for your knowledge and competence.

COMMANDER, COLONEL;
Novak

SENT TO:
Supreme police headquarters,
Directorate for public order and safety Zagreb,
Banja Luka military zone B. Luka,
Headquarters of II military area Brod na Savi
Commision for establishment of public order B. Luka

:: filing information ::

Title: Report on the Death of Peasants in Jablanica

Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: December 4, 1941

Added: May 24, 2003

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Declaration of War on the United States and Great Britain

From a live radio broadcast from Zagreb after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and photographed, with Pavelic at the microphone and surrounded by a crowd of smiling Ustase ministers.

We, the Croatian people, consider ourselves members of the European community fighting for its freedom. Our young state has decided, in the spirit of the New European Order, to take part in forming its future.

Not only because of our obligations to the Tripartite Pact and our great allies, but because of our deepest convictions, we declare that the Independent State of Croatia is in a state of war with the United States of America and Great Britain.

The Croatian people take upon themselves every duty and every victim of this consequence, convinced that when the war ends, it will be of the greatest benefit.

Long live the independent State of Croatia!

Dr. Ante Pavelic
December 14, 1941



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Decree: Declaration of War on the US and Great Britain

Source: Private collection. Translated by Cali Ruchala.

Date:

Added: October 2002



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Article: Jews as the "Insatiable Parasites"

In February 1942, Interior Minister Andrija Artukovic made an important policy speech to the rubber-stamp NDH parliament, called the *Sabor*. After running through a list of triumphant achievements, Artukovic devoted the bulk of his speech to the issue of the "Jewish Question." His reasoning - that the Jews created Communism to take over the world and destroy gentile nations, and that Jews and Communists are thus indistinguishable from one another - should be familiar to anyone who has read the speeches of Goebbels or any other Nazi ideologue. A transcript of the speech, upon which this translation is based, was published immediately thereafter in *Narodne Novine*, the official gazette of the NDH government, leaving no doubt that Artukovic's views had official sanction.

...Immediately after the founding of Yugoslavia, all the enemies of the Croatian people - the Jews, the Communists, and the Freemasons - united with those of the so-called "Piedmont of the Balkans" [*Serbia*] in order to destroy the Croatian people and suppress all national aspirations.

In the life of Yugoslavia, it was the Jews - who worked for and prepared the world for revolution - alongside their two most important international allies - the Communists and the Freemasons, who especially distinguished themselves. These three national groups have attempted with all their might to destroy everything Croatian they could find.

They tried to win our intelligentsia to their side and isolate it from the Croat people, either through subterfuge - that is, flattering them with titles, lucrative positions among them - or by force. They tried through different organizations and offices to estrange the Croatian youth from the religion of their fathers and from the family hearth, and to get the workers into so-called "unions" which fought on a class basis, to estrange them from their own people and turn them against one another.

First, it was the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and, later, the United Labour Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia, that tried to mislead the Croatian worker and set him against his own people. They tried to impoverish and humiliate the peasant, in a state of financial



Judicial Decision: The Extradition of Andrija Artukovic

Documents: Andrija Artukovic

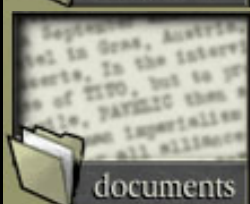
Documents: NDH Decrees

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Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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dependence and beggary, in political chaos and cultural darkness, in order to be able, at any given moment, to trade him away, to barter on his sentiments like he was a bale on the exchange.

All this was done by the Jews, one of the most dangerous international syndicates, in order to achieve the goals of World Jewry, readying the world for the revolution by which the Jews will gain full mastery over all material possessions of the world and all the power in the world, when other nations will serve as a means to their dirty profits and their insatiable greed and ravenous thirst for control.

International Jewry was aided in this fight by two other international syndicates: the Communists, who preached the gospel of their proletarian state, and the Freemasons, who preached the gospel of their fraudulent "enlightened spirit," their "love for their fellow man."

The Jews were to achieve these aims relying as much on their own international affiliations as that possessed by the Communists: because Communism is the child of Jewry and one of the principle levers by which the Jews aim to take control of the world. The Communists wanted to destroy the leadership of individual nations and take power in the name of the workers. But these workers were, of course - had to be - led by the Jews, which is exactly how it was.

Through various organizations, the Judeo-Communists tried to bring about the disintegration of the Croatian national body, to kill the aspirations of its youth, the love for family and the homeland, to stir up hatred between the classes and to enslave the peasantry in such a way that the peasant loses all self-awareness, the knowledge of what it is to be Croatian.

The Croatian people, having re-established the Independent State of Croatia, could do nothing else but to clean off the poisonous and insatiable parasites - Jews, Communists and Freemasons - from their national and state body.

They have strangled the Croatian people and retarded all sectors of their national life, destroying and poisoning not only family life, their beliefs, their morals, their culture and their youth, but also that vital national spirit, Croatian self-expression, Croatian self-consciousness. The Independent State of Croatia, led by the Ustase, finding itself in a state of siege and self-defense against these insatiable and poisonous parasites, has indeed settled the so-called Jewish Question through resolute and sound actions.

:: filing information ::

Title: Article: Jews as the "Insatiable Parasites"

Source: *Narodne Novine*

Date: February 26, 1942

Added: October, 2002

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The Career of Andrija Artukovic

An excerpt from *Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America* by Howard Blum, detailing some of the basics of Andrija Artukovic's Ustase career.



related links

...The Ustashi was less than a year old when **Andrija Artukovic**, then a twenty-nine-year-old lawyer, swore his **oath of allegiance** before the crucifix, the revolver, and the dagger. He seemed a natural Ustashi recruit. The eldest son of a family of Croat farmers living in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Artukovic was raised to be a devout Catholic and a fierce supporter of an independent Croatia. And as **Eichmann**, supervised the conversion of the brick kilns into ovens where thousands of Serbs and Jews were burned alive. Death at these camps, though, was not just by anonymous fire. The Ustashi, more so than even the Gestapo, demanded a more personal involvement in their evil.

The Ustashi murderers killed their victims with an atavistic passion: throat slashings, eye gougings, tongue extractions, axe decapitations, and disembowelments - all were common ways of death for "enemies of the state."

The Ustashi seemed to lust after barbarism, personally challenging each other to respond more wildly to **Pavelic's** "call to blood."

At **Jasenovac**, contests were conducted to see which Ustashi could execute the fastest with his graviso, a long, curve-bladed knife. Petar Brzica was the champion - his graviso cut through 1,300 throats in a single night. For nearly four years the killings continued. Artukovic's executioners hunted in the towns and cities of Croatia for those he had labeled "**the poisonous destroyers and insatiable parasites.**"

His men were very effective: Over 300,000 Yugoslavs were victims of the Ustashi. And, despite all the killings, Artukovic personally demanded more excess.

It was Artukovic, according to Yugoslav documents, who **ordered** Chief of Police Franjo Truhar: "Kill all the Serbs and Jews without exception."

Article: [Jews as the "Insatiable Parasites"](#)

Documents: [Andrija Artukovic](#)

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It was Artukovic who warned the mayor of Cerin: "if you can't kill Serbs or Jews you are an enemy of the state."

It was Artukovic who scolded Simun Buntic for killing only two Serbs: "You should not have come to me at all if you have not killed two hundred Serbs."

But as the Reich crumbled, so did the independent state of Croatia. On May 4, 1945, the German troops pulled out of Croatia and the Ustashi followed. For Pavelic and Artukovic, the years on the run began once more. They changed into civilian clothes and, under the protection of the retreating Nazis, managed to reach Austria.

The [Roman Catholic] Church, which had supported them in power, now supported them in defeat. Pavelic and Artukovic moved through a network of Austrian monasteries, disguised as Father Benarez and Father Gomez. Pavelic, always cautious, clipped his distinguishing bushy eyebrows, grew a beard, and wore false glasses. Using a passport in the name of Dal Aranyos, a priest, he sailed from Rome in 1948 to Buenos Aires.

:: filing information ::

Title: The Career of Andrija Artukovic

Source: Blum, Howard. *Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America*, p. 154.

Date: n/a

Added: October, 2002

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Evelyn Waugh on the Sarajevo Franciscans

Evelyn Waugh, the famous British novelist, spent the latter part of World War II as part of an Allied mission to the Communist-led partizans of Tito, together with his friend, Randolph Churchill. Waugh despised the Communists - and Tito in particular - and later savaged them both in his novel *Unconditional Surrender*. He also circulated a report damning the Yugoslav authorities for persecuting the Catholic Church. This excerpt from a letter to his superior describes the attitude of the Franciscans he had interviewed about the pre-war period. Since 1922 Sarajevo had been under the ecclesiastic administration of Archbishop Ivan Saric.

For some time the Croat Franciscans had caused misgivings in Rome for their independence and narrow patriotism. They were mainly recruited from the least cultured part of the population and there is abundant evidence that several wholly unworthy men were attracted to the Franciscan Order by the security and comparative ease which it offered. Many of these youths were sent to Italy for training. Their novitiate was in the neighborhood of **Pavelic's** HQ at Siena where Ustasha agents made contact with them and imbued them with Pavelic's ideas. They in turn, on returning to their country, passed on his ideas to the pupils in their schools. Sarajevo is credibly described as having been a centre of Franciscan Ustashism.



related links

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Alojzije Stepinac](#)

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Evelyn Waugh on the Sarajevo Franciscans

Source: Letter from Captain Evelyn Waugh to Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean. Quoted in Rhodes, Anthony. *The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators, 1922-1945*, p. 328.

Date:

Added: October 2002



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Letter: Rusinovic on Meeting with Cardinal Tisserant

Excerpt from a diplomatic dispatch from the NDH's ambassador to the Vatican, Nikola Rusinovic, to the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (then led by Mladen Lorkovic, later executed for plotting a *coup d'etat*). Rusinovic describes his stormy meeting with Cardinal Eugene Tisserant, a Vatican official in charge of Church affairs, both political and ecclesiastical, in an area roughly encompassing Eastern Europe, and thus well-informed of what was happening in the Independent State of Croatia.

Tisserant received me very politely and courteously. The conversation lasted for an hour and a half. Because of his interesting claims, statements and his thesis regarding our general position in Europe and in the world, I will try to illustrate them in broad strokes. The Cardinal among other things said: "Your Fascist friends are laughing at your independence and freedom, at the existence of the Croatian state. I am hearing this directly from their high political leaders. Your king, the Duke of Spoleto, will never come to Croatia. He says that he will not go to Croatia, because they made him the king of a country that is not a kingdom, because it depends on Germany as well as on Italy. In Croatia everybody rules more than Croats... Father Simic himself led an armed group of people who destroyed Orthodox churches. I know for sure that **Franciscans in Bosnia and Herzegovina** have behaved just as miserably. That sort of thing isn't done by cultured and civilized men, let alone priests..."

The Germans only recognized the Croatian Orthodox Church after they together with us slaughtered all the priests and after 350,000 Serbs perished. Therefore, what right do we have to complain and claim that Catholics are carriers of culture and carriers of faith? The Serbs in the struggle with the Turks gave for the West and Catholicism as much as we did, and maybe even more. However, only Croats got the title *Antemurale Christianitatis*.



related links

News: [Victor Gutic's Visit to Petricevac](#)

Letter: [Lobkowicz on February 1943 Meeting with the Pope](#)

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Alojzije Stepinac](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: Rusinovic on Meeting with Cardinal Tisserant

Source: Letter from NDH Ambassador Nikola Rusinovic to FM Mladen Lorkovic. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, p. 890. (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: March 6, 1942

Added: February 19, 2004

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OSS File: Ante Doshen

In this document, Office of Strategic Services informant SK (alias S. Karan) makes reference to one Ante Doshen, a Croatian being held on immigration charges by the United States government who had, by hook or crook, managed to receive letters of endorsement from several influential American politicians. SK recommends drastic action be taken in the case, suggesting means which might seem harsh, except in a time of war. Further reference to Doshen, or to any action which might have been taken, does not appear in the other OSS files in our possession.

S.K.
Yugo.

March 31, 1942

Re: Ante Doshen

The above subject is being held by the U.S. Imm. authorities in Pittsburgh, Pa., that is, he is out on bail pending trial due this month. For the last 7 months, the subject was able to have his case adjourned time and again. He managed to elicit letters of reference from U.S. Sen. Davis of Penna., U.S. Sen. Guffey, Penna., Myor Sculley, of Pittsburgh, Pa. and Judge Elenbager of Pittsburgh.

Doshen has been and still is, one of the best agents of Ante Pavelic in this country as U.S. law agencies are aware of. Regardless of our constitutional *[sic]* rights, this man should not receive the benefits of said rights which he has flagrantly violated for years, as his record *[sic]* shows. Even if this man is convicted on illegal entry and a technical charge of perjury, he still would not receive his just punishment.

It happens that U.S. is now an ally of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in military sense. Dispensing with the proverbial red tape and usual technicalities, there is nothing to prevent the Yugoslav Military High Command "to summon one Capt. Ante Doshen, in Reserve, to report for military service." In case of his refusal, he could be turned over to said Yugoslav Military as a deserter.

SK/Y



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:: filing information ::

Title: OSS File: Ante Doshen

Source: NARA

Date: March 31, 1942

Added: December 2002

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OSS File: Reverend Hugolin Feis

Judging by his reports, Office of Strategic Services informant "SK" found the most fervent supporters of the Ustase among Croats in America spread among the clergy. In this submission to the OSS, SK takes note of a parish priest from St. Louis, Missouri who had written what sounds like a maudlin work of theater dedicated to the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia and the quisling state under Ante Pavelic set up in Croatia in their wake.

S.K.
Yugo.

March 31, 1942

Re: Rev. Hugolin Feis,
Croatian Cath. Friar

The above subject is the parish priest at the Croatian Rom. Cath. Church of St. Joseph, in St. Louis, Mo. For years past, he has been an active agent of Dr. **Ante Pavelich**, the present puppet ruler of Croatia.

This friar is a pronounced fascist and violently anti-democratic in principle. After the downfall of Yugoslavia and the proclamation of "Independent [*sic*] State of Croatia", friar Feis wrote a stage play, entitled:

In Spirit of Freedom, Patriotic Play in 3 Acts, "10. IV. 1941.
Independent [*sic*] State of Croatia, Written by: Rev. Hugolin Feis,
Franjevac (Franjevac is an Order of Friars)

In this play Feis writes in part:

*My indictment is against some of those Croats, who, without conscience fooled the Croatian people, who shamefully enacted the Judas role of treason against their people, who by all means and subtleties, endeavored to neutralize all patriotic, homedefenders movement, for freedom and indenpendence [*sic*] of a Croatian State. Pilates, Judas Iscariots..... Why did they congratulate Russia, as the "Mother of Slavs", when our descent is strictly "Croatian" and our crib "Aryan"! The Croatians were imbeciles when they ran after*



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"Slavism" and "Yugoslavism"

En quote.

This friar can be compared to those German friars and missionaries in New Guiena, who operated as a "Fifth Column" and recently led Jap units through the jungles of that Allied territory.

It would be advisable to take this friar into custody as an enemy allien *[sic]* and active propagandist of Ante Pavelic.

SK/Y

[handwritten:] 1/7 GB reports copy above given FBI

:: filing information ::

Title: OSS File: Reverend Hugolin Feis

Source: NARA

Date: March 31, 1942

Added: December 2002

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OSS File: The Croatian Central Committee

Many Croatian-Americans, as OSS agent S. Karan or "SK" was often at pains to point out, were shocked by the actions of the leadership of the Croatian Catholic Union and others who continued to defend Pavelic and the Ustase regime after the NDH declared war on the free world. As a result, several ephemeral ad-hoc organizations began to sprout up to forward a fervently pro-Allied agenda. This report concerns one of them, along with reporting a few other items of interest to the Office of Strategic Affairs, including an update on former American Ustase organizer **Ante Doshen's** immigration status.

S.K.
Yugo.

April 7, 1942
Detroit, Mich

RE: Croatian Affairs

There is being organized a "Croatian Central Comitee" [*sic*] in Pittsburgh and Alleghany County, for purposes of promoting Yugoslav unity on American principles regardless of racial background. The Committee will sponsor patriotic rallies and meetings for noted American and Yugoslav speakers.

The "Croatian Central Comitee" will represent various Croatian organizations such as: Croat fraternals, Singing Societies, Dramatic Societies, Clubs and some Parishes. The president is Magistrate Lukasz and Marko Vinski is the secretary and the motive power behind the whole Comitee. This endeavor on part of the Croatians will have a very constructive affect towards unity among those elements under the existing circumstances.

The "Croatian Natl Council" whose president is J.D. Butkovich, and against which the Serbs created a tirade in the past, is now a dead issue.

Butkovich went to Colorado for the holidays and there are rumors that he might resign as the president of the Croat. Fraternal Union.



related links

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However, the Croatian I.W.O. wants him to stay, because he is their link and medium for any of their manipulations in the Fraternal. Butkovich always had their support for this reason.

Ante Doshen has been in New York since last Thursday and is due back in Pittsburgh April 8th. Senators Davis and McGuffey and Mayor Scully of Pittsburgh, have revoked their endorsements of Doshen.

The Croatian Frat. Union requested the Yugoslav Embassy to inform them how to send 3000 packages to the Yugoslav prisoners of war. They were even refused an answer by Fotich. The idea apparently is on part of Fotich, that the Serbs have nothing in common with the Croats even where the prisoners of war are concerned. Incidentally, Germany and Italy are therefor advised that the Crations *[sic]* are on their own...

SK/Y

:: filing information ::

Title: OSS File: The Croatian Central Committee

Source: NARA

Date: April 7, 1942

Added: December 2002

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OSS File: Serb National Federation

OSS agent S. Karan, or "SK" was charged with investigating all Yugoslav diaspora groups. The following report details a conversation with Branko Pekich, a Serbian-American leader and identified elsewhere as one of SK's pre-war friends. The American line at the time was that all divisions had to be put aside for the war effort, and this included anti-Yugoslav Serbs as well as Croats. Louis Adamic, referred to in paragraph three, was an influential figure in Washington circles who devoted his efforts during the war to forwarding the agenda of the pro-Yugoslav Slovene-American National Council (SANC) before being felled by illness. Yovan Duchich was the former Yugoslav Ambassador to Italy and Spain and, after arriving in America in the early days of the war, one of the leaders of Serbian National Defense.

S.K.
Yugo.

April 8, 1942
Pittsburgh, Pa.

RE: Serb Natl. Federation

Today, S.K. interviewed Branko Pekich, Gen. Sec. of the Serb Natl. Fed. Mr. Pekich informed S.K. that two F.B.I. agents visited him yesterday and asked him the reason for the Federation's anti-Croatian propaganda. (Mr. Kosto Unkovich, the local Yugoslav Consul requested the local F.B.I. Office to pay the Federation's secretary a visit and caution them on their destructive propaganda. Mr. Unkovich asks that this request remain confidential. For years, Mr. Unkovich has been combatting all anti-Yugoslav propaganda and has closely cooperated with U.S. authorities)

Mr. Pekich went on to say, that he and his organization, did not attack the Croat-Americans, but directed their verbal attacks against those Croats in Croatia who had murdered 300,000 Serbs. He cannot understand why he and the Serbs in this country should be prevented to inform the public of said Croatian atrocities perpetrated on Serbs and substantiated by Dean of Canterbury and reporters of the American Press e.tc. Furthermore, Pekich claims that the Serbs have the right to choose their own form of post war State and



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Files

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government, in as much the majority of the Croats had already elected to proclaim their own with the Axis whom the Serbs are fighting with the aid of the Allies. Further, that the Croatian members of the Yugoslav Cabinet in London, had written *[sic]* to the British government *[sic]* behind the back of the Yugoslav Premier and other Serb ministers, asking the British government for enlargement of the Croatian frontiers, at the expence of the Serbs in future Yugoslavia.

Mr. Pekich continues, that the Serbs are perturbed at the influence that Mr. Louis Adamic is exercising in our own State. Dept. in view of Mr. Adamic's past anti-Serbian attitude. It appears that Mr. Pekich honestly believes that all those alleged Croatian atrocities are true and therefor the Serbs should retaliate in kind and totally divorce themselves from the Croats. Pekich is unable to conceive, that Yovan Duchich and other instigators have deliberately played on his honesty and emotions to use him and his Natl. Federation, to promote their plan of action against the realm of Yugoslavia. Pekich maintains, that the so called Yugoslav Croats and Yugoslav Serbs, are scheming for a post war Yugoslav republic and abdication of King Peter, II. Mr. Pekich does not believe in this form of possible plebiscite. It was pointed out to Pekich that the Axis are taking advantage of this disunity to their interest and embarrassing the Allied war effort. S.K. asked Pekich to write and submit a text of their policy. He replied that they had expressed themselves sufficiently in the "Srbobran". S.K. told him that it was only for certain public consumption and a personal explanation is in order due to the dissention caused by the "Srbobran". Mr. Pekich said he will consult his associates on the subject.

SK/Y

:: filing information ::

Title: OSS File: Serb National Federation

Source: NARA

Date: April 8, 1942

Added: December 2002

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OSS File: The Croatian Home Defenders

Ustase co-founder Branimir "Branko" Jelic visited New York in the 1930s and founded the *Domobran*, or "Home Defenders" as an American branch of the Ustase movement (the name would later be used by the Croatian regular army - roughly the equivalent of the Wehrmacht). The group was raided by the FBI and shuttered after the American entry into the war, though many of the prominent leaders moved on to other organizations. Several of the *Domobran* leaders were priests, such as the Reverend Ivan Stipanovic and, mentioned below, Reverend Oskar Suster. The "congress" mentioned in the third paragraph refers to a Slavic conference which met in Detroit around the time this report was filed. The "CFU" is the Croatian Fraternal Union, an open organization which had several Ustase adherents scattered among their members, but remained (as it does today) a respectable and patriotic Croatian-American group which was later even **targeted** by Ustase attacks. "Duchich" is Jovan Ducic, former Yugoslav Ambassador to Spain and head of the Serbian National Defense.

S.K.
Yugo.

April 29, 1942
Detroit, Mich

RE: Yugoslav Affairs

Rev. Oskar Suster, of the Croat. Cath church at 921 Melbourne, appears to be still the spiritual leader of the defunct "Croatian Homedefenders". Although this organization has ceased to function after the authorities clamped on their exponents, Rev. Suster continues to uphold **Ante Pavelich**, the nazi puppet in Croatia. On several occasions when some Croat organization would prepare a social affair of democratic and patriotic design, Rev. Suster proceeds to sabotage it by whispering [*sic*] to individual parishioners that such a gathering was un-Croatian and ungodly. If some Croat dies who was not a follower of Ante Pavelich, Rev. Suster usually excuses himself when called to perform the last rites, by stating that "this person was not a true follower of the Cath. church.["]



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Recently, Rev. Suster was preparing a Croatian event for which he had tickets sold. Some Amer. Croats decided to use this occasion to declare *[sic]* themselves patriotic and condemn Ante Pavelich and his nazi overlords. Rev. Suster was advised of this move by his stooges and called the whole thing off and redeemed the tickets to the purchasers. It seems that this friar is still using his priestly offices for the benefit of his boss, Ante Pavelich.

When Milan Petrak, ed. of the "Zajednicar" was here for the Congress, he was given a talking to by Adam Suletich, sec of the local C.F.U. Lodge, and Ivan Marohnic, Atty. He was told to show more patriotic spirit in his paper besides waving an Amer. flag to cover up. It appears that Petrak thinks he does not have to go any further in his patriotic gestures then *[sic]* he did previously, with an attitude that no one can prove anything against him. Petrak was and is a rabid anti-communist and considers this line sufficient armor of all around patriotism for any other purpose in mind.

Urosh Seferovich, sec. of the local Serb. Natl. Def. Counl. is steadily *[sic]* seen in gambling joints, playing stakes as high as \$200.00 a night. He is here on visitors passport and collects money for the Amer. Red Cross. Sometime ago he was accused by a Serb of holding out on the Red Cross, which organization took the matter legally but had to drop it for lack of sufficient and willing witnesses. Seferovich continues to gamble and collect for the Red Cross - through the medium of the Duchich's propaganda bureau.

SK/Y

:: filing information ::

Title: OSS File: The Croatian Home Defenders

Source: NARA

Date: April 29, 1942

Added: December 2002

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OSS File: The Croatian Catholic Union

This report on the Croatian Catholic Union by Office of Strategic Services agent S. Karan, or "SK" was the result of a fortnight's stay in Gary, Indiana, while Karan was also visiting (and writing desultory reports on) the Serbian National Defense organization. Six days later, Karan reported on a **tumultuous meeting** of the Board of Directors of the CCU in which he expressed his fear for the safety of the ardently pro-Allied (and anti-Pavelic) editor of the CCU's organ *Our Hope*. Reverend Cuturic and George Rakic are also mentioned in an OSS file [here](#).

S.K.
Yugo.

May 3, 1942
Gary, Ind.

RE: Croatian Catholic Union
125 W. Fifth Av.
Gary, Ind.

The above Union is a fraternal catholic organization with about 100 lodges scattered all over the U.S.

The Board of Directors are as follows:

Executive Board:

X Rev. F.J. Cuturic, Spiritual Leader
2823 Princeton Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

X George Rakic, Supreme President,
125 W. 5th Ave.
Gary, Ind.

John Cavlovic, Supreme Vice-Pres.
1252 Sandusky Ave.
Kansas City, Kan.

X George Ramuscak, Supreme Sec.



Documents: The OSS
Files

Documents: The US
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125 W. 5th Ave.
Gary, Ind.

Joseph G. Pavlic, Supreme Treas.
125 W. 5th Ave.
Gary, Ind.

Board of Trustees.

X Rev. M.S. Hranilovic, President
847 Crouse St.
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1111 Kennedy Ave.
Duquesne, Pa.

Joseph Erdeljac, Member
2501 E. 82 St.
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1537 - 121 St.
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1124 Wilcox St.
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Omaha, Neb.

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1042 Sunset Blvd.
Los Angelos, Calif. *[sic]*

John Rozman, Member
17515 Goddard Ave.
Detroit, Mich.

Grgur Mekic, Member
50 Simon Ave.
Lackawanna, N.Y.

Andro Grahovac, Member
9618 Escanaba Ave.

Chicago, Ill.

Editor of the Organ, "Our Hope"

Francis Kolander
125 W. 5th Ave.
Gary, Ind.

Chief Med. Examiner.

Dr. John F. Ruzic
23 55 W. 63 St.
Chicago, Ill.

Legal Adviser.

A.L. Zivic
508 Union Natl. Bank B'ldg
East Chicago, Ind.

Junior Order Director.

X Rev. V. Ardas
2260 Adams St.
Gary, Ind.

All those marked by an "X" in front of their names, are pronounced supporters of Dr. Ante Pavelich, the Axis puppet ruler of Croatia. The C.C.U. is under the supreme influence of Dr. David Zrno, the Franciscan Provincial of Croatian Catholic Section of that Order.

Dr. Zrno is a declared agent of Dr. **Ante Pavelich**. Through the influence of Dr. Zrno, Rev. F. Cuturic was elected at the last convention of the aforesaid organization as the Spiritual Leader of the same, according to the by-laws, the Spiritual Leader is the highest officer of the Union. Rev. Cuturic was publishing articles regularly in the "Independent [*sic*] State of Croatia" a weekly, used to be published in Pittsburgh by the "Croatian Homedefenders" up to the month of March of this year, which organization was entirely pro-fascist and organized upon orders of Dr. Ante Pavelich.

To control the action of this C.C.U., one Stanislav Boric, who is here on a temporary visa as a visitor, was employed as an organizer of the aforesaid Union, with headquarters in the main office at, 125 W. 5th Ave., Gary, Ind. Stanislav Boric came to the United States a few years ago from Zagreb, where he was employed by the Hrvatski Radisa, a trade organ. He was sent here by Col. Kvaternik, who is now in command of the Axis-Croatian army of Dr. Ante Pavelich. It is

a well known fact, that the said Boric was put in the office of the C.C. U. to control the action of the Board for the benefit of Axis propaganda in this country. Since Boric's arrival, those marked with an "X" have redoubled their propaganda for the cause of the Axis.

Up to this date, the Board of Directors of the said C.C.U. has never issued any statement condemning the present Quisling government [*sic*] of Dr. Ante Pavelich in Croatia. Francis Kolandar, the editor and an extremely patriotic American citizen, publicly condemned Pavelich, Hitler and the Axis puppets in general and called upon the Board to draw a resolution to the same effect. For this, Mr. Kolandar was **violently condemned** himself by those marked "X" and a campaign is now on to have him ejected from his office.

It is advisable to take proper action to eliminate the present Board of Directors and all of the Axis sympathizers in the said organization. This organization will have a quadruannual convention beginning the 20th of September, 1942, in Steelton, Pa. At least the following should be eliminated: "X" Rev. F.J. Cuturic, George Rakic, George Ramuscak, Rev. M.S. Hranilovich Rev. J.S. Juricek, Rev. V. Ardas.

During the last war, Rev. Hranilovich was a pronounced Austrian propagandist and since the last war, has continuously worked against the national interests of Yugoslavia. He is the father-in-law of Stanislav Boric. The most suitable and patriotic person for the Spiritual Leader would be Rev. Separovich, who is in charge of the Croatian Rom. Cath. Parish in Milwaukee, Wis. He is the most respected and liberal of all members of the Croatian Franciscan Order in America.

The proper person for the President of this organization would be Mr. Joseph Erdeljac, of Cleveland, Ohio, at present a member of the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Francis Kolander, the present editor of "Our Hope" would be the proper person for the office of Supreme Secretary, as he is well qualified for said work in every way and is an ardent American citizen. He has a son in the U.S. army.

The addresses of the Lodges of this organization will be submitted in the reports to follow.

SK/Y

:: filing information ::

Title: OSS File: The Croatian Catholic Union

Source: NARA

Date: May 3, 1942

Added: December 2002

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OSS File: Activities of Dr. A Pavelich's Exponents

In this report, Office of Strategic Services informant "SK" follows one Luka Grbich, the former publisher of a defunct paper called the *Independent State of Croatia*, the most prominent Ustase mouthpiece in the United States before the war. The CCU mentioned below is an abbreviation for the Croatian Catholic Union. The editor of *Our Hope* and his travails within the CCU are outlined by SK in a further report, available [here](#). The activities of several other pro-Ustase priests in America are also noted. The "Ban Subasich" noted in the penultimate paragraph is Ivan Subasic, pre-war governor of autonomous Croatia within Yugoslavia, who disobeyed party orders from Vladko Macek and fled with the Royal government. He later became head of the government-in-exile and initialed the agreement with the Communist Partizan forces under Tito.

S.K.
Yugo.

May 5, 1942
Gary, Ind.

RE: Activities of Dr. A. Pavelich's Exponents

On about April 20th last, Luka Grbich, former publisher and editor of the defunct organ "Indenpendent [*sic*] State of Croatia", made another of his regular visits to the C.C.U. in Gary. He was driven in an auto by one Luka Kalanj, of Chicago, another exponent of Dr. Pavelich. Grbich and Kalanj went into a huddle with Stanislav Beric and George Rakic of the C.C.U. after which Grbich and Kalanj drove back to Chicago. While in Chicago, Grbich was in confab with Rev. Bojanich and F.J. Cuturic another two birds of a feather. Previous to this Grbich paid a visit to Rev. Oskar Suster in Detroit, Mich. While in Gary, Grbich was asked if he was still collecting cash of the priests. He slyly replied that the priests usually take and not give. It is a well known fact, that all these mentioned and others have been regular cash contributors to Grbich and the "Independent State of Croatia" in the past. It now appears that Grbich is in the role of liaison between the higher ups in their continuous scheme of propaganda and dissension.



related links

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Documents: The US Army Files

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Recently, Rev. Ravlich of So. Chicago, another garbed propagandist, sent a "Mother's Day" letter to the editor of "Our Hope", which said in effect: "To remember our mothers, who cannot peacefully *[sic]* sleep thinking about their sons which are suffering in this war". The editor perceived that this was another piece of subtle propaganda, intended to demoralize some of its readers. The **editor** therefor changed the wording of this letter for publication.

Rev. Grubisic and Andrianic, of the "Sacred Heart" Croatian church of So. Chicago, visited their brethren in the C.C.U. about 10 days ago and discussed the merits of the present war.

They were asked for their opinion as to who will win this war. These two hooded solons fidgeted and beat around the bush for a safe answer depending who was listening. Both finally allowed that this was anybody's war, with pick your own. However, they went on record as saying, that no one can be sure if America will win this war. At the last Easter services in the So. Chicago Croat church, Rev. Andrianich reportedly told his congregation, "that our Croatia was now ressurected *[sic]*, thank God".

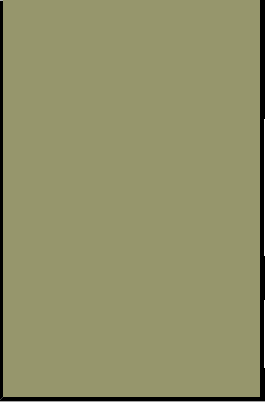
When the Yugo. Minister, S. Kosanovich spoke in Gary at a Yugoslav rally, two of Duchich's men hung around the entrance and warned all the Amer. Serbs whom they would recognize, not to enter "as this was not a Serbian rally". Gov. of Croatia, Ban Subasich, is expected to speak at a rally on May 17th and already Duchich's agents are making the rounds and warning the Serbs not to attend this "Croatian rally". They have adopted the technique of sending female emissaries on these errands, figuring that any enraged citizen will not take a sock at a woman. Cases have already occurred where old Serb and Croat neighbors are now calling each other murderers, traitors and what not. The same incidents are reportedly taking place in defence plants when the former friends meet. Duchich's crowd seems elated with this success of their efforts and gleefully *[sic]* accuse these unfortunate Croats to their fellow Americans as "dangerous alliens". *[sic]* Ban Subasich is expected to speak at a Yugoslav rally on May 10th in Chicago.

Other reports will follow.

SK/Y

:: filing information ::

Title: OSS File: Activities of Dr. A Pavelich's Exponents



Source: NARA	
Date: May 5, 1942	Added: December 2002

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NDH Ambassador on Stepinac in Rome

In the Spring of 1942 - more than a year after the massacre of the Serbs in the NDH - Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac paid a visit to the Vatican for an interview with Pope Pius XII. This letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican describes his conduct during his stay.

As you must know, His Grace Stepinac has now returned to Zagreb after a twelve-day visit to Rome. He was in fine form and took a pugnacious attitude to all enemies of the State! He submitted to the **Holy Father** a nine-page type-written report. He showed it to me and I can assure you it stands for our point of view. In attacking the Serbs, Chetniks and Communists, he has found things to say which even I had not thought of. No one will be allowed to attack the Independent State of Croatia and show the Croatian people in a bad light.

This was precisely the reason why he went to Rome, in order to stigmatize the lies that have spread in regard to the Holy See.



related links

Documents: [Alojzije Stepinac](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: NDH Ambassador on Stepinac in Rome

Source: Letter from Nikola Rusinovic, NDH Ambassador to the Vatican, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zagreb, May 9, 1942. Quoted in Falconi, Carlo. *The Silence of Pius XII*, p. 314.

Date: May 9, 1942

Added: October 2002

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OSS File: Axis Propagandists Within the Croatian Catholic Union

This report on a tumultuous board of directors meeting at the Croatian Catholic Union was filed shortly after several other penetrating reports on pro-Ustase elements within the Croatian-American community. Several of the figures below, including Rev. Cuturic and George Rakic, are also mentioned [here](#). SK spells the editor's name both "Kolendar" and "Kolander," an inaccuracy which seems improbable if the editor was actually a government informant, as his suspicious colleagues in the leadership of the CCU seem to believe.

S.K.
Yugo.

May 9, 1942
Gary, Ind.

RE: Axis Propagandists within the
Croatian Cath. Union

At the meeting of the Board of Directors of the C.C.U., held in September, 1940, Mr. Kolendar, editor of "Our Hope" the C.C.U. Organ, presented a resolution which condemned the dictators and aggressors who started the war. The resolution called for a display of an American flag at the meetings of the Lodges. Rev. F.J. Cuturic, spiritual director, of the C.C.U. spoke against the resolution as being "politics". Rev. M.S. Hranilovich, chairman of the Board of Auditors, also spoke against it, stating that the introduction and mention of dictators is "offensive" to the heads of other governments, and asked that this be omitted, as the resolution is O.K. otherwise. He also added that "who knows what will happen within the next six months". (This was after the collapse of France). The president, George Rakic also agreed with them, that no offense should be given to the dictators. When Mr. Kolendar refused to have the resolution emasculated according to their sentiments, it was not passed.

Kolendar then remarked that he could not understand their attitude inasmuch, if they are American citizens and that he would be ashamed to express himself in this fashion. The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Board, held June 9, 1941, contain the



related links

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following excerpts:

"Since Brother Editor has been repeatedly reminded to be cautious in writing about political questions and parties, and since various complaints *[sic]* in connection with such writing are coming against him, therefor *[sic]*, Brother Editor is hereby again and for the last time being admonished to be very cautious in writing about political questions and to avoid all political partisanship, because "Our Hope" is no political paper". This was a few weeks after Kolander published an article in "Our Hope" entitled, "An answer to a Hitlerite", in which Kolander condemned a Hitler's sympathizer for attacking Pres. Roosevelt. (The Hitler sympathizer is one Rev. F. Bakorich, of 610 No. Hill St., Los Angeles *[sic]*, Calif.). Kolander also denounced Hitler and his stooges in American in another column of an issue before the meeting in question. The meeting did not question Kolander nor, did they name any articles as being what they termed "political". When Kolander asked the president, Rakic, to tell him which articles he deems political, so that Kolander may be governed in the future, Rakic refused to point any article. *[sic]* Sec. Ramuscak remarked to Rakic not to answer to Kolander anything "as he wants to trap you". Later on and recently, the same admonition ensued about the "political writing" when Kolander wrote articles on Hitler and his Axis, in true light. Kolander carried in translation most of Pres. Roosevelt's speeches during that time, giving prominence to his condemnation of Hitler. Again at the Sept., 1941, meeting, Rev. Cuturic stated, that Kolander was giving too much space to "propaganda", but when pressed for identification of such articles, Cuturic declined to identify said articles.

When the puppet government of Croatia **declared war on the United States**, Kolander wrote an article intitled *[sic]* "Let us wipe out this shame", and explained that the people of Croatia were Hitler's slaves and had nothing to do with this declaration of war, and that we should show our condemnation of this act by buying Defense Bonds and declare our loyalty to the United States in appropriate resolutions. Kolander also started publishing the names of Lodges and the amounts of Defense Bonds they bought and their donations to the Red Cross. Heading the list, was a condemnation of **Ante Pavelic** and his declaration of war upon the United States. This was during the last week of December and first two weeks of January, 1942.

On January 22, 1942, president Rakic called Kolander into the office of sec. Ramuscak. He also called treasurer Joseph Pavlic. Rakic held the issues of Our Hope in which appeared that article condemning Pavelic and his declaration of war and the list of Lodges with amounts of Defense Bonds bought. Rakic declared, that he had received several complaints on account of these statements against Pavelic and Independent State of Croatia. Kolander stated, that the condemnation concerns not the Croatian people, but Hitler's stooge, Pavelic, as anyone can plainly read. Rakic said that we must look out

for the interest of the organization and asked Kolander to drop out of the Lodge list all reference to Pavelic. Sec. Ramuscak also denounced this reference to Pavelic and accused Kolander of enmity to the Croatian cause. Kolander had printed a resolution of Lodge #7, of McKeesport, Pa. condemning Pavelic and Hitler by name.

Since the by-laws provide that the president supervises the editing and publishing of the official organ, Kolander had to drop the reference to Pavelic from the Defence Bonds list and substitute a slogan for "Buy a share in America". On Feb. 10th, 1942, Rakic again reminded Kolander, that publishing articles against Pavelic was against the interests of the organization and not a proper thing to do.

These Hitler adherents are steadily *[sic]* conniving how to get rid of Mr. Kolander as they are in terror in case he should denounce them to the U.S. authorities. Kolander might even be physically in danger in this respect.

SK/Y

:: filing information ::

Title: OSS File: Axis Propagandists Within the Croatian Catholic Union

Source: NARA

Date: May 9, 1942

Added: December 2002

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Report on the Slaughter of Serbs near Pokupje

This report dated October 15, 1942 quotes an official from the "greater region" or county (*velika zupa*) of Pokupje on the state of Partizan and Chetnik activities in the area, and corroborates the **report** of a police official from Slunj regarding the state of insecurity in the region due to guerrilla attacks. The author here - an official of the NDH - also concurs that it was the Ustase massacres that led to the current troubles, and cites three examples. One is the Glina Church Massacre, when Serbs gathered inside a church, ostensibly for conversion to Catholicism, only to be shot, stabbed, and burned alive inside. Only one victim survived that beastial attack, the bare details of which are confirmed by this report. The last half is largely concerned with the infiltration of Communists into the region: Tito's Partizans had by now been driven out of Montenegro, Serbia and the Sandzak and were looking to set up a base in Bosnia. This document exists in several copies and was most likely circulated through the Interior Ministry and passed on to both Italian and German representatives.

The report for the greater region of Pokupje in Karlovac for the month of October of this year was submitted, and reads:

"In the area of the Vojnic and Topusko districts the peace was disturbed by the Partizans. The Partizans dominate the entire area of the Vojnic district except for Vukmanic, and they also dominate the entire area of the Topusko district except Topusko itself.

"Toward the end of July last year, peace and order were violated for the first time in Vojnic district when a hand grenade was thrown into a room in the post office building in Tusilovac. On the same day three or four telephone poles were cut down near Brezova Glava. The perpetrators could not be found, so two days after that a punitive expedition, formed by larger unit of Ustase from Glina, went to the scene of the crime. According to the information available to the office of this greater region [*velika zupa*], the Ustase from Glina applied measures that were a little too drastic in response. About **400 women and men** of Vojnic district were killed, and their property confiscated and destroyed. A battalion from Karlovac joined the Ustase unit from Glina as reinforcement. However, this battalion of the preparatory brigade from Karlovac retired after some 14 days.



Letter: Slovenian Settlers on Massacres Near Vojnic

Report: Police Report on the Cleansing of Serbs Near Slunj

Documents: The NDH Archive

Documents: NDH Decrees

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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It seems that the ones from Glina didn't like the company of those from Karlovac, because those from the Karlovac battalion were of the opinion that it was the outlaws who should be captured, and not the peaceful population and women.

"Because of reprisals like this, much of the Orthodox population fled to the forests, though they were still at that time mostly unarmed, and they would return to their homes only when there was no army in their villages.

"At that time the first attacks on smaller police or *domobran* patrols occurred, and attacks were mostly committed with hunting rifles and pistols, so the patrols were disarmed, and in that way the outlaws slowly armed themselves with army weapons, even with automatic rifles. The first larger disarmament occurred in October at the garrison in Tusilovac. That attack was led by Galjer with his wife Nada, and he had about 50 armed outlaws with him. The garrison in Tusilovac of 18 men with a machine gun was disarmed. Thus the garrisons in Vojnic district fell one-by-one, and the outlaws were supplied with weapons. In January 1942. there was a disarmament in Vojnic itself, which happened to 470 men, so on that occasion the Partizans got up to 470 rifles, about 40 automatic rifles, 8 machine guns and 4 mortar canons. This is how it all started in Vojnic district.

"During the summer, in the neighbouring district of Vrginmost there was another awkward ramble by those same Glina Ustase. A teacher from Vojisnica, Nikica Generalovic, who finished his studies at the teacher's college in Karlovac, who was married to a Catholic woman, whom he didn't ask even on their wedding day to convert to the Orthodox religion, who never engaged in politics and was generally known as a very good man, gathered in his and surrounding villages about 2000 Serbs and led them under a Croatian flag to Vrginmost with the intention to convert them to Catholicism.

"When they arrived in Vrginmost, those people were loaded onto trucks and taken to Glina. In Glina they were brought into the church by groups seemingly for conversion, but all of them were slaughtered inside the church. Obviously, because of that, the whole population of Vrginmost district fled to the forest on sight of any army, especially Ustase.

"In the neighbouring district of Slunj, on St. George's Day, Serbs killed one Croatian family. Of the family killed were their father, their mother, their grandmother, a son of 16 years and a daughter who was 4 years old, while only by chance was their 10 year old daughter and their 2 year old son saved. That was in Hrvatski Blagaj. As a reaction to that a punitive expedition was sent to Hrvatski Blagaj, which captured about 500 Serbs and shot them all. One of them saved himself from a pit in which they threw him with the others, thinking he was already dead. In the other two districts emotions started to boil over among the Serbs in the same way, and it didn't

take long for someone to exploit that boiling and start an uprising.

"It seems that, after Galjer and his wife Nada came to Vojnic, Vrginmost and Slunj districts this anger became more distinct. Up until then no Communist spirit was noted among the Serbs, that is among those outlaws, but after the arrival of Galjer and his group, it can be perceived that the outlaws do not act like Serbs nationalists, but like Partizan-Communists. There is even evidence that they started purging their ranks of Serb nationalists or Chetniks in a most radical manner.

"Those were the beginnings, and our authorities could not predict the final form or the significance of what was happening then. For every attack by the outlaws, reprisals against their population were organized, so it can be said today that except in a few places all of Kordun is in the hands of the Partizans.

"In Jastrebarsko district the unrest also began last summer, sometime in August. The uprising was started exclusively by foreigners - that is, people who weren't born in Jastrebarsko district. Peasants in the area of Krasic municipality noticed foreign elements moving toward one village nearby. The police station in Krasic, reinforced by a preparatory brigade from Krasic sent a combined patrol to conduct reconnaissance. That patrol was ambushed and an Ustase named Hrzic was killed, and one policeman seriously wounded. That was the first attack on our armed forces. Immediately operations with reinforced troops began in that area and achieved unexpected success. Over 30 Communists were captured, all of them foreigners who had been hidden in the homes of local peasants. After that cleansing operation there was absolute peace and order in Zumberak, that is in the area of the Jastrebarsko district until sometime in the middle of July of this year. All during the summer the movement of individuals through Zumberak was noticed once again, and one police patrol even had a skirmish with two of them, after the two pulled out their revolvers when the policemen asked them for identification papers. The lay of the land in Zumberak, with its forests and hills is very suitable for hiding of large groups of outlaws and Partizans, and besides that its position along Italian border, which is not protected at all, serves especially well for outlaw Chetnik actions, and even large groups from Slovenia can move without interruption. It seems that their main reason for coming here is due to the position of Zumberak, and this summer large groups and now smaller groups of Slovenian Partizans began arriving in the area, remaining here for several months (3 months lately). Partizans from Kordun and Banija wanted in every way to establish contact with the Partizans of Zumberak, that is with Slovenia itself, so they sent one larger group of Kordun Partizans to Zumberak. Thereafter peace and order in Jastrebarsko district was violated exclusively by foreign groups, who flowed into the hills of Zumberak.

"One part of PISAROVINA DISTRICT is positioned on the right side of Kupa and borders with Glina, Vrginmost and Vojnic districts. That part of the district, considering the circumstances, was under the influence of events in the bordering districts. Besides in that part of the district the majority of the population is Orthodox, who were battered harshly by operations against the outlaws around Christmas last winter. Some villages were razed, so those people were left without their houses and even without the families who had stayed behind at home.

"In this part of the district last year conversions to Catholicism were stopped by the Orthodox themselves. About 17,000 people applied voluntarily for conversion. However, at that time in Pasinja municipality there was a man who worked as commissar, who tried in every way to obstruct that conversion and finally ended it completely. This put an end to the peace that came with conversion.

"The part of the district on the left side of Kupa is mostly inhabited by Catholics, so it could be saved from attacks inflicted by roaming Partizan squads, if Kupa was closed in such way that Partizans couldn't cross from the right to the left bank of Kupa.

"From the above, it can already be concluded even without a special reply to this request, that safety for individuals and property does not exist in the greater region. What happened in the Autumn of 1941 was just the beginning, and it has today become a sad fact.

"Only one part of Vukmanic municipality in the Vojnic district remains in our hands, defended by about 100 men. If we compare our position in Vukmanic with the position of Brezova Glava, which was defended by 500 men - Ustase, *domobrans* and policemen with very powerful weapons, even cannons and well fortified positions, then it can be concluded what kind of safety there is in Vukmanic. Vukmanic can fall at any moment now, and very soon it will no longer be possible to send any relief.

"In the Vrginmost district we are holding Topusko municipality, and the garrison in Topusko numbers 400 men. Topusko is surrounded by Partizans and communication with neighboring places is very insecure, as those places are monitored by Partizan patrols. Until few days ago the connection between the seat of this greater region and Topusko was kept through Petrinja and Glina. However in the last few days that connection was cut off or put in a condition of complete insecurity, which was proven by an attack on Glina itself. The connection between Topusko and Kladusa is also cut off, as Partizans are in control even there. It is only a matter of time and the survival of Topusko looks to be very short indeed, unless our garrisons are reinforced and a strong action of cleansing begins.

"The Jastrebarsko district is at the moment in the best position,

because Partizans from the area of the Jastrebarsko district retreated to area of the Pisarovina district and partially to the Vojnic district due to operations by the Italian Lombardia Division and our armed forces.

"The area of the Karlovac district is full of primarily Partizan squads which move across that area, during which they cause damage by burning state buildings, demolishing railroad tracks, et cetera. Lately, the municipalities of Skakavac and Barilovic are in great danger, as Partizans seem to intend to liquidate the garrisons in those municipalities. Several villages near Barilovic and Skakavac are completely held by Partizans.

"The same situation as in the Karlovac district exists in the part of Pisarovina district which lies on the left bank of Kupa, that is Partizan squads in that area are often passing through. The rest of the district on right bank of Kupa is completely insecure.

"As it can be seen from everything above, the safety of people and property in this region is very poor and in some areas there is none."

The above is delivered for your information. --

ZA DOM SPREMNI!

Under the authority of the Minister of the Interior,
For the Ministry within the Greater Region,
Josip Troyer

:: filing information ::

Title: Report on the Slaughter of Serbs near Pokupje

Source: Archive of the NDH, quoted in *Zlocini: Na Jugoslovenskim Prostorima u Prvom i Drugom Svetskom Ratu*, Zbornik Dokumentata Vol 1. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: October 15, 1942

Added: December 2002

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Letter to Minister Anthony Eden

After leaving Yugoslavia in the aftermath of the German invasion of the country, the Royal Yugoslav government settled in London and was, until late in the war, the recognized government-in-exile of the state. General Draza Mihajlovic, leader of the Chetniks, was elevated to the portfolio of Defense Minister, and the details in the following letter come from his wireless communications with the exiles.

Copy.
(C 11449/6789/G).
S.P. No.

ROYAL YUGOSLAV EMBASSY,
195, QUEEN'S GATE,
LONDON, S.W.V.

13th November, 1942.

Dear Mr. Eden,

With reference to my letter, S.P. No. 531, of the 24th October last, and to your reply No. C 10892/5789/G of the 12th November, I beg to bring to your notice the following further reports received from General Mihailovitch in this matter:

1. Apart from the 600,000 Serbs whom the Ustashis have already massacred, they have resumed their planned mass execution of Serbs, still left in Pavelitch's "Independent Croat State".
2. The Hungarians, in addition to the known massacres already committed, have enlisted in Backa all the Serbs in their forces, with the intention of sending them to the Russian front. These, however, are fleeing into fields and forests. The Hungarian authorities persecute their families and manhandle them in the most brutal way to compel them to disclose where the male members of their families, capable of military service, are hiding.
3. From the concentration camp at Zemun, Srem, all those capable of manual labour have been transferred to the island of Ada Kale, in the Danube, to fell trees. They are dying in great numbers, as they receive only 50 grammes of food a day.



related links

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archives](#)

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

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4. In the neighbourhood of Kraljevo, Serbia, there are at present 7,000 Germans, having at their disposal nine 50-ton tanks. Two thousand of them are members of the German minority from the Yugoslav Banat. They intentionally provoke incidents in order to obtain pretexts for the mass shooting of civilians.

5. In the district of Kopaonik, Serbia, two or three divisions of Germans, Croats in German uniforms, and Bulgarians undertook to "clear", on the 8th October, the districts of Kopaonik, Zeljina and Goca. They burned and pillaged all the villages and killed a great number of innocent inhabitants. They threw them alive into the fire, and ill-used girls of fifteen years of age. The number of dead in the village of Kriva Reka in Kopaonik amounts to 690 men, women and children. The village church was set on fire and 120 people were burned in it. Dogs and birds carry about parts of dead bodies, as the Germans have prohibited their burial. After these massacres, the Germans, the Croats and the Bulgarians withdrew to their garrisons.

I beg to renew my request that the source of the foregoing information may kindly be kept secret when use is made of it.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

(signed) M. Nintchitich.

t. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

:: filing information ::

Title: Letter to Minister Anthony Eden

Source: Private Collection.

Date: November 13, 1942

Added: January 2002

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The Fate of Father Franjo Rihar

This letter is a response by Interior Minister Andrija Artukovic to an inquiry from Archbishop of Zagreb **Alojzije Stepinac**. Earlier, a Catholic parish priest named Franjo Rihar had been sent to Jasenovac for refusing to sing a *Te Deum* on **Ante Pavelic's** birthday, or to hold mass on the anniversary of the Independent State of Croatia. Seven Slovene priests also arrested and murdered in Jasenovac were referenced earlier in the letter.

Zagreb, 17 November 1942.

In connection with your esteemed request of 2nd November 1942, notice is hereby given that Franjo Rihar, by the decree of this office of 20th April 1942, no 26417/1942 was sentenced to forced detention in the concentration camp at **Jasenovac** for the period of three years... because as pastor of Gornja Stubica he did not celebrate a solemn high mass on the anniversary of the founding of the Independent State of Croatia... nor did he consent to sing the psalm *Te Deum Laudamus*, saying that it was nowhere prescribed in ecclesiastical usage...



related links

Article: Jews as the "Insatiable Parasites"

Documents: Andrija Artukovic

Documents: Judicial Trials and Decisions

Documents: Jasenovac

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

[text-only version](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: The Fate of Father Franjo Rihar

Source: Butler, Hubert. *The Sub-prefect Should Have Held His Tongue* (London, 1990), p 288.

Date: November 17, 1942

Added: October, 2002

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Letter: Lobkowicz on February 1943 Meeting with the Pope

Excerpt from a letter sent by the NDH ambassador to the Vatican, Prince Erwin Lobkowicz, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Zagreb. It recounts his meeting with Pope Pius XII in early 1943.

I visited the Cardinal Secretary of State to deliver the *Poglavnik's* letter for the Holy Father along with an artistically printed Latin translation of the **Ustase Principles**, according to the regulations for delivering items from sovereigns to the Holy Father. In this formality of the protocol, which I was warned about, it can be seen that the Vatican indeed considers the *Poglavnik* a sovereign. The Cardinal leafed through the book with great interest, expressing his amazement as to how we can print such pretty things.

The Holy Father was obviously pleased by this sign of attentiveness. The Holy Father was especially interested about the work of the Ustase Youth, about which he was told various things by my oldest daughter.

... Further on in the conversation the Holy Father told me that he regrets that everyone cannot recognize who is the primary, the singular and the true enemy of Europe and why, indeed, one truly common **Crusade War** against Bolshevism cannot be started. ...



related links

Document: [Principles of the Ustase Movement](#)

Letter: [Bishop Aksamovic on Prayer for the "Crusade War"](#)

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Alojzije Stepinac](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: Lobkowicz on February 1943 Meeting with the Pope

Source: Trial of Lisak, Stepinac, Salic, et al, Zagreb 1946, p. 332. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, p. 893 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: February 9, 1943

Added: February 12, 2004



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Letter: Lobkowicz on Meeting with Cardinal Spellman

This is an excerpt of a diplomatic report by Count Erwin Lobkowicz, the NDH Ambassador to the Vatican, on a meeting he had with Cardinal Francis Spellman, the Archbishop of New York. The meeting was held on March 6, 1943 - at the height of the war against the Axis powers. Spellman would later petition Presidents Roosevelt and Truman in defense of **Archbishop Stepinac**.

... Spellman received us very politely and said straight away: "There's not much you can tell me about your affairs that I don't know. I'm well informed on everything and know the Croatian Question well. A few years ago I traveled through your country and even then the difference between Belgrade and Zemun, not to mention Zagreb, told me enough. There are two worlds. They cannot co-exist."

We pointed out *[that is Lobkowicz and his Jesuit secretary Wurster]* that the present Croatian State is in the position of being the advanced guard of Catholicism and Western civilization towards the East and that the frontier on the Drina guarantees the maintenance of the Catholic position in that sector; and that any kind of re-establishment of Yugoslavia would mean not only the annihilation of the Croat people but also of Catholicism and Western culture in those regions. Instead of a western frontier on the Drina, we would have a Byzantine frontier on the Alps. Spellman agreed with these observations and added that President Roosevelt wants freedom for all peoples and that Croats certainly won't be excluded.

He added that he is personally doing as much as he can for us, but that we have many enemies and that one against many can't do much. He is very satisfied with Croats in his bishopric, both priests and believers. He pointed out again that he is very well informed about us, partly through the secretary of the archbishop of Zagreb, Dr. Lackovic, who also visited him. He was given the Gray Book and the remaining copy of the **Ustase Principles** in Latin. - He leafed through the books with interest and asked: "Does President Roosevelt have this?" We replied that he probably doesn't have it. He then said that we could have delivered this to Roosevelt's ambassador in Vatican, Tittman. He had forgotten that our country, the NDH, is at war with the USA, and that we cannot have any



related links

Document: [Principles of the Ustase Movement](#)

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Alojzije Stepinac](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

[text-only version](#)

contact with Roosevelt. I explained this to him, and he understood, but from his attitude I have the impression that he will deliver the book and the Ustase Principles to President Roosevelt himself.

:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: Lobkowicz on Meeting with Cardinal Spellman

Source: Diplomatic report by Count Erwin Lobkowicz, NDH Ambassador to the Vatican. Quoted in Falconi, Carlo. *The Silence of Pius XII*, pp. 371-372. Also Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen* (First Edition, Zagreb 1948) p 894. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: March 6, 1943

Added: February 12, 2004

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Stepinac's Address to Pius XII

The following excerpt is from the *aide-mémoire* dated May 18, 1943 written by Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac and delivered personally to Pope Pius XII at their meeting the same month. At his trial, Stepinac denied authorship of the document (though even his diary, on the eve of war, contains similar laments on the Schism being among the "greatest evils" in Europe), stating that it didn't bear his signature. Viktor Novak notes that the state prosecutor "was able... to prove that he is lying when he denies that the document belongs to him as its author, only because it doesn't have Stepinac's signature. The signature existed on the original delivered to the Pope, and the copy was sent from Rome to the ministry of foreign affairs by Pavelic's ambassador in Vatican, prince Erwin Lobkowicz." (Novak, *Magnum Crimen*, p 789)

The Eastern Schism is penetrating the Catholic ranks and threatens to accomplish its dark goals. The victory of the Great Serbian idea would mean the destruction of Catholicism in the Northwestern Balkans, in the state of Croatia. The mentioned documents do not leave us in any doubt. Moreover, there is no question that such a fatal event would have significant consequences far beyond the borders of Croatia. The waves of Orthodoxy and offensive Byzantinism would strike at the borders of Italy, while until now they had been breaking against the Croatian Front Wall [*Antemurale Christianitatis*].

Moreover, because of the work of Croatian clerics, especially Franciscans, the foundations were laid for the renewal of Catholicism in Bulgaria by converting many Paulicians, and the remnants of believers in Skanderbeg's Albania have been saved, and in the event of the destruction of the sole Catholic nation in the eternally restless, Orthodox and Islamic Balkans, many other scattered groups would be affected.

Holy Father, today the eyes of the whole of humanity, bleeding from thousand wounds, are directed toward you as the one who by the elevated meaning of your name brought miserable humankind what they require - heavenly peace. By bringing peace to the world, Holy Father, think of the Croatian people who were always faithful to Christ and to you. The young Croatian state was created in more horrible and difficult circumstances than any other state in the last



related links

Documents: Alojzije Stepinac

Documents: Ivan Saric

Documents: Andrija Artukovic

Documents: Jasenovac

Misc: Search

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several centuries. By desperately fighting for its existence, Croatia is showing at every turn that it wishes to remain faithful to its Catholic traditions and to ensure a better and more clear perspective for the Catholic Church in this part of the world. On the other hand, with the loss or ominous curtailments - thousands of the best Croatian believers and priests would gladly and voluntarily sacrifice their lives to prevent this horrible possibility - not only about 240,000 converts from the Serbian Orthodox faith would be destroyed here, but also the entire Catholic population of these areas together with their churches and convents. In the natural order of things, unless God performs a great miracle, the progress of Catholicism is closely tied with the progress of the Croatian state. The survival of Catholicism depends upon the survival of this state. The salvation of Catholicism is at the same time the salvation of Croatia. Holy Father, we deeply believe in God's mercy and in God's righteousness, and you are their chosen instrument. I recommend to your paternal care and to our prayers our Independent State of Croatia, believing that this is also the best means to recommend the holy faith in my homeland and in the Balkans.

In the Holy Heart of Jesus always your most loyal archbishop and metropolitan of Zagreb.

:: filing information ::

Title: Stepinac's Address to Pius XII

Source: Trial of Lisak, Stepinac, Salic and co, Zagreb, 1946. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, pp. 788-789. (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: May 18, 1943

Added: February 19, 2004

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Letter: Lobkowicz on Stepinac's Meeting with the Pope

Brief excerpt from the letter sent by the NDH ambassador to the Vatican, Erwin Lobkowicz, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Zagreb. It describes in general the impression of high Vatican officials to the interview of Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac with Pope Pius XII in 1943, confirming Lobkowicz's **earlier note** on the same subject.

Among other things he [Marcone] told me the following:

"**Archbishop Stepinac** in general reported positively about Croatia to the Vatican. It can be noted that in the Vatican they are more sympathetic to Croatia and better informed about it. Archbishop Stepinac was advised in the Vatican to try to be as cordial as possible in relations with Croatian state authorities." Cardinal and Secretary of State Maglione told Marcone that he fears for the fate of the Croatian state after this war. It is well known that Cardinal Maglione until recently had a very negative opinion of Croatia... Marcone told me further on that the Pope sent a special blessing to our *Poglavnik* on the occasion of his name-day. ...



related links

Letter: Erwin Lobkowicz on Stepinac in Rome

Letter: Lobkowicz on February 1943 Meeting with the Pope

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Alojzije Stepinac](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: Lobkowicz on Stepinac's Meeting with the Pope

Source: Trial of Lisak, Stepinac, Salic, et al, Zagreb 1946, pp 325-326. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, p. 895 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: June 10, 1943

Added: February 12, 2004

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Letter: Lobkowicz on July 1943 Meeting with the Pope

Brief excerpt from a letter sent by the NDH ambassador to the Vatican, Erwin Lobkowicz, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Zagreb. It recounts his meeting with Pope Pius XII in July 1943. Pope Pius XII had already met Pavelic in 1941, when the latter was received by the Vatican following the formation of the Independent State of Croatia.

Towards the end of the conversation the Pope told me that the Croats are a good Catholic nation and that he is very pleased that he had an opportunity to speak with the *Poglavnik*, about whom he hears everywhere with great pleasure and comfort that he is a practicing Catholic. I confirmed this to him and added that the *Poglavnik* will soon come to Italy and that I am convinced that it will be his wish on that occasion to seek his blessing. The Pope replied to this: "I will very gladly give my blessing to him on that occasion..."



related links

Letter: Lobkowicz on February 1943 Meeting with the Pope

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Alojzije Stepinac](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: Lobkowicz on July 1943 Meeting with the Pope

Source: Trial of Lisak, Stepinac, Salic, et al, Zagreb 1946. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, p. 894 (First Edition, Zagreb).
Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: July 13, 1943

Added: February 12, 2004

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Letter: Lobkowicz on Stepinac's Second Visit to Rome

In the Spring of 1943, many understood that the NDH had tied its future to a falling star. Archbishop Stepinac had all along disagreed with some policies of the Ustase - there is little doubt of it - but publicly defended the regime to the very people who could needed to know the truth about the ghastly barbarities of the NDH. In this letter, the new NDH Ambassador to the Holy See recounts the Archbishop's second visit to Rome. Four months later, Stepinac provided Father **Krunoslav Draganovic** with the Vatican contacts necessary to build the Ratline to smuggle Ustase fugitives out of Europe.

...He had kept quiet about some things with which he is not at all in agreement in order to be able to show Croatia in the best possible light. He mentioned our laws on abortion, a point very well received in the Vatican. Basing his arguments on these laws, the Archbishop justified in part the measures used against the Jews, who in our country are the greatest defenders of crimes of this kind and the most frequent perpetrators of them.



related links

Documents: Alojzije Stepinac

Documents: Ivan Saric

Documents: The Vatican

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Independent State of Croatia

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:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: Lobkowicz on Stepinac's Second Visit to Rome

Source: Letter from Count Erwin Lobkowicz, NDH Ambassador to the Vatican, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zagreb, May 1943. Quoted in Falconi, Carlo. *The Silence of Pius XII*, p. 315-316.

Date: May 1943

Added: October 2002

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Proposal for Decoration for Nada Luburic

As the half-sister of Jasenovac founder **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic**, Nada Luburic became a guard in the women's concentration camp at Stara Gradiska. Together with Maja Buzdon, Nada was described as one of the cruelest of the Stara Gradiska guards by survivors of the camp. Nada's defenders (she now goes by the Spanish name "Esperanza") claim that she was just a girl helping out, as it were, in the "family business" when she worked in a concentration camp. It was there that she met and married the **Jasenovac** camp commandant, Dinko Sakic. Dinko and Nada later emigrated together to Argentina on the **Ratline** and lived openly for nearly fifty years before Dinko was extradited to Croatia to stand trial for murders committed in Jasenovac. The following document - and also **this document** - represent commendations she received from **Ante Pavelic** for her work in the Ustase.



Official Document:
Decoration for Nada
Luburic, Maja Buzdon,
etc.

Documents: The NDH
Archive

Documents: Jasenovac

Documents: Vjekoslav
Luburic

Misc: Search

Timeline: The
Independent State of
Croatia

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Last and first name	LUBURIC NADA
Day, month and year of birth, and place of birth	1926. Ljubuski
Weapon (duty) and rank (active or reserve), date of recruitment into U.O.S.	Ustase official of Stara Gradiska camp 19. 10. 1942
Unit (exact description of duty)	Ustase official of Stara Gradiska camp
Short description of the action (date, place, evidence, sketches)	31. 12. 1943, 1. 1. 1944, and 6. I 1944. She stood out in bravery and self-sacrifice in saving and transporting of wounded, she is also meritorious for saving a large number of wounded and for aiding them in a timely manner. <i>[written note illegible]</i>
Being proposed for (decoration, promotion, commendation)	For decoration with the Bronze Medal of the Poglavnik for courage



Witnesses	Commander of the III Battalion, Captain S. Bosak
Married, single, place of birth, occupation as a civilian, schools finished as a civilian or in the army	./ . Ljubuski, 4 grades of elementary school
Date and signature of the sponsor	10 January 1944. Commander of the III Battalion Ustase Captain S. Bosak
Endorsement of higher officials	<i>[written note illegible]</i>

:: filing information ::

Title: Proposal for Decoration for Nada Luburic

Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: 1944

Added: May 17, 2004

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Decoration for Nada Luburic, Maja Buzdon, etc.

Nada Luburic and Maja Buzdon were female guards at the Stara Gradiska concentration camp - the Independent State of Croatia's concentration camp for women. The following document - signed by **Ante Pavelic** personally - grants the two female concentration camp guards a special commendation for bravery.



related links

Official Document:
Proposal for Decoration
for Nada Luburic

Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Documents: [Vjekoslav Luburic](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

I the Poglavnik of the Independent State of Croatia

by my decree No. Oc.-896-Zv.medal-1944.
on a proposal
grant

IRON MEDALS OF THE CROWN OF KING ZVONIMIR WITH BATTLE RIBBON TO

BUZDON Maja	Ustase official	Stara Gradiska	/No 8722-ZV medal/
FLANJAK Ljubica	-II-	-II-	/No 8723-ZV medal/
CUP Ankica	-II-	-II-	/No 8724-ZV medal/
JANJIC Mela	-II-	-II-	/No 8725-ZV medal/
LUBURIC Nada	-II-	-II-	/No 8726-ZV medal/
OBRADOVIC Bozica	-II-	-II-	/No 8727-ZV medal/

scans: page 1

for self-sacrificing work on saving and transporting wounded on 31. XII 1943, 1. I 1944. and 6. I 1944.

ZA DOM SPREMNI!

From Zagreb, on 27 March 1944.

MINISTER OF ARMED FORCES
Ustase Colonel
[signature illegible]

Poglavnik
of the Independent State of
Croatia
[signed] Ante Pavelic

:: filing information ::

Title: Decoration for Nada Luburic, Maja Buzdon, etc.

Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: 1944

Added: May 17, 2004

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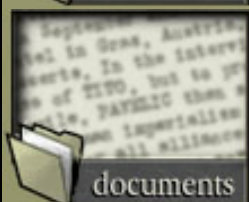
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Jasenovac Survivor on Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic - Excerpt

A powerful passage from an interview with Jasenovac survivor Dr. Nikola Nikolic, on concentration camp commandant and priest Fra Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic.



related links

Documents: [Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic](#)

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Documents: [Jewish Victims](#)

Documents: [Serbian Victims](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

...[*Fra Filipovic's*] voice had an almost feminine quality which was in contrast with his physical stature and the coarseness of his face... I was hardly seated, and as I sank into my sad thoughts, I heard the orders "Fall in - Fall in!"

...Old Ilija, an Ustasha, appeared in the threshold of the hut, a revolver in one hand and in the other, a lash... Before us passed six men, their hands tied before their backs with chains. The Ustashi had their revolvers loaded and aimed. **Fra Sotona** walked over and approached our group.

"Where is our new doctor?" I knew he meant me.

"He is here," someone replied. He came a little nearer, looking at me with an insolent, ironic, bizarre manner.

"Come here, doctor," he said, "to the front row, so that you will be able to see our surgery being performed without anesthetic. All our patients are quite satisfied. No sighs, nor groans can be heard. Over there are the head and neck specialists, and we have need of no more than two instruments for our operations."

And Fra Sotona caressed his revolver with one hand and his knife with the other ... Looking at these victims who, in a few moments would be in another world, fear written on each face, no one could penetrate the depth of their moral abyss. They silently watched the gathering crowd of more pitiful people, more condemned people like themselves.

Fra Filipovic approached a group of them. Two shots rang out, two victims collapsed, who began to twitch with pain, blood surging from their heads intermingling with the brain of one or the eyes of the other.

'Finish off the rest!' cried Filipovic to the executioner as he put his

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revolver away.

:: filing information ::

Title: Jasenovac Survivor on Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic - Excerpt

Source: Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*

Date:

Added: October 2002

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The Efficiency of Mass Slaughter

Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic on his creation: Jasenovac.

It is estimated that a total of about 200,000 people met their death [at Jasenovac] during 1941-1942. Crowds of Jewish children were burned alive in the old brick ovens, transformed into crematoria.

Vjekoslav Luburic, commander-in-chief of all the Croatian camps, announced the great "efficiency" of this slaughterhouse at a ceremony on October 9th, 1942... During the banquet which followed, he reported with pride: "We have slaughtered here at Jasenovac more people than the Ottoman Empire was able to do during its occupation of Europe."



Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Documents: [German Sources](#)

Documents: [Jewish Victims](#)

Documents: [Serbian Victims](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: The Efficiency of Mass-Slaughter

Source: Paris, Edmond. *Genocide in Satellite Croatia, 1941-45*, Chicago, 1961. p. 132.

Date:

Added: October 2002

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Glaise von Horstenau on the Ustase Concentration Camps

From a document authored by the German Plenipotentiary General in Croatia, General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau. Glaise von Horstenau worked with most of the Ustase leaders and detested them. His reports critical of the Ustase sent to Berlin were for the most part ignored.

We now went into the concentration camp in a converted factory. Frightful conditions. Few men, many women, and children, without sufficient clothing, sleeping on stone at night, pining away, wailing and crying. A camp commandant - in spite of the later, favorable judgment of the **Poglavnik** - a rogue; I ignored him but instead told my Ustase guide: "This is enough to make you puke."

And then worst of all: a room along whose walls, lying on straw which had just been laid down because of my inspection, something like fifty naked children, half of them dead, the other half dying. One should not forget that the inventors of the KZ were the British in the Boer War. However, such places have reached their peak of abomination here in Croatia, under a Poglavnik installed by us. The most wicked of all must be **Jasenovac**, where no ordinary mortal is allowed to peer in.



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:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: Glaise von Horstenau on the Ustase Concentration Camps

Source: Glaise von Horstenau, Gen. Edmund. En General in Zweilicht: Die Erinnerungen von Edmund Glaise von Horstenau, (*Peter Broucek, ed.*); vol 3, p. 167.

Date:

Added: October 2002



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Glaise von Horstenau's Report on the Ustase Massacres

From a report by the German Plenipotentiary General in Serbia and Croatia, General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau.

We saw no sign of *[guerrillas]* but there were plenty of ownerless horses and cattle, not to mention innumerable geese. At Crkveni Bok, an unhappy place where, under the leadership of an Ustase lieutenant-colonel, some 500 country folk from fifteen to twenty years had met their end, all murdered, the women raped and then tortured, the children killed. I saw in the River Sava a woman's corpse with the eyes gouged out and a stick shoved into the sexual parts. This woman was at most twenty years old when she fell into the hands of these monsters. Anywhere in a corner, the pigs are gorging themselves on an unburied human being. All the houses were looted. The "lucky" inhabitants were consigned to one of the fearsome **boxcar trains**; many of these involuntary "passengers" cut their veins on the journey.



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:: filing information ::

Title: Glaise von Horstenau's Report on the Ustase Massacres

Source: Glaise von Horstenau, Gen. Edmund. *En General in Zweilicht: Die Erinnerungen von Edmund Glaise von Horstenau*, (Peter Broucek, ed.); vol 3, p 168.

Date:

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A Crusade of Destruction

From the *Special Assignment in the Southeast*, the memoir of German Minister Plenipotentiary to Southeast Europe Dr. Hermann Neubacher.

A Croatian crusade of destruction directed against the Orthodox Serbs erupted, a crusade that belongs among the most brutal mass murder undertakings in the entire history of the world...

Alongside this explosive national situation, religious conflict drew the Catholics, Orthodox Serbs and Muslims against one another. Once, when I spoke to a Cetnik leader in Montenegro about ending attacks on the Muslims - which he did promise me, and he kept his promise - I received an answer that could have come from the anecdotes of Marko Miljanov back in the time of the Turkish occupation: "He who adopts Islam, is no longer a Serb!"

The slaughter of the Orthodox Serbs undertaken the Ustasha leaders and led by the *Poglavnik* (head of state) of Croatia, **Ante Pavelic**, reminds one of the religious wars of bloodiest memory. "A third must become Catholic, a third must leave the country, and a third must die!" This last point of their program was accomplished. When prominent Ustasha leaders claimed that they slaughtered a million Serbs (including babies, children, women and the elderly), that is, in my opinion, a boastful exaggeration. On the basis of the reports submitted to me, I believe that the number of defenseless victims slaughtered to be three quarters of a million.

When I once again brought up the truth about the terrible atrocities around me in Croatia, Adolf Hitler said to me:

"I have also told the *Poglavnik* that one cannot exterminate such a minority: it is simply too large!"



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Title: A Crusade of Destruction

Source: Neubacher, Dr. Hermann. *Special Assignment in the Southeast*, p. 18-30.

Date:

Added: October 2002

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Judicial Testimony: From the Trial of Adolf Eichmann

From the trial of Adolf Eichmann, this is the testimony of Alexander Arnon, a Jewish survivor of the Holocaust. This excerpt deals with the early measures taken against the Jewish population, which began April 11, 1941 - one day after German troops arrived in Zagreb, and Slavko Kvaternik declared the Independent State of Croatia in the name of Ante Pavelic. Later testimony dealing with the role of Andrija Artukovic in the Final Solution is **here**, and the court's verdict, which summarizes the fate of Croatian Jewry under the Ustase, is **here**.

State Attorney Bar-Or: I should like to call Mr. Alexander Arnon.

[The witness is sworn].

Presiding Judge: What is your full name?

Witness: Alexander Arnon. Family name Arnon.

Presiding Judge: Do you understand Hebrew?

Witness Arnon: I request permission to answer the questions in Serbo-Croatian or German.

Presiding Judge: Where do you live, Mr. Arnon?

Witness Arnon: In Tel Aviv.

State Attorney Bar-Or: How old are you, Mr. Arnon?

Witness Arnon: Sixty-three.

Q. Where did you live until the outbreak of war with Yugoslavia on 10 April 1941?

A. In Zagreb.

Q. What did you do in Zagreb?



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A. I had several occupations. At first I was secretary of the Jewish Community in Zagreb. Then I was director of HICEM, the emigration organization. Later I was territorial director of JOINT, secretary general of the territorial committee for aid to refugees.

Q. When you speak of "territorial committee" - do you mean of the whole of Yugoslavia?

A. Yes.

Q. I should like you to tell the Court, as briefly as possible, about this first year, after April 1941, about what you saw, what you did, what you learned at first-hand about persecutions of the Jews.

A. In order to be able to provide a clear picture of the events in Yugoslavia, I should like to be allowed to give an introduction about the structure of the Yugoslav Jewish community.

Before the Second World War, 75,000 Jews lived in Yugoslavia, that is one half of one percent of the total population of Yugoslavia. The 75,000 Jews were organized in 117 autonomous Jewish religious communities, which were united in the Federation of Jewish Communities in Belgrade, and the orthodox communities in the Federation of the Orthodox Jewish Communities.

The Jews of Yugoslavia played an important role in the economic, social and cultural life of Yugoslavia - less so in the political sphere, except in Serbia, where two Jews were members of Parliament representing the Yugoslav National Party before the First World War. The Jews of Yugoslavia had a healthy Zionist life - 102 Jewish communities had a Zionist majority. The Zionists had kindergartens and elementary schools, as well as a theological seminary in Sarajevo. There was latent anti-Semitism actually only in the Croatian part of Yugoslavia.

Presiding Judge: I think we shall shorten the general survey. We heard a comprehensive review at the beginning of the trial - the witness may not know this - not just about Yugoslavia, and we cannot go into these details. Surely this is not the purpose of the evidence.

State Attorney Bar-Or: I have now reached the point where I shall start my questions.

Presiding Judge: My remark was actually not meant for you, but for the witness, because I see that he also digresses from what you want to ask him.

State Attorney Bar-Or: I promise, Your Honour, that I shall interrupt him immediately if I shall see that he digresses. I actually wanted to

... speak about Croatia now, and I shall direct the witness to it. He has just said - and here I should really like to have him speak about these events - that latent anti-Semitism existed actually only in Croatia. My question is: Were you in Croatia on 10 April 1941?

Witness Arnon: Yes.

Q. What happened during the first days in Zagreb? Please tell the Court about the establishment of the independent state of Croatia, to the extent that the matter is connected with the persecution of the Jews there.

A. On 10 April 1941, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the German troops entered Zagreb. At 5 o'clock Marshall Kvaternik proclaimed the Independent State of Croatia. On 11 April, at 11 o'clock in the morning, the first Gestapo man arrived at the Jewish Community offices where I worked. It was the eve of Passover, and we were distributing *mazot* and charity.

Q. And he confiscated all the Community's money?

A. He proclaimed that the whole building, two floors, was confiscated, and that all those present were under arrest. He declared the same thing with regard to the Hevra Kadisha next door, which was in a separate building, together with the refugee committee. An interrogation began which lasted for hours.

Q. What was the subject of the interrogation?

A. I knew at once that all the archives of the Community had been examined during the previous night, as he asked questions which related directly to the files on which I had worked.

Q. How about the money which was in the Community offices at that time?

A. There were about 700,000 Dinars in the Community offices. He confiscated these at once and sealed the cashbox with a red stamp, and on it the words *Gestapo - Geheime Staatspolizei* could be seen.

Q. Immediately after this strong measures began to be taken against the Jews in Croatia?

A. Not in actual fact. The papers began to incite against the Jews the very same evening. On shops one could see notices - "Jews: Entrance Forbidden!" and similar things.

Q. Who were the active elements in the population in connection with anti-Jewish acts in Croatia?

A. They were the Ustashi, the so-called Croatian Fascists, who had remained in the country, had not emigrated, and had prepared the revolution inside the country.

Q. Who helped them?

A. Very many ethnic Germans.

Q. Residents of Croatia?

A. Yes.

Presiding Judge: What is the meaning of "had not emigrated" - I did not understand this expression.

Witness Arnon: The Croatian Ustashi, the members of the so-called "Frank party." Frank was the founder of the party for an independent Croatia. They split into two groups. One group emigrated to Italy before the thirties, among them the so-called **Poglavnik Pavelic** with his band of 12,000 persons. And the others, who remained in the country and prepared the revolution.

State Attorney Bar-Or: Had these Ustashi also been in contact with Berlin before the War?

Witness Arnon: It seems to have been so, and we had proof for it.

Q. Was anti-Jewish legislation promulgated in Zagreb in April 1941, and then in June?

A. Before the promulgation of the first laws concerning Croatian citizenship, that is a week or two after the entry of the German troops, all Jewish lawyers in Zagreb had been arrested and taken to a camp in Kerestinetz near Zagreb. On 30 April the first law about Croatian citizenship was published. Shortly afterwards there appeared the laws about the **protection of the Aryan race** and of Croatian honor.

Q. Can you see this document, No. 1438?

A. Yes, of course.

Q. What is it?

A. These are the regulations about the so-called solution of the Jewish Question.

Q. What is their main contents?

A. This is the regulation which, first of all, blocked all bank accounts, confiscated all safes, and sequestered all storage depots, while prohibiting the handing over of anything to the Jews.

Q. What is the date of this legislation?

A. 26 June 1941.

Presiding Judge: This will be T/889.

State Attorney Bar-Or: Now I show you Prosecution document No. 1623 of 21 May 1941. What is it about?

Witness Arnon: Mainly about the establishment, or administration, of public order and security.

Q. Was this the administration which operated in the Ministry of the Interior?

A. Yes, within the Ministry of the Interior.

Q. Did this administration operate within the Ministry of the Interior?

A. Yes.

Q. This regulation is signed by the Minister of the Interior?

A. No, by the Minister of Justice.

Presiding Judge: I see the signature of Kvaternik here.

Witness Arnon: It is signed Dr. Mirko Puk.

Presiding Judge: Here it is signed Kvaternik. Perhaps we are not talking about the same thing. Where do you see the signature of the Minister of Justice?

[The witness points to the signature.]

Presiding Judge: But this has apparently not been translated; it has also not been translated into German.

State Attorney Bar-Or: The original, which will be submitted to the Court at once, also contains several additional provisions. I request that the witness be shown the regulation signed by Eugen Kvaternik on 13 May 1941, which carries the signature of approval of the Minister of the Interior.

Presiding Judge: Yes, this is what was translated into German. The

approval is dated 14 May 1941.

*State Attorney Bar-Or: It is signed by the Head of the Authority for Public Order and Security and approved by the signature of the **Minister of the Interior, Artukovic.***

Presiding Judge: Kvaternik was the Head of the Office for Order and Security?

Witness Arnon: Yes.

State Attorney Bar-Or: Was this the office responsible until the end for carrying out the operations against the Jews?

A. Yes, certainly.

Presiding Judge: This document will be marked T/890.

State Attorney Bar-Or: Mr. Arnon, on 22 May 1941, Regulations appear which mention the Nuremberg Laws, about the wearing of the "Jewish Star," the prohibition of contact with Aryan personnel, etc, is this correct?

Witness Arnon: Modeled on the Nuremberg Laws, yes.

May I be permitted a digression. At the beginning of May a compulsory payment of 100 million gold dinars was imposed on the Jews. Simultaneously the first arrests were made, allegedly for the purpose of guaranteeing this compulsory payment.

Presiding Judge: What was the value of the dinar at that time?

Witness Arnon: Officially sixty dinars were equal to one dollar. Later on the contribution was raised by another fifty million gold dinars. The regulation about the wearing of the Jewish Star appeared on 11 May.

State Attorney Bar-Or: You can see here a yellow patch, and on it a Star of David. What is under the Star of David?

Witness Arnon: "Z," Zidov - Jew. All Jews had to wear this sign, including **second and third generation baptized Jews**; it had to be worn on the left breast and on the right shoulder.

Presiding Judge: Do you wish to submit this, or would you rather keep it?

State Attorney Bar-Or: Perhaps the Court would be satisfied with looking at it.

Presiding Judge: You could perhaps photograph it, if you wish. I understand that he wants to keep it.

State Attorney Bar-Or: We shall photograph it and submit the picture.

Witness Arnon: I may have another one at home. I am quite ready to hand it in. In actual fact it must be said that all Jews, even babies in prams, had to wear this sign. We had several cases in Zagreb where officers of the German army were indignant and tore the sign off the children.

:: filing information ::

Title: Judicial Testimony: From the Trial of Adolf Eichmann

Source: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann, Session 46.

Date:

Added: October 2002

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As the Surviving Jews Remember Artukovic

This transcript and translation of an article from the Yugoslav press was originally circulated by the American Jewish Congress in the United States; the original has not yet been located. No author is listed on the transcript. The date and the first paragraph indicates that it was probably in response to the rather pro-Artukovic articles which were appearing in the American press at the time of his extradition hearing, particularly in papers owned by the Hearst syndicate.

AS THE SURVIVING JEWS REMEMBER ARTUKOVIC

Some 80% of the Jews in Croatia were Liquidated During His Rule

Yugopress, March 9, 1958

"The Jewish question has been solved through resolute and sound moves," Andrija Artukovic, the then Ministers of Internal Affairs and Security Chief of the "Independent State of Croatia," **recorded in a speech** in February, 1942. Sixteen years later, at the moment when, after a seven-year dispute over formal questions, the substance of the Yugoslav demand for the extradition of this war criminal is again coming up for consideration before the District Court in Los Angeles, a group of aged people still recall with horror the methods used to reach that "solution". The group is that of some one-hundred individuals who are spending their declining days in the Home for Old People of the Federation of Jewish Communes in Yugoslavia in Zagreb; there is not a single one among them but that he has not sampled the Ustashi and Nazi concentration camps and prisons.

The majority of the inmates of this Home for Old People have survived by sheer accident, frequently representing the sole survivors of large families. Their memories of the hair-raising sufferings and tortures in the concentration camps of Pavelic's and Artukovic's Croatia are comparable with the darkest pages from the recollections of those who have survived the nightmares of the Nazi concentration camps at Mathausen and Auschwitz.

Living in this Home today is 75 year-old Fanika Svabenic, a woman whom Artukovic's way of "solving" of the Jewish question had cost



Letter: "The Hand of the Ustasha" - Death Threats Against Jewish Editor

Article: Jews as the "Insatiable Parasites"

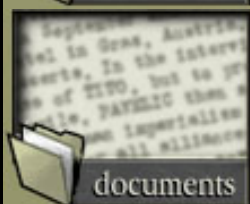
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the lives of over a hundred members of her family and closer relatives in Zagreb, Koprivnica, Bjelovar and Podravska Slatina. The victims include such next of kin as all her four daughters, four sons-in-laws and four grandsons. Three of her sons-in-law were killed in the concentration camp at **Jasenovac** and her daughters with their children at the **Auschwitz camp** in Germany.

Then there is the aged Juhel Poljokan and his wife Rahela; they have lost over sixty members of their next of kin and closer relatives. Rahela Poljokan had three brothers and five sisters. Now she has none because Artukovic's men have liquidated them all. From the whole family only a child has survived.

The President of the Home's Curatorium, Rafael Montiljo, himself has been a victim of dreadful persecution. He lost his whole family, four married brothers with their children, and his sister. He hails from Bosnia, which province also formed part of **Pavelic's** quisling state after the partition of Yugoslavia during the last war.

"In our Home," Montiljo said, "the majority of the old men and women are from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In my native province, Bosnia, the majority of the Jews were liquidated through Artukovic's cruel measures. Only a few have survived - those who had managed to flee or who had joined the anti-fascist fighters. In 1941 there were 11,000 Jews living in Sarajevo; only 800 have survived the war. Of the 14,000 Jews in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina a mere 2,000-odd have survived."

A member of the Home's Curatorium, Hlanka Doner, also was imprisoned, together with her husband, a noted lawyer, she said:

"Just now we have about a hundred old men and women in the Home. Over-all they lost more than 1,500 of their dearest ones, whether next of kin or very close relatives. Last year Hermina Rosenberg died and she had lost eight sons in the massacres organized by Artukovic. And when we were burying another old woman, one Kardos recently, inscribed on her tombstone were the names of over twenty victims from that single family."

The Vice President of the Jewish Commune in Zagreb, Dr. Milan Polak recalls the murder of 170 Jewish youths aged from 16 to 19 years who had been brought to the "Danica" concentration camp at Koprivnica.

"In May, 1941 I myself was interned in that camp when those 170 young men were brought from Zagreb," Dr. Polak related. "Artukovic's Ustashi had managed to round them up by a ruse, having told them that they were wanted for road building work. They ordered them to put on the best clothes they had, then they affixed yellow badges on their chests and back which, by special order of

Artukovic, all Jews had to wear. Afterwards these youths were isolated, completely despoiled, tortured with hunger, ultimately being taken to Jadovno, in Lika, and killed, every last one of them. For this, too, Artukovic bears responsibility because, as in the case of so many other crimes, these youngsters as well were liquidated on his orders and instructions."

The President of the Jewish Commune in Zagreb, Dr. Lav Singer, stated: "Nearly 80 percent of the Jews in Croatia were killed during Artukovic's era in power, from April, 1941 to October, 1942. Artukovic, who had participated in the enactment of laws and who issued all orders and instructions for the commission of these crimes not only against the Jews and Serbs, but **his own Croat co-nationals**, bears the responsibility for all these horrors. In 1941 there were 75,000 Jews in Yugoslavia. Of this number 60,000 perished during the Nazi occupation. A good part of the Jews were resident in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Artukovic was exercising power as Minister of Internal Affairs of Pavelic's quisling government. Therefore, we, the Jews of Croatia, also endorse the demand that this criminal be extradited and brought to trial, this being dictated by justice and the conscience of mankind," Dr. Singer concluded.

:: filing information ::

Title: As the Surviving Jews Remember Artukovic

Source: Private Collection

Date: March 9, 1958

Added: October, 2002

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The Ustase's "Honorary Aryans"

Author Hannah Arendt on the destruction of Croatia's Jewish Community, and the manner in which "assimilated" Jews lingered on until rather late in the war in Zagreb.



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The great body of middle class Jews, so characteristic of Western and Central Europe, did not exist in the East; in its stead we find a thin layer of upper-middle-class families who actually belonged to the ruling classes and the degree of whose assimilation - through money, through baptism, through inter-marriage - to Gentile society was infinitely greater than that of most Jews in the West.

Among the first countries in which the executors of the Final Solution were confronted with these conditions was the puppet state of Croatia, in Yugoslavia, whose capital was Zagreb. The Croat government, headed by Dr. **Ante Pavelic**, very obligingly introduced **anti-Jewish** legislation three weeks after its establishment, and when asked what was to be done with the few dozen Croat Jews in Germany, it sent word that they 'would appreciate deportation to the East.' The Reich Minister of the Interior demanded that the country be *judenrein* by February, 1942, and **Eichmann** sent *Hauptsturmfuhrer* Franz Abromeit to work with the German police attache in Zagreb. The deportations were carried out by the Croats themselves, notably by members of the strong fascist movement, the Ustashe, and the Croats paid the Nazis thirty marks for each Jew deported. In exchange, they received all the property of the deportees. This was in accordance with the Germans' official 'territorial principle,' applicable to all European countries, whereby the state inherited the property of each murdered Jew who had resided within its boundaries, regardless of his nationality.

...The original deadline of February, 1942, could not be met, because Jews were able to escape from Croatia to Italian-occupied territory, but after the Badoglio coup Hermann Krumei, another of Eichmann's men, arrived in Zagreb, and by the fall of 1943 thirty thousand Jews had been deported to the killing centers.

Only then did the Germans realize that the country was still not *judenrein*. In the **initial anti-Jewish legislation**, they had noted a curious paragraph that transformed into 'honorary Aryans' all Jews who made contributions to 'the Croat cause.' The number of these

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Jews had of course greatly increased during the intervening years. The very rich, in other words, who parted voluntarily with their property were exempted. Even more interesting was the fact that the S.S. Intelligence service had discovered that nearly all members of the ruling clique in Croatia, from the head of government to the leader of the Ustashe, were married to Jewish women. The fifteen hundred survivors among the Jews in this area - five per cent, according to a Yugoslav government report - were clearly all members of this highly assimilated, and extraordinarily rich, Jewish group. And since the percentage of assimilated Jews among the masses in the East has often been estimated at about five per cent, it is tempting to conclude that assimilation in the East, when it was at all possible, offered a much better chance for survival than it did in the rest of Europe.

:: filing information ::

Title: The Ustase's "Honorary Aryans"

Source: Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem*.

Date:

Added: October 2002

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The Trial of Adolf Eichmann

An excerpt from the transcript of Adolf Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem, Israel, detailing Andrija Artukovic's role in the Holocaust.



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Q. Do you know a place called Sabac? What does it remind you of?

A. Austrian, German and Czech refugees, who were on their way to Israel via the Danube at the beginning of 1941, and who were stopped at the Yugoslav-Romanian border when war broke out between Germany and Yugoslavia, were taken to Sabac. In Sabac 900 of these refugees were shot.

Q. Mr. Arnon, do you remember an extradition request from the Zagreb authorities while you were in Ljubljana?

A. I was in hospital in Ljubljana after an operation when two Italian officials, one in uniform and one in civilian clothes, came and wanted to examine my status after an extradition request had been received from Zagreb. They asked me to report to the police station after leaving the hospital. When I appeared before the prefect, he told me that he had let my file disappear since, formally, the law had not been adhered to: The extradition request from Croatia was sent directly to the District Government in Ljubljana, without passing through the official channel via the Foreign Ministry.

Q. You were not extradited?

A. No.

Q. You told the Court how many Jews there were in Yugoslavia before the outbreak of the War in 1941. How many were left after the War?

A. As I said, there were 75,000 Jews in Yugoslavia, of whom 60,000 were killed. Thanks to the generous gesture of Marshall Tito, 8,000 Jews were able to come to Israel from Yugoslavia with all their movable property. 2,000 may now be in various parts of North and South America, Canada and Australia. 5,000-6,000 live in Yugoslavia today.

Q. I should like to remind you of an article. Tell the Court, please,

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whether you remember it. It is Prosecution document 1624. It is an article which was published by the Minister of the Interior, **Dr. Artukovic**, in the Croatian People's Journal No. 26, of 26 February 1942. It deals with the solution of the Jewish Question. Do you remember it?

A. Yes. I **heard the speech** by Andre [sic] Artukovic on the radio, and besides, I read it in the papers.

State Attorney Bar-Or: I should like to submit the text.

Presiding Judge: This will be Exhibit T/891.

State Attorney Bar-Or: I have completed my questioning.

Presiding Judge: Dr. Servatius, do you have any questions to the witness?

Dr. Servatius: Here, also, I have no questions.

Judge Raveh: You told us that you had to report many times to the Gestapo office in Zagreb. Was this the only Gestapo office in Croatia, or were there other offices in Croatia?

Witness Arnon: In Zagreb there was the central office of the Gestapo in the very well-known Nasicka building. In other parts of Yugoslavia we know only about Gestapo branch offices in Osijek and Sarajevo.

Q. Were there representatives of the Gestapo in the camps?

A. No.

Q. Did you remain in Ljubljana until the end of the War?

A. No. In August 1942 I was sent to the so-called *Libero Confino*, in Alba near Cuneo.

Q. Was this under Italian authority?

A. It was in Italy.

Q. And you remained there until the end of the War?

A. No. After the surrender of Italy I fled to a small village called Robbi near Alba and went into hiding with a peasant. On 20 September 1943 I escaped to Switzerland with my family.

Judge Halevi: Mr. Arnon, you mentioned Artukovic several times as a persecutor of the Jews. How did he escape from liberated

Yugoslavia?

Witness Arnon: He fled like all other ministers of the Pavelic government, he reached Italy, obtained a passport under an assumed name and fled to South America.

Presiding Judge: Where are you [sic: is he] living now?

Witness Arnon: In New York or in California.

Judge Halevi: Did he carry out the measures against the Jews at the order of the Germans?

Witness Arnon: I cannot say definitely that it was at the order of Germans, because I have no proof. But this was generally known.

Q. You mentioned your activities on behalf of the Joint several times. You visited the Representative of the Joint in Budapest three times. What was his name?

A. Mr. Blum, who lives now in Israel.

Q. You said that both he and Dr. Joseph Schwartz in Portugal gave you, or sent you, money?

A. Yes.

Q. And at the request of the Joint you were released from detention?

A. Probably.

Q. How could the Joint make that a condition? You say they made it a condition, that they would not give money unless you were released. Did the Gestapo have an interest in these funds which were to be turned over to the Jews in Croatia?

A. Yes, it did, because it was a matter of dollars.

Q. One more question: I am not sure that I heard correctly when you said that in one camp hundreds of thousands of Serbs were exterminated?

A. Hundreds of thousands.

Q. In what year was that?

A. Beginning in 1941, and until the end.

Q. And who killed them?

A. The Ustashi.

Presiding Judge: Thank you, Mr. Arnon. You have completed your evidence.

:: filing information ::

Title: The Eichmann Trial: Testimony

Source: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann, Session 46.

Date:

Added: October, 2002

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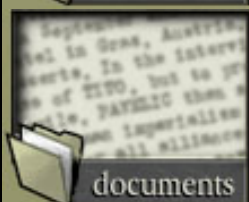
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The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Judgment

An excerpt from the judgment in the Trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem, Israel. This portion deals with the Holocaust in Croatia undertaken by the Ustase.



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Court Decision: [The Trial of Adolf Eichmann](#)

Documents: [Andrija Artukovic](#)

Documents: [Judicial Trials and Decisions](#)

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

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....Anti-Jewish laws were published [in Croatia] already in 1941 (T/889), and on 25 February 1942, **Artukovic**, the Croatian Minister of the Interior, delivered a speech in parliament, calling for the purging of the state of its Jews (T/891). Evacuations began in the year 1943. On behalf of the Accused's Section (T/907 and p. 1142 of his Statement T/37), Abromeit dealt with these matters in co-operation with Helm, the Police Attache at the German Embassy in Zagreb. The concentration of Jews in preparation for the expulsion was carried out by the Croatians (Ustachis) themselves. The Croatian Government consented to pay to the Reich thirty Reichsmark for each evacuated Jew (T/903). On 19 January 1943, an agreement was drawn up between Helm and Abromeit, on the one hand, and the Croatian Government on the other (T/907). Helm and Abromeit divided the work between them, leaving Helm to supervise activities within the state, while Abromeit was responsible for the evacuation of Jews across the borders of Croatia.

On 4 March 1943 Helm cables the Foreign Ministry that the evacuation of 2,000 men is imminent and requests that the Accused be informed (T/908). On 10 April 1943, the Accused's Section enquires (signed by Guenther) when the evacuation will begin (T/910). The evacuation is carried out. On 15 July 1943, the RSHA enquires from the Police Attache about 800 Jews who, according to rumours, are still in concentration camps, and demands action for their evacuation to the East (T/916). A further letter sent by the Accused's Section during the same period deals with 400 Jews in Croatia for whom the Jewish Agency made efforts to obtain immigration permits to Palestine. Immigration permits for 75 children from amongst these 400 Jews were already confirmed. The Accused's Section issues an order to prevent the immigration to Palestine of the 400 Jews, by their early evacuation to the East.

A part of Croatia was under Italian occupation. The Italians rounded up and arrested the Jews in the area, but did not deport them from the country (T/905-906). After the Badoglio coup, the RSHA took

action in this area as well, and Abromeit was ordered to see to the evacuation of the Jews who still remained there (T/919, dated 16.9.43). For this purpose, a special Operations Unit of the RSHA, commanded by Krumei, was sent there in October (T/920, dated 15.10.43).

According to an official Yugoslav report (T/892, p. 9), only 1,500 out of 30,000 Croatian Jews remained alive...

:: filing information ::

Title: The Eichmann Trial: Judgment

Source: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Judgment.

Date:

Added: October, 2002

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Article: Under the Government of the Ustashi Monster

Review of *History of the Yugoslav Jews*, by Yosef Algazi. From Haaretz, November 11, 1993.



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In relation to the role that the Catholic Church played during the existence of the horror regime of the "Independent Croat State", [Dr. Zvi] Rotem comes to the conclusion that it didn't withstand the test of times, neither in relation to minorities (Jews, Serbs and Gypsies) nor toward the clergy itself, when it became known to them that the priests themselves are actually participating in the bloody extermination work. Also even the Jews who were converted remained defenseless. Rotem explains that the senior and favoured position that the clergy enjoyed during the "Independent Croat State" was exploited by the Church to fight against the Orthodox Church "while shedding a lot of blood". This process also brought to the regeneration of the fanatic religious anti-Semitism and its war against Serbs and Jews became a common slogan openly pronounced.

Rotem mentions the good relations which existed between the Vatican and the "Croat Independent State", connections which were "a sweet and stabilizing factor concerning the Ustashi regime... this regime really enjoyed the visible and covert support of the Vatican." These and more: There were no steps taken not even in the inner jurisdictional Church, not during the war and not after the war, against the clergy people who committed cruel crimes... The supreme moral institute of the Catholic Church expressed itself less than all the others - and did even less than that - in the question of punishing the war criminals.

Yakir Eventov describes briefly the Jewish way of life in Bosnia at the beginning of the 20th century, and Yaakov Maestro reviews the history of the Jews in Sarajevo between the two world wars. The Jews in Sarajevo were divided into two communities Spharadim and Ashkenazim. The detailed review of the Jewish institutes in Sarajevo and their extensive activities in many fields indicate clearly that in this community existed strong solidarity and much concern for the weak and poor, but from this magnificent community, that was destroyed during World War Two with one sweep by the Nazis and Ustashis, were left at the end of August 1942 about one hundred

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Jews only. "The situation was like that until May 1945, when the city was liberated," concludes Maestro.

:: filing information ::

Title: Under the Government of the Ustashi Monster

Source: "Under the Government of the Ustashi Monster: History of the Yugoslav Jews Reviewed," by Yosef Algazi. *Haaretz*

Date: November 11, 1993

Added: October 2002

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Article: Ivo Goldstein on Jasenovac

An excerpt from "Historian Ivo Goldstein testifies in Sakic War Crimes Trial," Hina News Agency, June 1, 1999.



The trial of Dinko Sakic, commander of the World War Two Ustashi concentration camp of Jasenovac, continued before the Zagreb County Court on Tuesday with the testimony of Ivo Goldstein, 41, a history professor at the Zagreb Faculty of Philosophy.

Goldstein said that while studying the history of Croatian Jews, mainly those from Zagreb, he also studied the documentation about the Jasenovac camp where, according to his estimates, about 18,000 Jews were killed...

"The authorities of the NDH carefully planned and organized the system of terror", Goldstein said, adding this was visible from numerous provisions adopted by those authorities.

The system of terror began immediately after the Ustashi arrived in Zagreb, on April 17, 1941. "The fundamental act for the terror campaign" Goldstein said, was a law on the defense of the people and the state, which stated that all who sullied the honor of the Croatian people and of the NDH would face the death penalty.

Two months after the law was adopted, numerous racial provisions against Jews and Serbs were also adopted. "The provision on sending undesirable ones into camps was adopted in late November 1941 and it officially legalized the camps system", Goldstein said.

He said Croatia's 26 camps were one of the basic links in the Ustashi terror chain. The main purpose of the camps was to eliminate as many people as possible, to which one of statements by then Interior Minister **Andrija Artukovic** bears witness.

In late April 1941, Artukovic told the German press the NDH would solve the "Jewish issue" in the same way Germany was doing it, adding the NDH would strictly abide by the racial laws which had been adopted on the German model.

"Although a Jewish background is determined by one's mother, the NDH **faithfully interpreted** a German law according to which every

Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

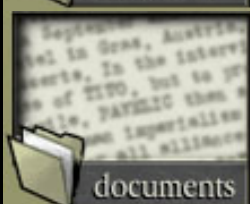
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person whose grandfather or grandmother were Jews was a Jew himself", Goldstein said, adding in the NDH, the Jewish issue was treated as a racial issue.

"So when Jews would convert to Catholicism, it meant nothing, unlike with the Serbs, who saved themselves by undergoing baptism," he explained.

Goldstein said the location for the **Jasenovac** camp had not been chosen randomly; it had good traffic connections, was protected by two rivers, and was at approximately the same distance from the areas populated by Jews...

:: filing information ::

Title: Article: Ivo Goldstein on Jasenovac

Source: "Historian Ivo Goldstein Testifies in Sakic War Crimes Trial," Hina News Agency. No attribution listed.

Date: June 1, 1999

Added: October 2002

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Testimony of Adolf Friedrich

An excerpt from the book *Jasenovac: The Recollections of the Jews*, published in 1972. Adolf Friedrich, like most Jasenovac survivors, mentions below the "granik." The granik was quite possibly the most diabolical contribution by the Ustase to the forensics of mass murder. It consisted of a sledgehammer, attached to a length of rope and a pole. The condemned would mount a dais and the executioner would pull the rope, with the sledgehammer coming down like the blade of a guillotine, only to smash the prisoner's skull. According to survivor testimony, the granik was located just a few meters from the banks of the Sava so the bodies, after disembowelment, could be dumped into the river afterward. Hundreds of prisoners were executed by the granik on a nightly basis.

Just killing people and leaving it at that would not satisfy the Ustashe. Every few days they would organise mass hangings to be carried out in front of everybody, the whole camp. And so, one day they singled out thirty prisoners and took them to Zvonara [*the Bell Tower*]. After fourteen days of terrible torture they were hanged in front of the entire camp which was lined up for that purpose. [*Dinko*] Sakic, the commander, read out the sentence of the irregular court martial, which they were sentenced by because they were accused of being linked with the Partizans. Eight days after this, ten Orthodox Serbs were killed, and five days after that, six electricians. Over this whole period of time they would take old and weak and would lead them out to the Granik.



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:: filing information ::

Title: Testimony of Adolf Friedrich

Source: *Jasenovac: The Recollection of the Jews*

Date: 1972

Added: October 2002



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Encyclopedia of the Holocaust

Excerpt from the entry on Jasenovac.



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Jasenovac: the largest concentration and extermination camp in Croatia. Jasenovac was in fact a complex of several subcamps, in close proximity to each other, on bank of the Sava River about 63 miles (100 km) south of Zagreb. The women's camp of Stara Gradiska, which was farther away, also belonged to the complex.

Jasenovac was established in August 1941 and was dismantled only in April 1945. The creation of the camp and its management and supervision were entrusted to Department II of the Croatian Security Police (Ustaska Narodna Sluzba, UNS), headed by **Vjekoslav (Maks) Luburic**, who was personally responsible for everything that happened there. Scores of Ustase (Croatian fascists) served in the camp. The cruelest was former priest **Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic**, who killed scores of prisoners with his own hands.

Some six hundred thousand people were murdered at Jasenovac, mostly Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and opponents of the Ustase regime. The number of Jewish victims was between twenty and twenty-five thousand, most of whom were murdered there up to August 1942, when deportation of the Croatian Jews to Auschwitz for extermination began. Jews were sent to Jasenovac from all parts of Croatia - from Zagreb, from Sarajevo, and from other cities and smaller towns. On their arrival most were killed at execution sites near the camp: Granik, Gradina, and other places...

In April 1945 the partisan army approached the camp. In an attempt to erase traces of the atrocities, the Ustashe blew up all the installations and killed most of the inmates. An escape attempt by the prisoners failed, and only a few survived.

Title: Book Excerpt: Encyclopedia of the Holocaust

Source: Gutman, Israel (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, Vol. 2, p. 739.

Date:

Added: October 2002

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A Camp Called Jasenovac

Excerpt from journalist Robert Fisk's article on a visit to Jasenovac. Most of the documentation referenced here was taken with the Krajina Serbs when they fled the region in the Summer of 1995 before a Croatian Army offensive. It was found in the Bosnian Serb Republic in 2001 and is in the process of being returned to the special museum at Jasenovac.

"The most terrible scene I witnessed was when the Ustasha took a group of internees from Camp IIIc. They looked like skeletons in a state of almost total collapse, with swollen legs, complete physical and psychological wrecks after life behind barbed wire, under the open sky, in mud, with no food or water. They had been told they were going to pick plums. They passed before us with smiles on their faces, in which pity for us could be seen, because there would be plums where they were going, and that meant food... Evening came and the gentle southern breeze brought desperate screams... The killers had started 'picking plums.'"

- Vladimir Cvija from Zagreb, a survivor of a World War II concentration camp in Yugoslavia.

...Fifty years ago, the Croats took Branko Jungic from his Bosnian village and forced him to kneel on the bare earth at place called **Jasenovac**. Then they cut off the Serb's head with a saw. They did it quite openly. They even took photographs, one showing Jungic on his knees, his left arm extended to keep balance in the initial moments of agony, mouth open in horror as his uniformed tormentors posed proudly around him, the great saw already cutting into his flesh. Another snapshot shows the young man's severed head, a cloth cap perched above his eyes, a cigarette crudely pushed into his still open mouth. In the neighboring town of Banja Luka, they still keep the saw.

They display other implements on the site of the Jasenovac concentration camp; axes that were used to slice off the heads of women and children, a mass gallows, arm sheaths with knives attached - a German-made contraption - that allowed the Croatian Ustasha militia to cut the throats of their captives with the least physical effort...



related links

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Shortly before Yugoslavia fell apart once more, Ljubomir Ivanic, director of the Bosanske-Krajine archives in Banja Luka, let me read through some of the 50,000 German and Ustasha files abandoned by the retreating Wehrmacht in 1945.

Among those archives - housed in a former Austro-Hungarian army barracks that served as a Wehrmacht intelligence office in 1942 - I found hundreds of Croatian military orders appropriating the homes and property of Serbs. On those pages, Ustasha officers recorded with Teutonic thoroughness the gift to their loyal followers of farms and smallholdings from which the original Serbian and Muslim owners had been driven. "Cleansing" was the word used in the files, the documents written by the men who invented that dreadful expression.

:: filing information ::

Title: A Camp Called Jasenovac

Source: "A Camp Called Jasenovac," by Robert Fisk, *San Francisco Examiner*.

Date: Sept 26, 1992

Added: October 2002

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Article: A Vow of Silence

Subtitled "Did Gold Stolen by Croatian Fascists Reach the Vatican?", first published in *US News & World Report*, March 30, 1998. This is the first and most widely-circulated news story to focus exclusively on the issue of the fate of the Ustase treasury after the war.

...In recent months, new evidence has forced victims and accomplices alike to confront that nearly forgotten question: What happened to the loot? The Nazi plunder has been traced to banks in Switzerland, Sweden, Portugal, and other neutral countries that were secretly helping the Nazis stash stolen gold or launder it to buy war materiel. One state after another has opened its archives and banking records to aid the search, with one glaring exception: the Vatican.

The Vatican's continuing secrecy means the evidence is incomplete, but already declassified documents from the archives of the United States and other nations suggest that - with the aid of Croatian Catholic priests - Ustasha plunder made its way from Croatia to Rome, and possibly to the Vatican itself. Some of the stolen wealth was used to help Croatian war criminals flee to South America.

"We make no charges against the Vatican, but we keep building a very damning picture," says Elan Steinberg, executive director of the World Jewish Congress. "Because of their silence in the face of accumulated evidence, the failure to uncover the truth can only be laid at the doors of the Vatican"...

Church blessing. The Croatian connection, however, is the core of the new evidence that suggests the Vatican might have directly handled funds stolen from the victims of the Nazis and their allies. From 1941 to 1945, the Ustashes exterminated an estimated 500,000 Serbs, Jews, and Romany (Gypsies) and looted their property. They demanded ransom amounting to 1,00 kilograms of gold from all the Jews in Zagreb, only to ship them to concentration camps and kill them anyway. It is a matter of historical record that the Croatian Catholic Church was closely entangled with the Ustashes. In the early years of World War II, Catholic priests oversaw forced conversions of Orthodox Serbs under the aegis of the Ustasha state; Franciscan friars distributed Ustasha propaganda. Several high Catholic officials in Yugoslavia were later indicted for



related links

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war crimes. They included Father Dragutin Kamber, who ordered the killing of nearly 300 Orthodox Serbs; Bishop **Ivan Saric** of Sarajevo, known as the "hangman of the Serbs"; and Bishop Gregory Rozman of Slovenia, a wanted Nazi collaborator. A trial held by the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission in 1946 resulted in the conviction of a half-dozen Ustasha priests, among them former Franciscan **Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic**, a commandant of the **Jasenovac** concentration camp where the Ustashes tortured and slaughtered hundreds of thousands with a brutality that shocked even the Nazis.

As more secret documents become public, however, one priest emerges as the most significant player of all. The Rev. **Krunoslav Draganovic**, a Franciscan, had been a senior official of the Ustasha committee that handled the forced conversion of Orthodox Serbs. In 1943, the Ustasha arranged with the Croatian Catholic Church to send Father Draganovic to Rome. There he served as secretary of the Istituto San Girolamo, a seminary for Croatian monks that was in fact a center of clandestine Ustasha activity. Draganovic also became Ustasha leader **Ante Pavelic's** unofficial emissary to the Vatican, and de facto liaison to the Pontifical Relief Commission, a Vatican organization that aided refugees during and after the war.

The ratline. According to secret reports from the U.S. Army's Counterintelligence Corps (CIC), written just after World War II and since declassified, Draganovic and his collaborators at San Girolamo provided money, food, housing, and forged Red Cross passports for a number of Ustasha war criminals seeking to escape justice. Through an underground railroad of sympathetic priests, known as the "ratline," the Ustashes could move from Trieste, to Rome, to Genoa, and on to neutral countries - primarily Argentina - where they could live out their days unpunished and unnoticed. Along the ratline, virtually the entire Ustasha leadership went free. "All these people were escaping - and this at a time when just getting a meal in Rome was a major accomplishment," recalls William Gowen, a CIC officer in Rome after the war.

The copies of memos filed by Gowen and other members of the counterintelligence corps, now stored in U.S. Army archives at Fort Belvoir, Va., contain a wealth of detail on suspicious comings and goings at San Girolamo. The dispatches leave little doubt that the ancient walled compound at Via Tomacelli 132 was more than an ordinary monastery. "San Girolamo is honeycombed with cells of Ustasha operatives," Gowen wrote on Feb. 12, 1947. "In order to enter this monastery, one must submit to a personal search for weapons and identification... The whole area is guarded by armed Ustasha youths in civilian clothes, and the Ustasha salute is exchanged constantly." From a source inside the compound, Gowen even managed to obtain Draganovic's secret files, which, Gowen reported on Sept. 5, 1947, "indicate clearly Draganovic's involvement in aiding and abetting the Ustasha to escape into South

America."

Another Croatian priest living at San Girolamo was also active in smuggling war criminals, documents show. A recently declassified memo, believed to have been written in 1946 by an agent of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) - the precursor of the CIA - reports that a priest called Father Golik was supplying false passports and money to members of the Ustasha. Golik, the memo says, was alleged to be "chief sponsor of all Croats resident in Rome, with special attention to the needs of former Ustasha members." The memo reports allegations that the Ustashes "are given a monthly allowance of 6,000 lire per person [the equivalent of \$2,700 today], in addition to the privilege of cheap meals at the San Girolamo mess."

Croatian Catholic officials were funneling money to war criminals even after they escaped to Argentina, documents show. According to cable intercepts cited in a 1947 U.S. diplomatic report, Pavelic escaped in November 1947 to Buenos Aires, where he was said to have been met by a retinue of Catholic priests. Newly declassified documents also show that Bishop Rozman was funneling money to South America from a Swiss bank account set up "to aid refugees of the Catholic religion." U.S. military attache Davis Harrington reported on March 9, 1948, that Rozman "is going to Bern to take care of these finances. The money is in a Swiss bank, and he plans to have most of it sent through to Italy and from there sent to the Ustashes in Argentina."

Further clues about the path of Ustasha gold are provided by Croatian National Bank records uncovered last fall by an American historian of Croatian descent. According to Jere Jareb, author of *Gold and Money of the Independent State of Croatia Moved Abroad*, the documents show that 288 kilograms of gold was removed from the Croatian National Bank and the state treasury on May 7, 1945 - the day that Germany capitulated. By Draganovic's own testimony, part of that treasure landed in his hands. The "Golden Priest," as Draganovic was known, acknowledged to the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission that he doled the money out to Ustasha soldiers and Croatian civilian refugees. (Though called to testify, Draganovic was never charged. He later returned to Yugoslavia and died there in 1983.)

When in Rome. But does any of the evidence implicate the Vatican itself? The strongest indication so far is a memo that first prompted the State Department's interest. The memo, dated Oct. 21, 1946, was discovered last summer in the declassified files of the U.S. Treasury Department. Written by OSS agent Emerson Bigelow, it reports that money sent by Ustasha from Croatia to Rome after the war had been partly intercepted by the British, but that 200 million Swiss francs - the equivalent of \$170 million today - were being held in the Vatican for safekeeping. According to "rumor," the memo

says, the money was being used to finance Croatian war criminals in exile.

When the Bigelow memo was released last year, the Vatican **swiftly dismissed it**, insisting that the charges could not be true. But some researchers who have studied World War II intelligence matters note that other archival documents counter the notion that a Vatican-Ustasha link is implausible on its face. One is a British diplomatic memo from Oct. 17, 1947, cited in the 1991 book *Unholy Trinity* by journalist Mark Aarons and former Justice Department Nazi-hunter John Loftus. According to the memo, a San Giralomo priest named Father *[Dominik - Ed.]* Mandic was a "liaison to the Vatican" who was involved in converting Ustasha gold, jewelry, and foreign exchange into Italian lire.

Other reports mention Ustasha's meeting with Vatican officials or even living in the Vatican. The British Foreign Office reported in January 1947 that Pavelic himself, by that time a wanted war criminal, was living "within the Vatican City." An earlier report by Gowen, in October 1946, noted that Pavelic was in Rome and in contact with Draganovic. Documents include accounts of Ustasha's being hidden at the pope's summer residence at Castel Gandolfo and being seen driving in Rome in cars with Vatican license plates. The recently declassified Golik memo reports that Ustasha's ate at the papal mess and that Father Golik was "declared to be in close contact with the Vatican."

The Vatican's tolerance of the Ustasha during the war was no secret. On the recommendation of Zagreb Archbishop **Alojzije Stepinac** - who had blessed Pavelic at the opening of the Croatian parliament - the pope established informal diplomatic relations with the independent state of Croatia, and his envoy made regular rounds of Ustasha headquarters. In 1941 and in 1943, at a time when his excesses were known, Pavelic was granted two private audiences with Pius XII. The pope explained that he received the Ustasha leader simply as a Catholic, not as head of the Croatian state. The pontiff's decision was widely reported - and widely deplored - at the time. In July 1941, Francis D'Arcy Osborne, the British ambassador to the Vatican, wrote: "[Pius's] reception of Pavelic... has done more to damage his reputation in this country than any other act since the war began."

:: filing information ::

Title: Article: A Vow of Silence

Source: "A Vow of Silence: Did Gold Stolen by Croatian Fascists Reach the Vatican?" by Susan Headden, Dana Hawkins and Jason Vest. *US News and World Report*

Date: March 30, 1998

Added: October 2002

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Exile Denies Tito Charge

A news report announcing the first charges brought against the former Interior Minister of the Independent State of Croatia, Andrija Artukovic, residing in the United States on a falsified passport from Ireland. The extradition request would be denied, and Artukovic would not be deported until he was infirm in the mid-1980s.

May 6, 1951

EXILE DENIES TITO CHARGE

Artukovich Says Extradition Is Sought as Anti-Communist

LOS ANGELES, May 6 (U.P.) - Andrea Artukovich, former Cabinet minister of a Nazi-dominated Croatian puppet government, today denied Yugoslav charges he was "one of the worst of war criminals."

M. Artukovich, found last week working as a \$100-a-week bookkeeper in his brother's construction concern here, said he was sought by Marshal Tito's Government because he was an anti-Communist and partly because of the age-old conflict between the Serbs and the Croats.

Yugoslavia has charged him with being the right-hand man of Croatian Government leader Ante Pavelic, who was alleged to have ordered the slaughter of 1,000,000 Jews and Serbs under the direction of Hitler.

"At no time in any of the positions which I held did I have jurisdiction over the secret police, Ustaska Nadzorna Sluzba," M. Artukovich said, "and I never signed any death warrants."

M. Artukovich will appear before immigration officers tomorrow in an attempt to obtain a permanent resident's permit. He is living with his wife and four children in a seaside colony near here.



Judicial Decision: [The Extradition of Andrija Artukovic](#)

Documents: [Andrija Artukovic](#)

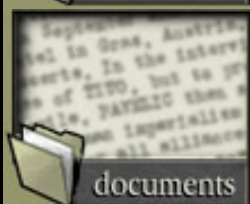
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:: filing information ::

Title: News: Exile Denies Tito Charge

Source: United Press. Transcribed by Erica Case.

Date: May 6, 1951

Added: November 26, 2003

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Letter: "The Hand of the Ustasha"

It was once believed that the Interior Minister of the Independent State of Croatia, Andrija Artukovic, ceased any involvement in Ustase activity once he entered the United States. This letter suggests otherwise. Jess Nathan was a crusading editor at the *Valley Jewish News*, one of the few publications in California to investigate the background of the defendant during the original Artukovic extradition hearings of the 1950s. This letter to a Jewish-American official is undated but is believed to date from 1958. The **pattern of harassment** of investigators looking into Ustase crimes, it should be noted, continues to this day.

Dear AI:

Thanks for the news from Yugoslavia re Artukovic. And thanks for your expression of support. The *V.J. News* looks for an increasing volume of backing from the community as we continue this campaign. I think you will be interested in knowing that the hand of the Ustasha is operating in the United States. During the past three weeks I have been threatened, as well as my wife and children, with death and/or maiming via telephone. Please believe me when I say that regardless of what may happen to me... the Valley Jewish News will continue its fight in bringing this "despicable remnant of the middle-ages to justice."

Jess Nathan
Co-editor of the
Valley Jewish News



related links

Congressional Bill: "For the Relief of Andrija Artukovic"

Article: Jews as the "Insatiable Parasites"

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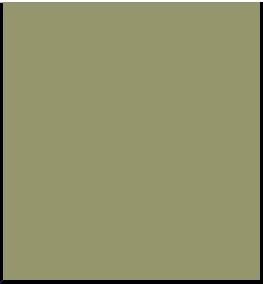
:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: "The Hand of the Ustasha"

Source: Private Collection

Date: 1958

Added: October, 2002



home » documents » artukovic » aa0011.html

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Article: LA Times on Artukovic Extradition Hearing

This *Los Angeles Times* article from March 11, 1958 is somewhat representative of the mass media coverage of the Artukovic extradition process in the 1950s: somewhat confused of the identity of the defendant (described here awkwardly as an "ex-Slav official") and focusing more on the legal precedents in the case rather than an independent investigation of the defendant. Two things of note: the Justice and State Departments were both taking an ambiguous role in the continuing affair, and that the Supreme Court reversed the judge's appalling ruling that Artukovic's role in the slaughter in wartime Croatia somehow constituted a "political crime."

EXTRADITION HEARING SET FOR EX-SLAV OFFICIAL

Southland Man Surrenders to Fight his Return to Face War Crimes Charges

Los Angeles Times,
March 11, 1958

An extradition hearing to determine whether Andrija Artukovic, former Croatian Minister of the Interior under a Nazi regime, will be extradited to Yugoslavia to face trial for alleged war crimes has been scheduled for June 16.

Artukovic surrendered yesterday to U.S. Judge Pierson M. Hall when a mandate from the U.S. Supreme Court ordering the extradition hearing was filed before the judge.

Artukovic had been at liberty on his own recognizance for the past four years after Judge Hall, who originally passed on the Yugoslavian demand for extradition, ruled that the extradition proceedings hinged on a question of political crimes rather than a straight criminal proceedings.

RULING UPHELD



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Judge Hall ruled that the alleged crime, which according to the Yugoslavian government was that of ordering execution of numerous people during the Nazi regime, was a political crime and therefore Artukovic was not subject to extradition. Subsequently, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Judge Hall's ruling, but recently the U. S. Supreme Court handed down a ruling that an extradition hearing should be held.

Atty. George Danielson, representing the Yugoslav government asked that Artukovic be held on a bond of \$50,000 pending the extradition proceedings, but Judge Hall set the bond at \$1000.

"I don't believe that Mr. Artukovic is going to go anywhere," Judge Hall declared. "This matter has been before me for six and one-half years and every time Mr. Artukovic was scheduled to appear in court he has done so.

"He has a family - a wife and five children - and I don't think he is going to go anywhere."

:: filing information ::

Title: LA Times on Artukovic Extradition Hearing

Source: Private Collection

Date: March 11, 1958

Added: October, 2002

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Letter: Artukovic in California

During the 1950s, Jewish organizations were almost alone in monitoring the activities of Andrija Artukovic in California. This letter is an indication of the "celebrity status" that the overseer of all concentration camps in Croatia had acquired in Southern California, where he spent the next thirty years of his life.

August 22, 1958

To: Mr. Will Maslow
From: Otto Schirn

It will interest you to learn that Artukovic was the featured speaker at a public meeting in San Pedro on August 6th under the auspices of the Catholic Maritime Clubs. You will find herewith a copy of the newspaper item reporting in detail on his speech.

By way of background information, may I inform you that the president of the club, City Councilman Patrick Ahern of Long Beach, was contacted by a number of anti-Artukovic Yugoslavs before the meeting calling his attention to the bad effect the appearance of Artukovic would have in many circles. I also understand that representatives of the United States Department of Justice made unofficial and informal approaches to Ahern, but all this was to no avail...

[.....]

Best regards.



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:: filing information ::

Title: Letter: Artukovic in California

Source: Private Collection

Date: August 22, 1958

Added: November, 2002

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Congressional Bill: "For the Relief of Andrija Artukovic"

This bill was introduced before Congress on January 6, 1961 by James Utt of California, and proposes to grant extraordinary liberties to the highest-ranking Nazi to settle in the United States after the war. Andrija Artukovic had entered the country illegally, with an Irish identity certificate identifying him as "Alois Anich." As the State Department had already by this time caused a halt in the extradition process, this bill was an attempt to grant its namesake peace of mind from any future attempts to restart the process (of course, granted "payment of the required visa fee.") This was at least the second time Utt had introduced a bill on Artukovic's behalf. A response from the American Jewish Congress to an earlier attempt by Utt to grant Artukovic permanent residency can be read [here](#).

87th CONGRESS
1st Session

H.R. 2185

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
January 6, 1961

Mr. Utt introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary *[sic]*

A B I L L

For the Relief of Andrija Artukovic.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Andrija Artukovic shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date



related links

Letter: American Jewish Congress on the Artukovic Bill

Article: Jews as the "Insatiable Parasites"

Documents: Andrija Artukovic

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of the enactment of this Act, upon payment of the required visa fee. Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota-control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year that such a quota is available.

:: filing information ::

Title: Congressional Bill: "For the Relief of Andrija Artukovic"

Source: Private Collection

Date: January 6, 1961

Added: October, 2002

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The American Jewish Congress on the Artukovic Bill

This letter was sent on behalf of the American Jewish Congress to the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee in response to Congressman James Utt's introduction of a bill to grant permanent residence in the United States to Ustase Interior Minister Andrija Artukovic. The author appears to be at pains to restrain his outrage that a man who presided over the concentration camps of the NDH, and who furthermore entered the country with forged identity papers on a mere travelers' visa, has been proposed for this "amnesty of one" in total contradiction with the spirit and the letter of the law. Two years later, Utt reintroduced this bill; the text can be read [here](#). An excellent overview of the thirty-five year history of Artukovic's extradition is available [here](#).

February 13, 1959

Hon. Emanuel Celler
Chairman,
House Judiciary Committee
House Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

Re: H.R. 2844

My dear Congressman:

On January 19, 1959, Representative James B. Utt of California **introduced a private bill**, H.R. 2844, for the relief of Andrija Artukovic. This bill, if enacted, would in effect suspend the deportation of Artukovic ordered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1953, and deem him lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence. The American Jewish Congress urges that the private bill be reported unfavorably because it believes that Artukovic, formerly Minister of Interior in the Nazi puppet state of Croatia, is unworthy of such special legislation.

Artukovic entered this country illegally from Ireland in 1948 with an Irish identity certificate but under a false name. His petition for readjustment of status under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 was denied and a final order of deportation has been pending against him



related links

Congressional Bill: "For the Relief of Andrija Artukovic"

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since 1953.

In 1951, the Yugoslav Government filed a petition in the United States District Court for the Southern District of California requesting the extradition of Artukovic for murders and other crimes committed in Yugoslavia during World War II. An extradition hearing was conducted by Commissioner Theodore Hocke in Los Angeles between June 6 and July 8, 1958. Commissioner Hocke limited his function to determining whether there was sufficient competent evidence to justify Artukovic's trial for murder under the laws of California. He ruled that the Yugoslav Government had failed to produce such evidence, by American standards, to hold Artukovic on a charge of murder. The evidence at the hearing, however, demonstrated that he is morally unfit.

After Yugoslavia's collapse in 1941, Artukovic became the **first Minister of the Interior** of the Independent State of Croatia, established by the Yugoslav quisling, **Ante Pavelic**, with the open and armed support of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Croatia was never recognized by the United States or any of its allies but was recognized by Germany and Italy. On the contrary, our government fully recognized the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile.

Artukovic's tenure at the Ministry of the Interior was characterized by great brutality. As Minister of Internal Affairs, Artukovic was responsible for the establishment of concentration camps in which great numbers of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies were destroyed. Introduced in evidence also was an issue of the official Croatian Gazette, which **reprinted a speech by Artukovic** delivered before the Croatian Parliament on February 24, 1942. In that speech he said the Croatian nation "could not act otherwise, but to clean its national body from such poisoned, dangerous creatures and voracious parasites: Jews, Communists and Freemasons." In the same speech Artukovic stated that Croatia had "solved, with an energetic and sound interference, the so-called Jewish question."

Certainly, the United States Congress is under no obligation to adopt emergency private legislation to grant permanent residence status, with its attendant possibility of naturalization, to a man who was in charge of concentration camps in a totalitarian state, who entered this country illegally under an assumed name, and who has given no indication by word or deed of any repentance or change of views. If the private bill in his relief is defeated, the United States Congress will at least have shown its abhorrence of the acts for which Artukovic is morally responsible, even though he perhaps cannot be proved guilty of murder under our statutes.

In the event that your Committee holds public hearings on this matter, we shall be grateful for the opportunity to appear and present our point of view.

Sincerely,

Dr. Joachim Prinz

:: filing information ::

Title: The American Jewish Congress on the Artukovic Bill

Source: Private Collection

Date: February 13, 1959

Added: October, 2002

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United Croats of America

An unidentified document mentioning Artukovic in connection with the Second Convention of Croatian Unity on September 6, 1964. It was found among the papers of the American Jewish Congress.

September 3, 1964

A convention of the United Croats of America is scheduled to take place at the Hotel Commodore on Sunday, September 6th. It is called the Second Convention of Croatian Unity and according to a Croatian language paper published in Chicago (Danica - The Morning Star) Croatian representatives have been invited to attend from West Germany, Argentina, Belgium, Sweden, France, Austria, Great Britain, Venezuela, Italy and Chile.

According to well informed sources the United Croats of America which has a local branch at 552 W. 50th Street in New York and whose headquarters are reported to be at 3351 West Chrystal Street in Chicago, Illinois is allegedly a cover for members of the Ustashi Nazi organization which operated in pre-war Yugoslavia and which **supported the Nazis** on invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941. With the success of the Nazi offensive the Ustashi were installed as a puppet government in part of Yugoslavia with its leaders **Ante Pavelic** and Andrija Artukovic, who now lives in the United States.

The Ustashi was responsible for the mass murder of Jews, Serbs and other ethnic and religious groups of whom about 700,000 were massacred during the Ustashi regime.



related links

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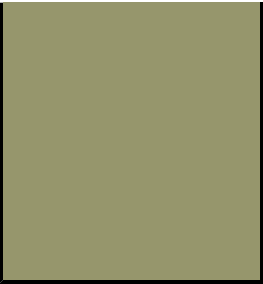
:: filing information ::

Title: United Croats of America

Source: Private Collection

Date: September 3, 1964

Added: November, 2002



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The Extradition of Nazi War Criminals

An excerpt from *The Extradition of Nazi Criminals: Ryan, Artukovic, and Demjanjuk* by Henry Friedlander and Earlean M. McCarrick, detailing the lengthy extradition of Andrija Artukovic, who lived for nearly four decades in the United States despite his record for war crimes as Interior Minister in the Independent State of Croatia.

Andrija Artukovic, the highest ranking Nazi criminal to find refuge in the United States, was born in 1899 in Austrian Herzegovina, which after World War I formed part of Yugoslavia. Trained as a lawyer, he participated in the prewar politics of Yugoslavia as a member of the extremist Ustasha, whose aim was the creation of an independent Croatia and thus the destruction of a unified Yugoslavia. During World War II, when the Ustasha assumed power in the **Nazi puppet state of Croatia**, Artukovic served as Minister of Internal Affairs. As such he was in charge of the police and paramilitary units that imposed the Ustasha system of terror. These forces established **death camps** where they murdered large numbers of men, women, and children including Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and Moslems. As the second highest ranking member of the Ustasha regime and as the man in charge of internal security, Artukovic was implicated in these crimes.

At the end of the war Artukovic fled from justice in postwar Yugoslavia. He first moved to that part of Austria occupied by the Western Allies, then illegally entered Switzerland, and finally made his way to Ireland. Traveling without a passport and using the false name of Alois Anich, he used an Irish Certificate of Identity to obtain a non-immigrant visitor's visa from the American consul in Dublin. On 16 July 1948 he thus illegally entered the United States as a "temporary visitor for pleasure." When his visa and two extensions expired in April 1949 and his application for permanent residence under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 was denied, he nonetheless remained in the United States, along with his wife and his foreign-born and American-born children.

Protracted deportation proceedings against Artukovic began in the early 1950s. To summarize briefly, in May 1951 the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) ordered him to show cause why he should not be deported. In June 1952 an immigration hearing officer ordered him deported on the grounds that he had overstayed his



related links

Court Decision: [The Extradition of Andrija Artukovic](#)

Documents: [Andrija Artukovic](#)

Documents: [Judicial Trials and Decisions](#)

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visitor's visa and had entered the country illegally without valid passport or entry documents. He sought a suspension of this order from the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) on the grounds that his deportation would impose economic hardships on the daughter born during his illegal sojourn in the United States. In April 1953 the BIA upheld the deportation order in an opinion citing his prewar role in the "extremist, nationalist Ustasha," his arrest in connection with the assassination of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia in 1934, and his prominent role in the wartime Croatian "administration ... solely responsible for the conditions that existed in the concentration camps of Croatia, for massacres of Serbs, Jews and Moslems, and for the promulgation of laws setting up a government following the pattern of a dictator state." The BIA found it "difficult ... to think of any one man other than [the head of the Ustasha and chief of state Ante] **Pavelic** who could have been more responsible for the events occurring in Croatia during the period than was [Artukovic]."

Artukovic continued to reside in the United States. Yugoslavia did attempt to extradite him "for murder and participation in murder" but, as we shall see, Artukovic avoided extradition because the evidence presented by a communist state did not convince an American judge, and the INS did not move to deport him while extradition proceedings were pending. Further, in 1956 the INS notified Artukovic of his right to seek a suspension of deportation as authorized by the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) if he feared "physical persecution" were he to be returned to Yugoslavia. He did so. In May 1959 an INS Special Inquiry Officer [now called an immigration judge] found that Artukovic's fears of physical persecution if he were returned to Yugoslavia were well founded and suspended his deportation "subject to revocation at any time." Throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s, Artukovic continued to live in California with his family, undisturbed by threats of expulsion. Even Yugoslavia, which had vigorously pursued his extradition in the 1950s, gave up. But the waning of anticommunism and the growing concern about Nazi criminals made Artukovic's expulsion a more realistic prospect in the late 1970s...

On 16 October 1979 the Government, represented by the OSI, brought action in immigration court to revoke the 1959 stay of deportation. The immigration court held that it had no jurisdiction and that authority to act resided with the Board of Immigration Appeals. In the spring of 1981 the BIA revoked Artukovic's stay of deportation and once again ordered his deportation. Appealing this decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, Artukovic again succeeded in preventing deportation. The court of appeals ruled that the Government could not simply revoke the suspension of the outstanding deportation order; instead it would have to prove again that Artukovic had assisted the Nazi persecutions and was therefore deportable...

In July 1952 the district court granted Artukovic's petition for *habeas*

corpus because, contrary to the findings of the Department of State, Yugoslavia could not be recognized as Serbia's successor under the 1902 [extradition] treaty. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, however, agreed with the Department of State and overturned the district court's decision. The case was returned to the district court for yet another hearing on the *habeas corpus* petition and the court again granted it, but this time because the offenses with which Artukovic had been charged in the Yugoslavian indictment were political. Like most extradition treaties to which the United States is a party, the 1902 treaty prohibited the extradition of fugitives for "offenses of a political character"...

In 1984 the attempt to extradite Artukovic followed a more conventional course than had the effort of the 1950s. When Yugoslavia submitted its request to the Department of State, that agency - in contrast to the evasions of the 1950s - followed established procedure and forwarded the request, along with the necessary documents, to the Department of Justice. Unlike the 1950s, when Yugoslavia hired its own attorney and the Department of Justice took no active part, in the 1980s the OSI vigorously presented the case for the Government...

The crimes of the Ustasha documented by the Zagreb indictment included the murder of hundreds of specifically named Serbs, Gypsies, and Jews; the creation of the **Jasenovac** concentration camp, where hundreds of thousands of individuals were killed; and the following specific cases of barbarism:

1. tying families by their hands with wire, forcing them into a pit, and cracking their skulls with sledgehammers;
2. operating a crematorium at Jasenovac into which persons were flung alive;
3. herding Serbs into their Orthodox churches ... and then butchering them with knives;
4. medical experiments into the perseverance of human organisms;
5. slitting open the bellies of pregnant women;
6. drinking blood from the slashed throats of the victims;
7. inducing cannibalism among camp inmates;
8. mutilation of the living and the dead;
9. raping schoolgirls before their mothers;
10. catching infants on bayonets;
11. inventing new methods of torture;
12. throwing burning lime on the living in execution pits;
13. feeding food laced with caustic soda to starving children...

One witness, a former official of the wartime Croatian state, testified that when he attempted to remove the chief of the Sarajevo police for drawing up a list of 200 intellectuals to be deported to the **Jasenovac** concentration camp, Artukovic restored this police chief to his post and reprimanded the witness for "hindering" rather than "assisting ... to send all undesirable elements to the Jasenovac camp

to starve there."

A second witness testified that when he appealed a German order to "persecute and kill Serbs" to Artukovic, whom he had known when they were students, the Minister of Internal Affairs told him that "it is necessary to slaughter and kill Serbs even without Germans suggesting it to you." And later Artukovic appointed this witness as head of a local police force with the general directive to "slaughter all Serbs, one and all, as well as Jews and Gypsies..." This witness further testified that various other local police chiefs appointed by Artukovic had told him that they had received similar orders from the minister.

This second witness also testified that Artukovic had in 1941 personally ordered the incarceration of the former national deputy Jesa Vidic in the Danica concentration camp; when this witness presented Olga Vidic's pleas to exchange title to a piece of property for her husband's release, Artukovic replied "...I will kill him and take... the land," a threat which he carried out. This witness also testified that on another occasion Artukovic had boasted: "You see how I am solving the Jewish question. First I take what they have and then I kill them all off, and in that way, as you can see, in a few months I have solved the Jewish problem... and not like the Germans, who have prolonged the matter with the Jews for years."

A third witness, a former sergeant in the wartime Croatian army, testified that in October 1941, when he was serving as an escort for both Artukovic and Pavelic, he heard Artukovic order another soldier "to throw many Jews into the trucks," and later saw "some thirty to forty truckloads of Jews being taken towards Jasenovac accompanied by Artukovic." Later in the same year, when the witness accompanied a motorcade of "trucks full of arrested partisans, Jews and others, in my estimate some seven hundred people, among them many women and small children," he heard Artukovic order "that the back part of the autocade... be disposed of because it would be too much for the camp. So women, children and men were taken out of the trucks, in my estimate some 400-500 persons and by machine gun fire were killed..." This witness, who at times had served as Artukovic's driver, further testified about killings ordered by Artukovic in 1942 and 1943 and also about Artukovic's visits to Jasenovac concentration camp.

The fourth witness was a schoolteacher who had been deported during the war to several concentration camps, including one reserved for mothers with children under ten years old; she testified that in August 1942 Artukovic had inspected that camp in his Ustasha uniform, accompanied by Germans, shortly after 2,000 children had been gassed...

In addition the Government submitted the texts of wartime statements made by Artukovic and reported by the Croatian press,

including one that "...the Croatian government wishes to resolve the Jewish problem in the same way as the German government did"...

Magistrate Brown emphatically rejected Artukovic's characterization of the mass killings in Yugoslavia during World War II as a political offense. Artukovic stood accused of having killed "for personal gain, racial or religious hatred, and/or impermissible vengeance upon disarmed enemy soldiers." Brown concluded: "Ridding a country of some of its population for such reprehensible reasons, as part of some larger political scheme, is not a crime of a 'political character' and is not thus covered by the 'political offense' exception to extradition"...

In his **initial March 1985 order** Brown certified Artukovic's extraditability on only one count: the murder of Jesa Vidic who, according to the testimony of the second witness, had been sent to a concentration camp and there killed on Artukovic's specific order. In his amended orders of May and August 1985, however, the magistrate held that there was probable cause to believe that Artukovic was responsible for the murder of:

1. Dr. Jesa Vidic;
2. between four and five hundred persons... by machine gun fire, after being removed by autocade... in 1941;
3. almost the entire population of several villages... by machine gun fire in early 1942;
4. approximately five thousand (5,000) persons... by rifle fire and otherwise... in 1942; and
5. several hundred persons... by machine gun fire and by being crushed under moving tanks... in 1943...

Artukovic petitioned the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California for a writ of *habeas corpus*, the only method of review open against an order certifying extraditability... On 6 February 1986 Judge Real rejected Artukovic's petition for a writ of habeas corpus and specifically adopted Magistrate Brown's amended opinion of 8 August 1985, entering it as the order of the district court.

Artukovic appealed Judge Reals's ruling to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit and sought an emergency stay of his extradition... The court of appeals found the contention that war crimes was not an extraditable offense particularly "absurd and offensive," and held that the affidavits depicting "...an array of heinous crimes involving Artukovic," who was "said to have participated in countless acts of murder and genocide," met the standard of "any evidence of probable cause." Finding no reason to grant Artukovic's petition, the court of appeals on 11 February 1986 refused to stay the extradition order.

That night (11 February), Justice William Rehnquist denied

Artukovic's application to the U.S. Supreme Court for a stay of extradition pending his habeas corpus appeal. The next day, 12 February 1986, 38 years after he had illegally entered the United States, Artukovic, escorted by U.S. marshals, was flown from California to New York and put on a plane for Yugoslavia.

:: filing information ::

Title: The Extradition of Nazi War Criminals

Source: The Extradition of Nazi Criminals: Ryan, Artukovic, and Demjanjuk *by Henry Friedlander and Earlean M. McCarrick (1997, The Simon Wiesenthal Center)*

Date: 1997

Added: October, 2002

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The Extradition of Andrija Artukovic

This is the entire, unabridged judicial decision against the Ustase Minister of the Interior Andrija Artukovic's eleventh hour appeal to avoid extradition to Yugoslavia on war crimes charges, almost four decades after his original hearing in a US court. As Henry Friedlander and Earlean M. McCarrick note in **The Extradition of Nazi War Criminals**, the US government's position toward the highest-ranking war criminal to enter the United States was no longer characterized by "evasions," as it was when the original indictment was heard. "Unlike the 1950s," they write, "when Yugoslavia hired its own attorney and the Department of Justice took no active part, in the 1980s the *[Nazi-hunting agency]* OSI vigorously presented the case for the Government."

IN THE MATTER OF THE EXTRADITION OF ANDRIJA ARTUKOVIC.

ANDRIJA ARTUKOVIC, Petitioner,
v.
RICHARD RISON, Warden, Respondent

Case Nos. CV84-8743-R (B), CV 85-3611-R

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE CENTRAL DISTRICT OF
CALIFORNIA

628 F. Supp. 1370; 1985 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 17012

August 8, 1985, Decided

August 9, 1985, Filed

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY:

As Amended; Adopted, February 6, 1986.

PRIOR HISTORY:

Amended Opinion, August 8, 1985.

JUDGES: Volney V. Brown, Jr., United States Magistrate. Manuel L. Real, United States District Judge.



related links

Article: Jews as the
"Insatiable Parasites"

Documents: Andrija
Artukovic

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Timeline: The
Independent State of
Croatia

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OPINION: AMENDED OPINION.

I.

The Honorable Borislav Krajina, Federal Secretary for Justice of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia ["Yugoslavia"], by request dated July 19, 1984, sought the extradition of Andrija Artukovic ["respondent"] for prosecution in the District Court of Zagreb, pursuant to an indictment of February 29, 1984. The indictment charged "criminal offence against humanity and international law - war crime committed against the civilian population" ["war crimes"] proscribed by Yugoslavian Article 142, recently enacted. The 1984 indictment amended and incorporated **an indictment of September 4, 1951**, charging murder in violation of Article 135(2) then in force, of which indictment this Court takes judicial notice from its own records in *Karadzole v. Artukovic*, 170 F. Supp. 383 (S. D.Calif. 1959). [**1.**]

Pursuant to a complaint for extradition filed on November 14, 1984, respondent was arrested and held without bail. The complaint alleges that he "is duly and legally charged with murder, in violation of the laws of and in the jurisdiction of the Government of Yugoslavia;" that murder "is among the offenses enumerated in Article II of the Treaty of Extradition between the United States and Servia (now Yugoslavia) of May 17, 1902, 32 Stat. 1890 ["Treaty"], which is still in full force and effect; [**2.**] that the offense charged "is a proper ground for this Court to order extradition pursuant to Title 18, United States Code, Section 3184;" and, that respondent should therefore "be surrendered to competent authorities of Yugoslavia."

This Magistrate has jurisdiction conferred directly by the Treaty, by 18 U.S.C. § 3184, and by the Local Rules of the United States District Court for the Central District of California.

II.

The following questions must be answered:

1. Does respondent possess the requisite mental competence?
2. Is the action barred by the doctrine of res judicata?
3. Was due process violated by excessive delay in refileing for extradition?
4. Is evidence offered by the Government admissible?
5. Is the political character defense applicable?

6. Is the charging document specific?

III.

The facts necessary for a determination of this matter are as follows:

During World War II, the Germans and Italians invaded Yugoslavia. On April 10, 1941, at the behest of the Ustasha, a political organization which was or became armed, the Axis permitted the creation of the Independent State of Croatia. Respondent became Minister of Interior and held other high offices. There was conflict between Croats, Serbians, Communists, Jews, Christians (Orthodox and Roman Catholic), Moslems and others, and these groups variously fought, persecuted each other and/or fled. Affidavits in evidence show that tens of thousands of atrocities were committed.

Among the older documents in evidence is the affidavit of Franjo Truhar, dated April 25, 1952 (Excerpts, Tab 10, pp. 65 et seq.). He is a self-described "Croat," who says the Ustashes made him Chief of Police in Zemun in April and May, 1941. It is his testimony that Jesa Vidic, a former national delegate, was

imprisoned and sent at the request of Artukovic to the 'Danica' camp, where he was interned for a certain time. His wife, Olga Vidic, came to see me, and that was in July 1941, with a petition addressed to Minister Artukovic in which she offered to cede 150 Jutros [acres] of land if he permitted her husband to resettle in Serbia. I brought this request in person to Artukovic in Zagreb, and handed it to him, to which he answered me: 'What did you bring this petition to me for, I will kill him and take, not 150, but 300 Jutros of land.' Later Artukovic himself sent the order for Dr. JESA VIDIC to be killed, which was also carried out, and all of the land was taken and given to Ustasha Stjepan Vinek in Sremska Mitrovica.

A "new" affidavit in evidence is that of Avdic Bajro, dated July 6, 1984 (Excerpts, Tab 11, pp. 74 et seq.) Born in 1924, this witness says that, following training, in November, 1941, he was "ordered into the motorized unit of the state escort service to escort leader **Pavelic**, Andrija Artukovic Minister of Interior Affairs and other ministers of the NDH... Independent State of Croatia."

I was also present by the end of 1941 at Kresimir's Trg when an autocade of trucks full of arrested partisans, Jews and others, in my estimate some seven hundred people among them many women and small children, was taken, as I overheard Artukovic order Lahovski, to Kerestinac, the collecting camp in the vicinity of Zagreb. Artukovic followed the autocade to Kerestinac and as I was his escort I heard when Andrija Artukovic told Lahovski that the back part of the autocade of trucks must be disposed of because it would be too much for the camp. So women, children and men

were taken out of the trucks, in my estimate some 400-500 persons and by machine-gun fire were killed by ustashas at the order of Artukovic, while the others were taken to Kerestinec camp.

This is a first-person account of the killing of certainly entirely helpless prisoners, at the direct order of respondent and in his immediate presence.

Witness Bajro also states that he accompanied the respondent and others in the beginning of 1942 to where Ustashas were carrying out a military offensive against partisans. He says that in the village of Vrgin Most respondent, "after learning that in the houses women, children and men were locked, [ordered] the tanks towards these houses, to penetrate them and destroy them completely together with all men, women and children inside..."

Continuing his testimony, witness Bajro says:

I remember well that while returning back we visited Vrgin Most again and that corporal Stilinovic informed chiefs Pivac Oreskovic and Saric that his whole unit was destroyed, as he said, in the vicinity of Vrgin Most in the fight with partisans and that some two hundred Ustashas died. When Artukovic heard that he ordered that all the population of the nearby villages be arrested and brought into the plain, which was done and many people, women and children were killed . . . by machine-gun fire of German production. Machine-guns were 'sharci' having 3000 bullets in a belt. I was also escorting Pavelic and Artukovic when they were visiting the site of Kozara because they wanted to see the positions at which some 500 to 600 ustashas had died in the battle with partisans. I know that on that occasion we drove to the monastery Moscenica, a very nice monastery, and Artukovic ordered Lahovski the commander of escorts to gather all civilian population from the houses, old ones, sick, women, children and men, to gather at least five thousand of them and to kill them all because five hundred ustashas have perished in the vicinity of the Moscenica monastery. This was done and a large number of civilian population from the nearby villages was gathered, mostly women and children and shot, some of them then and there close to the monastery and some of them were taken away and killed later on.

These deaths on the return to Vrgin Most, and of civilians gathered from the vicinity of the monastery Moscenica, were not in the course of military action, but of persons "arrested" or "gathered" and, therefore, not a military threat.

The pertinent testimony of witness Bajro concludes with these words:

I remember well that at the beginning of the year 1943 I was escorting Pavelic and Artukovic when they went to Samobor and on that occasion we came to a castle where some several hundreds of partisans, men and women, were imprisoned. I know well that the commander of operative groups of ustashas informed Artukovic and Pavelic that partisans were

captured at Zumberk and Artukovic together with Pavelic ordered then, they both ordered, that all partisans imprisoned there, be killed which was done during that day and night and I have been present there. They were killed in such a way that they were taken to the field, tied and killed by machine-gun fire while some of them were passed over by tanks.

Respondent is now an older man, born on or about November 19, 1899. He suffers from a number of serious medical conditions, for which, since his arrest, he has received superb medical treatment, first at the Los Angeles County-U.S.C. Hospital, and then at the United States Naval Hospital at Long Beach. On the question of his competence, medical reports were received, physicians testified and the Magistrate personally observed respondent in the courtroom. His health has improved markedly since his arrest. Where before he was usually confused, during the daytimes he is now usually alert. Where before he was bedridden and had bed sores, he now walks, climbs stairs and has healed.

IV .

1. Does Respondent Possess the Requisite Mental Competence?

It is necessary that respondent, first, be competent to assist in the preparation of his own defense. He has been sufficiently competent in this respect, according to the reports and testimony of his attending Navy physician, Dr. Hill, and of the court's own appointed Psychiatrist. It is necessary that respondent, second, be competent during the hearings. The required standard is set forth in *Chavez v. United States*, 641 F.2d 1253, 1259 (9th Cir. 1981): he must be able to understand the nature of the proceedings and to participate intelligently to the extent his participation is required. Again, evidence and observation show the requisite mental abilities.

The Government's contention that the competence of Mr. Artukovic "is not a proper subject of inquiry in this extradition matter" is rejected. The Sixth Amendment guarantees him, as all persons before the court in matters affecting life and liberty, the effective assistance of counsel. Meaningful consultation between attorney and client is an essential element of competent representation. *United States v. Tucker*, 716 F.2d 576, 581 (9th Cir. 1983). Furthermore, respondent's Fifth Amendment right to a fair hearing requires that he be shown to have the minimum competence defined in *Chavez*. *Pate v. Robinson*, 383 U.S. 375, 385, 15 L. Ed. 2d 815, 86 S. Ct. 836 (1966).

2. Is the Action Barred by the Doctrine of Res Judicata?

In 1959, Commissioner Theodore Hocke rejected much of the evidence presented herein and denied the application for extradition.

See *Karadzole v. Artukovic*, supra, 170 F. Supp. 383 (S.D. Calif. 1959).

Respondent contends that *res judicata* requires dismissal of this action. The Magistrate has, however, rejected respondent's motion to dismiss on this ground. The principle of *res judicata* is not applicable to international extradition proceedings. *Hooker v. Klein*, 573 F.2d 1360, 1368 (9th Cir. 1978), cert. denied, 439 U.S. 932, 58 L. Ed. 2d 327, 99 S. Ct. 323 (1978).

3. Was Due Process Violated by Excessive Delay in Refiling for Extradition?

Respondent further contends that due process was violated by a delay of 25 years in refiling for extradition. This contention is without merit. Due process may require dismissal of charges if it is shown that a pre-indictment delay caused substantial prejudice to the respondent's rights to a fair trial and that the delay was intentional so as to gain a tactical advantage over the accused. *United States v. Marion*, 404 U.S. 307, 324, 30 L. Ed. 2d 468, 92 S. Ct. 455 (1971). But the focus of inquiry must be whether the United States, not Yugoslavia, acted unconstitutionally. *Matter of Burt*, 737 F.2d 1477, 1487 (7th Cir. 1984). Respondent has not sustained his burden of proving either prong of the Marion rule.

Permitted to question, as on cross-examination, Neal Sher, Chief of the Office of Special Investigations, Criminal Division, United States Department of Justice, made available as a witness at the Court's request, respondent's counsel succeeded in showing only that the instant extradition action was indeed initiated at Yugoslav instance. There is no evidence, nor indeed suspicion, that the United States Government, or any of its agents, has been guilty of any wrongful conduct in connection with the instigation of this proceeding. Respondent may, of course, present the question of unfairness occasioned by a proposed prosecution more than forty years after the events mentioned in the indictment to the Secretary of State and, if necessary, to the Yugoslav court.

4. Admissibility of the Government's Evidence.

Respondent has moved to dismiss on the ground that the Government impermissibly introduced Yugoslavian Article 167 during rebuttal. This motion was denied, because the Government was permitted to reopen for this purpose, and because evidence that murder was proscribed in Yugoslavia at all pertinent times is otherwise before the Court. That Article 167 does not address aiding and abetting is irrelevant, in view of the provisions of Article II of the Treaty as to "participation" in enumerated crimes.

The Government, on behalf of Yugoslavia, has offered translations

into English which have not been certified by the American Ambassador under 18 U.S.C. § 3190, although the Serbo-Croatian originals were. Respondent argues that these translations are, therefore, inadmissible. While § 3190 makes evidence certified as admissible in the tribunals of the requesting country admissible in our courts, it is not true that the Government may introduce evidence only by way of such certification. The English translations may be proved as any other fact. Respondent may challenge the accuracy of the Government's translations and/or offer his own. In re Extradition of David, 395 F. Supp. 803, 806 (E.D.Ill. 1975), aff'd sub nom. David v. Attorney General, 699 F.2d 411 (7th Cir. 1983), cert. denied, 464 U.S. 832, 104 S. Ct. 113, 78 L. Ed. 2d 114 (1983).

5. Political Offense Exception to Extradition

To successfully assert the "political character" defense, respondent must show that there was a political uprising or disturbance at the time of the offense and that the offense charged was "incidental" to, or part of the political disturbance. Eain v. Wilkes, 641 F.2d 504, 515-16 (7th Cir. 1981), cert. denied, 454 U.S. 894, 70 L. Ed. 2d 208, 102 S. Ct. 390 (1981); In re Castioni, [1891] 1 Q.B. 149. Evidence of record amply supports the finding that uprisings and disturbances, within the meaning of the defense exception, existed in Croatia during all pertinent times. Nevertheless, respondent cannot avail himself of the defense merely because the alleged crimes occurred at the same time as a political disturbance. A rational nexus between the alleged crimes and the prevailing turmoil must be demonstrated. In searching for such a connection, the focus of inquiry is on the circumstances, and on the status of those harmed, and not on whether the acts merely were committed during the disorder. See Ornelas [*14] v. Ruiz, 161 U.S. 502, 511, 40 L. Ed. 787, 16 S. Ct. 689 (1896), where the Supreme Court concurred in the magistrate's refusal to apply the exception "in view of the character of the foray, the mode of attack, *the persons killed or captured*, and the kind of property taken or destroyed." [Emphasis added]

Those murders as to which it is hereinafter found there is probable cause to believe respondent committed do not come within the "political character" defense. Respondent's statement of his motives would be irrelevant. Eain, supra, 641 F.2d at 520. ("For purposes of extradition, motivation is not itself determinative of the political character of any given act.") The facts and circumstances in evidence show that the murders were not of a "political character" within the meaning of the Treaty; they were for personal gain, racial or religious hatred, and/or impermissible vengeance upon disarmed enemy soldiers. Ridding a country of some of its population for such reprehensible reasons, as part of some larger political scheme, is not a crime of a "political character" and is thus not covered by the political offense exception to extradition. Eain, supra, 641 F.2d at 521.

6. Specificity in the Charging Document

The Magistrate must make a determination as to whether each specific charge forms the basis for extradition, at least where, as here, the Treaty incorporates the principles of "dual criminality" and "specialty." *Caplan v. Vokes*, 649 F.2d 1336, 1343 (9th Cir. 1981). Thus there must be a focus on each count of the foreign indictment, complaint, warrant, summons, or other charging document. As is more fully discussed in the Order filed March 4, 1985, the Government's argument that prefatory language in the 1984 Yugoslavian indictment will support extradition for alleged murders of other than Dr. Vidic is rejected. Such language is not specific enough to permit this court to analyze dual criminality sufficiently, or to ensure that the principle of specialty will be honored.

V.

Preliminarily, it is noted that, by its instant request, Yugoslavia seeks to extradite the respondent to try him for the war crimes proscribed by Article 142, enacted long after the last of the alleged crimes was committed. That respondent could not be prosecuted under such an ex post facto law in this country is not significant in this proceeding: due process cannot be extended extraterritorially. *Kamrin v. United States*, 725 F.2d 1225, 1228 (9th Cir. 1984), cert. denied, 469 U.S. 817, 83 L. Ed. 2d 32, 105 S. Ct. 85 (1984), citing *Neely v. Henkel*, 180 U.S. 109, 45 L. Ed. 448, 21 S. Ct. 302 (1901). What is significant is that extradition can be achieved only for crimes mentioned in the Treaty. *Fernandez v. Phillips*, 268 U.S. 311, 312, 69 L. Ed. 970, 45 S. Ct. 541 (1925); cf. *Hooker v. Klein*, supra, 573 F.2d at 1368. War crimes are not mentioned in the Treaty. Even if they were, the principle of "dual criminality," incorporated in Article I of the Treaty, would not permit extradition for war crimes. Under "dual criminality," one can be extradited only if the offense charged in the requesting country is an offense in the place where the fugitive is found. *Collins v. Loisel*, 259 U.S. 309, 312, 66 L. Ed. 956, 42 S. Ct. 469 (1922). "War crimes" are not proscribed in California or the United States. For the same reasons, illusions to "genocide," as such, in the requesting papers and evidence, are irrelevant.

Implicitly recognizing the above, the Government seeks to extradite respondent only for "murder." At all pertinent times, murder has been a felony in California (Penal Code Sections 187 et seq.) and the United States. 18 U.S.C. § 1111. The Magistrate finds, from the testimony of the historian witnesses, that murder was proscribed by the government immediately preceding that of the Independent State of Croatia, and that this proscription was continued in effect during all pertinent times. Then and there respondent was protected by sufficient force, so that the laws under which he lived and acted were at no time those of military forces other than his own, such as

those of the Axis powers. Furthermore, the present Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia proscribed murder no later than September, 1951 (see indictment at Excerpts, page 160) by means of Article 135, in evidence herein. [3.] As has been shown, it is not an obstacle in this proceeding, although it may be in Yugoslavia, that Article 135 may be an ex post facto law as to the crimes charged against respondent. As to murder charges, therefore, the Treaty requirements are satisfied.

VI.

The Magistrate finds:

Much of the evidence presented herein apparently was rejected by Commissioner Theodore Hocke in 1959. *Karadzole v. Artukovic*, supra, 170 F. Supp. 383 (S.D.Calif. 1959). While such evidence raised the suspicion that the respondent participated in the creation and/or maintenance of concentration camps where predominantly Jews, Serbs, and Gypsies, women and children as well as men, were killed or permitted to die, it does not begin to rise to the level of probable cause which must be proved before an extradition can be certified. Other evidence, consisting of respondent's alleged proclamations and racist speeches, does not even raise a suspicion of extraditable misconduct, although it merits the opprobrium of all decent people. As to this evidence, which forms the great bulk of the material admitted herein, the words of Mr. Chief Justice Holmes in *Glucksman v. Henkel*, 221 U.S. 508, 512, 55 L. Ed. 830, 31 S. Ct. 704 (1911) are apposite:

Of course a man is not to be sent from the country upon demand or surmise," but instead only upon "such reasonable grounds to suppose him guilty as to make it proper that he should be tried..."

The affidavit of Franjo Turhar supplies ample probable cause to believe that respondent "participated" (Treaty, Article II, XII) in the crime of murder of Jesa Vidic, extraditable under Treaty, Article II, and accordingly he should be extradited to face this single charge, which is found in the 1984 indictment, page 200 of Excerpts.

The engagement on the first described visit to Vrgin Most appears to have been a prototypical military operation against an armed enemy. It is by no means certain that armed women, as well as men, were not among the partisans opposing respondent's troops. That some noncombatants may have been killed incidental to a military operation does not constitute murder. Upon his extradition, respondent may not be tried for these deaths at Vrgin Most. [4.]

The affidavit of Avdic Bajro provides overwhelming probable cause to

believe that respondent was directly responsible for the 400 to 500 killings of helpless prisoners at Kresimir's Trg, the deaths on the return to the vicinity of Vrgin Most, the deaths of the civilians gathered from the vicinity of the Monastery Moscenica, and the killing of the several hundred partisans of the castle near Samobor; and that he should accordingly be extradited to face a murder charge for each of these deaths, if they are alleged in a charging document before this Court.

VII.

Disposition

The United States Attorney shall prepare a form of certificate for the crime of murder of Jesa Vidic for the Magistrate's signature. The effect of said certificate, however, is stayed to and including May 3, 1985, during which time the Court retains jurisdiction in this action. If, during the period of the stay, the Government serves and files an amended indictment, complaint, warrant or other charging document of Yugoslavia, duly certified and transmitted, alleging the crime of murder against respondent for each or any of the murders (other than that of Vidic) as to which it has been found there is probable cause to believe were committed by respondent, the Magistrate intends to certify these additional charges for extradition and trial. Upon such filing, respondent shall be afforded a hearing on the question of "dual criminality" and the form and content of any proposed further certificate for extradition.

Supplemental Proceedings

The Government timely filed a Submission of Supplemental Certified Documents containing, *inter alia*, an Amendment of Indictment, dated March 26, 1985, from the District Court of Zagreb, Yugoslavia. A hearing was held on the matter on May 1, 1985.

Respondent's counsel expressly refused to waive his presence, and the respondent was present throughout the hearing. After the proffer of evidence by each party on the question of respondent's then competence, the Magistrate's own observations, and oral argument, it was held that respondent was no less competent than during the evidentiary stages of the proceedings, when he was shown competent by medical evidence.

In the supplemental papers, Yugoslavia provided information which neither the Court nor the Government had requested. Held: only evidence of those laws and statutes of Yugoslavia and predecessor governments, which was introduced and argued at the earlier probable cause hearings, will be taken into account by the

Magistrate.

An Amended Certificate of Extraditability is ordered filed and forwarded to the Secretary of State. The Amended Certificate is expressly limited to the following charges of murder:

- Dr. Jesa Vidic;
- Between four and five hundred persons murdered by machine-gun fire, after being removed by autocade from Kresimir's Trg towards Kerestinec, in late 1941;
- The entire civilian population of several villages near Vrgin Most, murdered in a nearby valley by machine-gun fire in early 1942;
- Approximately five thousand (5000) persons, murdered by rifle fire and otherwise near the Moscenica monastery in the Kozara region in 1942; and
- Several hundred persons, captured in the Zumberg region, murdered by machine-gun fire and by being crushed under moving tanks, in the vicinity of Samobor Castle, in early 1943.

DATED: August 8, 1985.

**ORDER ADOPTING OPINION OF MAGISTRATE
MANUEL L. REAL, UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE**

This matter is before the court upon a Writ of Habeas Corpus in the nature of a review of the decision of Magistrate Volney V. Brown, Jr., ordering extradition of petitioner to Yugoslavia to answer charges of murder.

The court has reviewed the entire record in this matter, has considered all of the evidence and arguments submitted by the parties in the extradition hearing and with this Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus.

IT IS ORDERED the court adopts the opinion heretofore filed by Magistrate Brown on all issues presented to him during the extradition hearing. The opinion of Magistrate Brown correctly states the law and is supported by evidence presented during the many hearings held by the magistrate. The opinion adopted is specifically that Amended Opinion filed August 9, 1985 and now instructs the Clerk to enter orders made therein as the Order of this court.

The Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus adds nothing to the review function of this court on the extradition question.

The petition is denied.

DATED: February 6th, 1986.

Footnotes

1. The following is the published chronology in this matter. Artukovic v. Boyle, 107 F. Supp. 11 (S.D. Cal. 1952), rev'd sub nom. Ivancevic v. Artukovic, 211 F.2d 565, (9th Cir. 1954), cert. denied, 348 U.S. 818, 99 L. Ed. 645, 75 S. Ct. 28 (1954), rehearing denied, 348 U.S. 889, 99 L. Ed. 698, 75 S. Ct. 202 (1954); Artukovic v. Boyle, 140 F. Supp. 245 (S.D. Cal. 1956), aff'd sub nom. Karadzole v. Artukovic, 247 F.2d 198 (9th Cir. 1957), vacated, 355 U.S. 393, 78 S. Ct. 381, 2 L. Ed. 2d 356 (1958), decision on remand, supra, 170 F. Supp. 383 (S.D. Cal. 1959). [[back](#)]

2. Ivancevic v. Artukovic, supra, 211 F.2d at 573. [[back](#)]

3. Article 135 provides in pertinent part: "(2) Whosoever takes the life of another in a cruel or treacherous way, or in such a way as to cause endangerment to the life of many persons, or for gain, or for the purpose of committing or covering up another criminal act, or for other vile motives, or whosoever takes the lives of several persons, shall be punished by imprisonment for at least 10 years or by death sentence." [[back](#)]

4. Respondent attempted to show that tanks were unavailable to him, for which reason the testimony of Bajro is untrustworthy. Such evidence, however, is unconvincing and does not "explain" why the evidence of this witness should be rejected. [[back](#)]

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Title: The Extradition of Andrija Artukovic

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Background Material on Krunoslav Draganovic

In this report from the Rome Detachment of the US Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps, Agents Caniglia and Ragonetti spell out what was known to their office in October of 1946: That **Ante Pavelic** was being protected by Father **Krunoslav Draganovic**, quite possibly with Vatican approval. The agents note that Draganovic "is considered the most important person" among the clique of Croatian Catholic priests in Rome, including his nominal superior, Dominic Mandic. It also mentions a report that Draganovic tipped off Ljubo Milos, a former high official at the **Jasenovac** concentration camp, before he could be arrested. Milos later became one of the primary commanders in a secret anti-Tito army called the **Krizari**, or "Crusaders," until his arrest, trial, and execution by the Yugoslav authorities.

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ROME DETACHMENT
ZONE FIVE
APO 512, US ARMY

APR:md

10 October 1946

Case No. B-4240

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav Don.

RE: Preliminary Background Material.

1. Pursuant to instructions from the Supervising Agent, this office



related links

US Army File: Rat Line
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Army Files

Documents: Krunoslav
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Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Ante Pavelic

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and at the request of CIC, A-HQ, the following information concerning Subject is on record in the files of this office.

2. Subject is presently located at Borgo Santo Spirito, No. 41, Rome, telephone -561076.

3. Subject is secretary of "Confraternita Croata", Church of San Girolamo, Rome, and is considered the most important person in the fraternity. This organization is known to have issued false identity cards to war criminals of USTASCIA background enabling them to escape Allied authorities.

4. This organization has a priest named Dominic MANDIC as a representative from the Vatican.

5. Subject was former secretary of **Bishop SARIC**. He keeps well informed as to Allied plans to apprehend USTASCIA activists. At one time Subject advised a Ljubo MILOS to escape from "Camp Fermo" as he was a wanted person. Subject is reported to be in communication with **Ante PAVELIC** former dictator of Croatia and leader of USTASCIA.

6. Subject possesses good documents and travels quite frequently.

AGENTS' RECOMMENDATIONS: It is recommended that this report be sent to CIC, HQ, AFH, for their information and disposition.

[signed] LOUIS S. CANIGLIA
Special Agent, CIC

[signed] ANTHONY P. RAGONETTI
Special Agent, CIC

:: filing information ::

Title: Background Material on Krunoslav Draganovic

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: October 10, 1946

Added: May 17, 2004



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US Army File: Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

The following document was declassified in the aftermath of the Klaus Barbie scandal. It appears to have originated - like nearly all other documentation from the US government uncovered in 1983 - from the US Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps, but there is no indication as to when it was authored, nor by whom.

Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

Dr. DRAGANOVIC' has close contacts in Austrian political circles, especially with the Catholic clergy and with men of the ex-chancellor Dr. SCHUSCHNIG. Dr. SCHUSCHNIG lives with his family in the monastery of Dr. DRAGANOVIC' at Bergo Santo Spirito (in extraterritorial territory).

Three days ago, Dr. SCHUSCHNIG left for Austria under a false name. He carries with him a letter from Dr. DRAGANOVIC' which he has to deliver to the Croat Archbishop **Dr. SARIC** for a high ranking Ustasha official and ex-councillor of PAVELIC, IVANKOVIC.

Through the bishop STEINBACH in Salsburg and British chaplain, Capt. Dr. HAMAN, Dr. DRAGANOVIC received every information and Dr. HAMAN and the secretary of Bishop STEINBACH use him as courier between Austria and Italy.

Dr. DRAGANOVIC has contacts with Ustasha Headquarters in Austria and receives instructions and directives for political activity in Italy. Where **Dr. PAVELIC Ante** is hidden in Italy is known to ex-minister Dr. FARKOVIC', Mate, Dr. DRAGANOVIC' and priest WURSTER (WURSTER is now in Madrid, Spain, but according to reliable information, he comes to Rome from time to time in a plane with members of the Spanish Embassy). WURSTER has left hidden in "castelo dei angeli" (castel of the angels: reference probably made to Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome), a receiving and transmitting radio set with sufficiently powerful emissions.

The courier of PAVELIC', Ustasha Captain KRILIC works as his private secretary in the office of Dr. DRAGANOVIC. KRILIC also works for the



Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Archbishop Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Essay: [The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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information services of DRAGANOVIC'.

Recently, DRAGANOVIC was entrusted with the task of sending to Yugoslavia, via Austria, clandestinely of course, small groups of 3 persons (TROJKE) to carry out acts of sabotage. For this purpose has arrived from Austria a certain VRBAN (or URBAN) Drago, who will act as guide for the crossing of the Italo-Austrian border.

Last year when PAVELIC was in Florence, DRAGANOVIC knew this and was together with PAVELIC.

Information is available to the effect that Dr. STAMBUK (intimate collaborator of Dr. DRAGANOVIC) has received from the FSS in Rome SOPREK, copies of reports which mention the activity of Yugoslav emigration in Italy (Rome) and that these reports have come into the hands of Dr. DRAGANOVIC.

Dr. DUGONJIC Zvonko who was recently arrested by the FSS in Rome, during an interrogation, stole from Major SIMCOCK, a document which he later passed to Dr. DRAGANOVIC.

War criminals wanted by the British Authorities were hidden by DRAGANOVIC and later many were sent to South America. Thus DRAGANOVIC hid in Borgo S. Spirito 4, General PECNIKAR Vilko, in Via Concilla 15 KVATERNIK Eugen and in a monastery near the Colosseum, Minister FAKOVIC Mate.

All the documents from which it can be seen that Dr. DRAGANOVIC helped war criminals are ready. In other reports, the activity and contacts of Dr. DRAGANOVIC will be mentioned.

:: filing information ::

Title: US Army File: Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

Source: US Army, declassified September 12, 1983.

Date: Unknown

Added: May 18, 2004

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Supreme Allied HQ to 6th and 12th Army Groups

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: a letter to 6th and 12th Army Groups in Austria reporting that Pavelic and the Ustase Minister of Justice may be in the area.

**SUPREME HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE
Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff G-2:**

5 June, 1945.

SUBJECT: Apprehension of Croat Quislings.

TO: A C of S G-2, 12th Army Group
A C of S G-2, 6th Army Group.

Your attention is invited to the possibility that Ante PAVELIC, Head of the Puppet Croat Government and PUK, Minister of Justice in the same Government may be in the area under the control of your Headquarters.

2. It is requested that this Headquarters be informed if you have any information on their whereabouts and also in the event that they are apprehended in the future.

For the A C of S [*Assistant Chief of Staff*] G-2:

H. G. SHEEN
Colonel, GSC,
G-2, CI.



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

[text-only version](#)
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:: filing information ::

Title: Supreme Allied HQ to 6th and 12th Army Groups

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: June 5, 1945

Added: October 2002

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Rome Area Allied Command to the CIC

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: an internal document from Rome Area Allied Command to the Counter Intelligence Corps. This is so far as we can tell the first mention of the **Vatican's** Institute of San Girolamo, headed by Father **Krunoslav Draganovic**, which would become the center of the conspiracy to shield Pavelic and the Ustase from capture. We have not yet been able to obtain the response mentioned by Gono Morena below.

P/4615 1st Ind. JWF/jar

Hq. ROME AREA ALLIED COMMAND, AC of S, G-2, APO 794, US ARMY

8 August 1945

TO: Commanding Officer, Rome Zone CIC Detachment.

1. Referred to for investigation, specifically,

a. Is PAVELIC in Rome? b) if so, where, c) is the San Gerolamo Monastery [sic] used as a haven.

2. If PAVELIC is actually in Rome, he should be apprehended and arrested if possible.

3. Please contact SCI Unit "Z" for further details.

J.W. FISCHER

Colonel, GSC

AC of S [Assistant Chief of Staff], G-2



related links

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Misc: Search

Exhibition: Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

text-only version

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:: filing information ::

Title: Rome Area Allied Command to the CIC

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: August 8, 1945

Added: October 2002

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US Army JAG to Army Counter-Intelligence

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: a letter from November, 1945 from the Judge Advocate General's office requesting information as to the whereabouts of Ante Pavelic. Later information would prove that he was, in fact, in the US Occupation Zone in Austria.



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

DEPUTY THEATER JUDGE ADVOCATE'S OFFICE WAR CRIMES BRANCH UNITED STATES FORCES, EUROPEAN THEATER

DATE 5 November 1945

TO: Central Registry, Counter-Intelligence Branch, G-2 Division, U S Forces, European Theater, APO 757, U S Army. Attention: Lt Colonel Marr.

[text-only version](#)
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W.C.B. CASE NO. 000.5 EMT

[x] REQUEST PRESENT LOCATION OF SUBJECT
[] REQUEST ALL AVAILABLE INFORMATION CONCERNING SUBJECT
[] REQUEST APPREHENSION OF SUBJECT
[x] REQUEST NOTIFICATION OF SUBJECT'S APPREHENSION
[] REQUEST INVESTIGATION OF LEADS AS INDICATED
[] REQUEST INFORMATION AS TO WHERE, WHEN AND BY WHOM SUBJECT WAS ARRESTED

NAME (WITH ALIASES) Dr. Ante PAVELIC SEX:
Male NATIONALITY: Croatian...

[...]

LAST KNOWN POSSIBLE WHEREABOUTS Subject is believed to be in custody in the United States Zone, but his exact location is unknown.

REASON WANTED: In connection with war crimes.

PREVIOUS HISTORY AND OTHER DATA Subject, former Chief of the Independent Croatian State - Croatian Nazi leader, is alleged to have committed numerous atrocities against Yugoslav nationals.

[...]

A request has been made by the Yugoslavian Government for extradition of subject. Do you object to his being extradited?

C. B. MICKELWAIT

Col, JAGD,

Deputy Theater Judge Advocate

:: filling information ::

Title: US Army JAG to Army Counter-Intelligence

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: November 5, 1945

Added: October 2002

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Interview with Marija Pavelic

Excerpt from an interview with Marija Pavelic, daughter of Ante Pavelic, on her father's whereabouts in the Summer of 1945, from Globus, May 22, 1992. Marija was married to Slavko Psenicnik, once a colonel in the Ustase and by then head of the organization her father founded, the **Croatian Liberation Movement**. To an interviewer shortly before his death, Psenicnik catagorically denied the claims made below, though he was present and even participated in the interview.

...We were lucky. We landed on an Austrian who saved father. For money. He put him up on a peasant estate in the Alps, with false Austrian papers... The only person who lived with father in that house was a maid, an Italian woman. We (the family) lived elsewhere in San Egilgen. We reported to the Americans, as this zone was under American control... We met up with our father one to three times a week, in the woods. He spent his time in the woods, picking mushrooms and catching fish. He even sent us some of these and we in turn sent him some of the bread rations we had received. One day at the end of summer 1945, it was raining and mother wasn't feeling well and she asked me to go out and meet father. I found him alone in the woods, with a backpack, preparing to escape. When he had gone home the maid had waved as signal that the police were there.



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The Croatian Liberation Movement](#)

Documents: [Odpor](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

[text-only version](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: Interview with Marija Pavelic

Source: *Globus*

Date: May 22, 1992

Added: October 2002

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Rome CIC on Pavelic's Arrest in Austria

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: an internal memorandum from the CIC on reports of Pavelic's arrest in Austria.



related links

**COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ROME DETACHMENT
ZONE FIVE
A.P.O. 512, US ARMY**

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

Case No. R-2803

25 August 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE

SUBJECT: PAVELIC, Ante

text-only version
scans: [page 1](#)

RE: Arrest of Subject.

1. Newspaper accounts of 24 August 1945 reported the arrest of Subject by Allied authorities in Austria. The article stated that PAVELIC was to be returned to Yugoslavia for trial as a war criminal.

RECOMMENDATION:

2. It is recommended that this case be considered closed.

FRANCIS R. FAVORINI, Special Agent, CIC.

HARRY J. MURPHY, Special Agent, CIC.

:: filing information ::

Title: Rome CIC on Pavelic's Arrest in Austria

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: August 25, 1945

Added: October 2002

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Unidentified Document

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: more than a year after he left Austria for Rome, this card appears in the Pavelic file. Easier to understand from the **scan**.

Serial: 470 Date 12 Oct 46

Last Name: PAVELIC First name: Ante Middle Name: Nationality: Croatian

[...]

Place of Stay in US Zone: Austria

[...]

Remarks: filed in 400/19 Reportedly a violently revolutionary leader in Croatia who promoted his own Ustasha movement and took over the government in April 1941. He sold out to the Italians and Germans during the War.

Date: 9 April 1946 Report - M.I.S. in Austria

Photostat made and sent to WD - 7 NOV 1946



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Unidentified Document

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: October 12, 1946

Added: October 2002

The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

CIC Memorandum

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: This memo, on the subject of an article in the Swiss press about the author's meeting with Ante Pavelic in Rome, marks the first appearance in the papers we have of Special Agent William Gowen. By following leads, staking out locations and developing informants in Rome, within six months Gowen had Pavelic's precise location and his highly-placed benefactors nailed down, forcing his superiors to hastily shut down the entire investigation.

**COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ROME DETACHMENT
ZONE FIVE
A.P.O. 512, U.S. ARMY**

WEG:jc

17 January 1947

Case#4512

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: Ante PAVELIC, Article in "L'ILLUSTRE" of Lausanne.

RE: Didier de Roussilon

1. A telephone request was received by this office from Colonel Snowden, Chief, CID, Austria for an investigation on an article printed in Swiss newspapers about an interview with Ante PAVELIC. Pursuant to the instructions from the Supervising Agent of this Detachment an investigation was carried out by these Agents.

2. The article entitled "Quelques Minutes Avec Ante PAVELIC" and signed Didier de Roussilon was printed 7 November 1946 in the Lausanne "L'Illustre. It is believed to have been printed also in the Zurich "Illustrierte" at about the same time. From the article in "L'Illustre" the ROME newspaper "La Tribuna" printed an article entitled "Ante Pavelic attende di marciare su Belgiado", 20 November 1946.

related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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3. In the article the writer claims to have left Ciampino Airport, ROME, one morning in September and to have been ushered in to PAVELIC five hours later at a hotel in Graz, Austria. Two American Officers were present, the writer asserts. In the interview PAVELIC claims to have left Croatia, not because of TITO, but to preserve the peace of Yugoslavia. The two Americans smile, PAVELIC then asserts that Yugoslavia would be even more unfortunate if German imperialism be replaced by Soviet imperialism, and states that he is all for alliances (against Russia). The writer relects [sic] that America and Britain are now PAVELIC's allies. The interview closes as the two Americans indicate the writer to leave.

4. A check at the Swiss Legation in ROME revealed that the article had caused a great stir and that Legation Officials had contacted Swiss newspaper men to ascertain particulars regarding "Didier de Roussillon". The result of their own investigation revealed that de Rousillon is unknown both to the Legation and Swiss newspaper men in ROME.

5. A check at the Military Permits Office, U.S. Embassy, ROME, revealed no record of a "Didier de Roussillon" going to Graz, Austria.

6. A check at Ciampino brought negative results since no such passenger was booked on either ACT or EATS (the article mentioned ATC). Nor was there any special flight with such a passenger on record at operations.

REMARKS:

The fact that "Didier de Roussillon" is unknown might prove only that the name is either false or a pen name. However, the complete lack of substantiating information in ROME tends to show that the whole incident did not occur. With the dialogue of the supposed interview, de Roussillon endeavors to prove only one point: that PAVELIC is being used by the Americans. PAVELIC's answers thrown no light on anything and are, in the opinion of these Agents, contradictory. The statement that he left Yugoslavia not because of TITO but only to preserve the peace is definitely contradictory. At the same time he is supposedly fighting secretly against TITO for Britain and the United States!

AGENTS' RECOMENDATIONS:

Recommend case be closed.

GEORGE A. ZAPPADA, Special Agent, CIC
WILLIAM E.W. GOWEN, Special Agent, CIC

:: filing information ::

Title: CIC Memorandum

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: January 17, 1947

Added: October 2002

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CIC Memorandum

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: Special Agent William Gowen of the Counter Intelligence Corps, Rome, investigates one of Pavelic's alleged Vatican sanctuaries. First appearance of **Krunoslav Draganovic** in the CIC files in our possession.



Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS ROME DETACHMENT ZONE FIVE A.P.O. 512, U.S. ARMY

WEG:md
Case No. 4522
22 January 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: PAVELIC, Dr. Ante.

RE: Summary of Information.

text-only version
scans: page [1](#) - [2](#) - [3](#)

1. Reports coming from many informants indicated that PAVELIC, Dr. Ante, the Croat USTASCIA Chief, has been in Rome at various times since the war ended and might be in Rome at the present time. Pursuant to instructions from the Supervising Agent of this detachment, an investigation was initiated.

2. Information having its source in reliable informants indicates that SUBJECT is at the present time in the extra-territorial walled-in compound on the left bank of the Tiber, at Lungo Tevere Aventino, Rome. This compound has within its walls five **Catholic** organizations, a public wine shop, a public garage, a shop of one of the organizations, but open to the public, and one private residence.

3. The five religious organizations are: 1) The Monastery of St. Sabina of the Dominican Order; 2) The St. Alessio School for Roman Studies; 3) The Cavaliers of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta; 4) The Benedictine Monastery of St. Anselmo; 5) A children's school run by Nuns. The compound itself is situated on top of the Aventine Hill



which has been built on since Roman times. As a result a conglomeration of buildings old and new now stands. The Hill itself is reputedly honeycombed with subterranean tunnels which link the individual building.

4. The area of the compound has been as carefully checked by this Agent as legal methods permit. The informants of this office have been unable to enter the compound but add that once inside, finding PAVELIC would be a very difficult problem if he lives underground inside an old construction which has long since been built on top of St. Alessio was [page break: one or more lines appears by context to be missing, or the single sentence is a run-on which should be broken after "inside"] relatively easy to enter and one could move about rather freely. Due to the large number of Italian civilians who come and go and the easy entrance it seems somewhat doubtful that PAVELIC would use this spot as a hiding place. The Villa of the Knights of Malta was inspected too. Special permission is required from the Grand Master of the Order, Prince CHIGI himself who lives there 3 months of the year. Italian gardeners are at present the only inhabitants besides an Italian Monsignor who takes care of the Chapel, St. Maria delle Priorita. This too, would seem an unlikely location for the Subject's hiding place as would the convent. The relatively new (1900) Benedictine Monastery St. Anselmo is very hard to enter. True, one can look at the Chapel and the Chapel Crypt and even the library by special appointment, but beyond that one can see nothing. Monks in this monastery are of all nationalities, American included. For this reason and also for the reason that a clandestine entry and exit, the building and walls being new, would seem not to be present. If PAVELIC is really in the compound, it would seem more likely that he would be in St. Sabina. St. Sabina is right on the Tiber river from the Church and the Monastery to the street level is a drop of about 150 feet which is enclosed by a 7-8 ft. wall. While checking this wall, this Agent noted at one spot two holes had been knocked laterally into it and two stones had been placed below them to serve as a step. On the stones, in the holes, and on top of the walls were what appeared to be recent footprints. At another place about 75 yards away a similar arrangement was noted. While checking this wall, this Agent further noted a civilian in the ruins on top of which the monastery was built. Later, while this Agent was at several hundred yards distance said civilian descended from the Monastery, walked up and down twice along the wall as if finding the easiest place to jump from, and finally came down at the above-mentioned spot. This individual later walked down the road and passed this Agent; he was dressed very badly and seemed to be in search of rags and junk. However, his walking up and down the wall in apparent hesitation might indicate that he was not the regular frequenter. St. Sabina, it should be added, has the only Chapel open to the public.

5. The public wine shop was checked and found to be run by a modest Italian family. The garage set up in tunnels under the hill

facing the Tiber was also checked; the tunnels are all apparently sealed off from any others leading deeper into the Aventine. The shop of the Order of Malta was also checked and found to be run by an Italian in the uniform of the Red Cross. Joined to the private residence is a garage which is apparently involved in a trucking building. Nothing suspicious was discovered in any of the above locations.

6. Other information from reliable informants tends to show that the tram line running beneath the Aventine Hill along the Tiber and thence to the Circus Maximus, the Colosseum and Via Cavour is the connecting link between PAVELIC and Via Cavour, 210 int. 3, which is an USTASCIA base well known in Rome. (See attached diagram).

7. Every Friday night sometime after 9 PM an USTASCIA meeting supposedly takes place at this Via Cavour dwelling. As a result this Agent checked the house on Friday, 10 January 1947 at about 9:30 PM. The train (tram) line had already been watched at a shop near the compound with no untoward activity noted. No suspicious activity was noted around the dwelling upon approach, however, a few moments later an individual made observations in the hall and immediately returned and bolted the main door of the residence. About five minutes later all the first floor shutters were closed by the same person.

AGENT'S REMARKS:

8. The informants in question cannot enter the extra-territorial compound and not being Croatians cannot enter the various known USTASCIA addresses in Rome. On the other hand it is virtually impossible to get Croats to work against PAVELIC since they are either scared or they think it unpatriotic. While the informants in this case are considered reliable it is difficult to evaluate their reliability in relation to PAVELIC who has been dodging around Europe as his own master for about 15 years. All the information seems plausible and paints a plausible picture when it is taken as a whole. However, it would seem that only direct action against the Via Cavour house, illegal entry into extra-territorial territory or action against such known PAVELIC contacts as **DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav** can ultimately reveal the hiding place of PAVELIC and lead to his apprehension. Observation continues.

WILLIAM E.W. GOWEN, Special Agent, CIC

:: filing information ::

Title: CIC Memorandum

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: January 22, 1947

Added: October 2002

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The Pavelic Papers

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CIC Summary of Information

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: Special Agent Robert Clayton Mudd gives an extensive outline of Pavelic's career to date.

Paragraph Five is a bombshell: the first glimpse of what would eventually be revealed as the **Vatican** Ratline, designed to shield Nazi fugitives from arrest and shepherding them to safe locations in countries outside of Europe.



Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

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Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

**HEADQUARTERS
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ALLIED FORCES HEADQUARTERS
APO 512**

30 January 1947

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

SUBJECT: Present Whereabouts and Past Background of Ante PAVELIC, Croat Quisling

text-only version
scans: page [1](#) - [2](#) - [3](#)

1. From a usually reliable source the following information has been obtained concerning the present whereabouts of Ante PAVELIC, Croat Quisling.

2. With the collapse of German resistance in the Balkans and the subsequent withdrawal of support of the puppet Croat government on the part of the Germans, Ante PAVELIC, fearing for his personal safety at the hands of the Partisans fled from Yugoslavia into Austria where he took refuge in the small village of CELOVAC near the Austrian-Jugoslav frontier. Pavelic had an apartment and a villa there.

3. In April of 1946 PAVELIC **left Austria** and came to ROME accompanied only by an Ustasa Lieutenant named DOCHSEN. Both were dressed as Roman Catholic priests. They took refuge in a college there in Via Giavomo Belli, 3, which is the only college in ROME enjoying complete extra-territoriality, and which can be entered only by presenting the proper credentials. (Presumably the **Papal seal** is needed because it is said that this is the only college in



ROME directly under the administration of the Pope.)

4. This informant further states that a short time ago PAVELIC obtained at the Spanish Consulate in MILANO a passport under the name of DON PEDRO GONNER. This passport is ready for Spain and has a visa either for **South America** or Canada. Three other members of the Ustashi are being taken care of in this same fashion but the only one so far identified is General Vlado KREN, Chief of the Croat Air Force under PAVELIC. KREN is an old-time Yugoslav officer who at the outset of the war deserted to the Germans taking with him as much loot and money as he could. He was decorated by the Germans after a lengthy inspection tour of the Craot [sic] Air Force on the Eastern Front.

5. This informant, directed by this Agent to try to penetrate the Ustashi intelligence network in Italy and Yugoslavia, has managed to do so and it has been determined that the network runs from GRUMO-ROME-VENICE-TRIESTE-LJUBLJANA-ZAGREB. The whole affair is run under cover of the Roman Catholic clergy whose priests in these monasteries are nearly all of Croat extraction. Complete penetration of this organization is a rather lengthy process but efforts are being continued in that direction. There is no doubt that Ustashi elements in Italy communicate with one another, and that the focal point of all intelligence and activity is the Monastery of Saint Jerome *[NB - Anglicized San Girolamo]*, Via Tomacelli, 132, ROME.

BACKGROUND:

6. Ante PAVELIC was born in 1896 in Ivan Planina in Bosnia and practiced law in ZAGREB. An extremist even in his youth he became a member of the arch-terrorist organization known as the "Frankovci" whose founder, Dr. Josip FRANK, was a Jew and the father-in-law of Slavko KVATERNIK, the first Croat to be elevated to the rank of Field Marshall. KVATERNIK had long been a strong advocate of Croat separatism and the German ideas on a separate Croat state found in him a reday [sic] tool.

7. The quarrelsome nature of PAVELIC became more and more apparent in the years immediately after the first war when he became involved in one dispute after another with the Centralist Party and the Croat Peasant Party of RADIC. He was the sole representative of his Party in the Skupstina (Yugoslav Parliament) but rarely attended sessions and when he did he sulked in his seat and only occasionally indulged in a long harangue in protest against some measure which he did not approve.

8. In the early 1920's, PAVELIC began to establish his contacts with Croat emigrees in VIENNA and BUDAPEST and later on he established a close accord with the Macedonian terrorist society, IMRO. In 1927 he acted as counsel for the defense of the

Macedonian terrorists at the SKOPLJE trials.

9. Shortly after the proclamation of the establishment of the dictatorship of King ALEKSANDAR in January 1929, PAVELIC fled abroad and was subsequently condemned to death in absentia at BELGRADE for his part in anti-Serb demonstrations organized at SOFIA by Bulgarian and Macedonian terrorists.

10. From 1930 onwards while living abroad, a great part of the time in Italy, he became the leader of a terrorist organization eventually to be known as the Ustasha. This organization was financed by ROME and BUDAPEST and given moral encouragement by the Germans. Together with [Branko] JELIC, ARTUKOVIC, and the younger [Eugen-Dido] KVATERNIK and others he was responsible for a serious flurry of bomb outrages, the weapons and explosives all supplied by Italy. This occurred in the period between 1930 and 1935.

11. Camps for training terrorists and saboteurs were set up in Italy and Hungary, chiefly at BRESCIA and BORGOTARO in Italy and JANKA PUSZTA in Hungary and an armed insurrection was attempted in 1933 when the Ustashi, armed by the Italians, attempted to invade the country by crossing the Adriatic in motorboats. This was unsuccessful but its lack of success probably was instrumental in the decision to assassinate King ALEKSANDAR. Two attempts were made, the last one successful and ALEKSANDAR was slain at MARSEILLES 14 October, 1943 along with the French Minister of the Interior, Jean BARTHOU. The singular lack of armed protection afforded by the Yugoslav monarch, and the general laxity of security precautions when it was well-known that one attempt had already been made on ALEKSANDAR'S life are rather ghastly tributes to the organizational ability of PAVELIC, who apparently had been able to bribe some high official in the Surete General. The Prefect of Police of MARSEILLES, JOUHANNAUD, was subsequently removed from office.

12. Yugoslavia took her case to the League of Nations offering evidence that Italy and Hungary had openly conspired against her sovereignty. However, for some strange reason Italy's role in the affair was never considered and Hungary bore the brunt of the charges. Italy, furthermore, stubbornly refused to extradite PAVELIC who, along with the younger KVATERNIK, was placed under the permanent supervision of the Italian police until sometime in 1941. During the course of his "house arrest" he was subsidized by the Italians and he conferred long and often with Count Galeazzo CIANO on the prospective *coup d'etat* in Croatia.

13. In April of 1941 he arrived in ZAGREB and proclaimed the "Free and Independent State of Croatia" with himself as the head of the government. What prompted the Axis powers to put a man like

PAVELIC at the head of a puppet government is not too well-known for it was an established fact that he was an ardent extremist of the worse sort and an international gangster. Perhaps it was the fact that the Nazis and Fascists were not looking for leadership. The only thing that they needed was a fanatic, an ultra-chauvinist, who could and would do what they suggested and do it with a vengeance. At any rate in June and July, 1941 PAVELIC and his Croatian nationalists, representing the lunatic fringe of Balkan life, slaughtered in a few weeks tens of thousands of Serbians living in his "independent state" and along its peripheries.

14. PAVELIC remained as head of the "Free and Independent State of Croatia" until early 1945 when he disappeared from the limelight and little trace of him has been found since.

15. PAVELIC'S name tops the list of quislings whom the State Department and the Foreign Office have agreed to hand over to the Yugoslavs for trial. At the present time this Agent is expending every effort to try to trace PAVELIC AND HIS WIFE. One source yet unconfirmed states that she is living in VENICE under an assumed name while yet another says that she is living somewhere in ROME.

AGENTS COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: IN view of the fact that this man, while generally considered a criminal, is not a criminal in just the ordinary sense but a political criminal as well, and in view of the fact that the Yugoslav Government through its controlled press has on several occasions accused the Anglo-Americans of hiding PAVELIC to further their own aims, this Agent recommends that every effort should be made to apprehend him and ship him back to the Yugoslav Government for trial. In so doing not only would the Yugoslav propaganda guns be silenced and the people of Yugoslavia forced to admit that their previous propaganda was all false, but also a serious threat to security would be removed and the position of the Anglo-Americans strengthened with regard to those south Slav elements who were pro-Allied before the war. The Ustashi organization in Italy is at the present moment a tightly-knit group still maintaining its "cell" organization, still publishing its papers, and still interested in the same aims that they professed before and during the war. The center of this organization is the Monastery of St. Jerome, Via Tomacelli, 132, ROME.

ROBERT CLAYTON MUDD,
Special Agent, CIC

Approved:
EDWIN F. COWAN
Chief, CIC

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Chief, CIC, AFHQ (1)

:: *filing information* ::

Title: CIC Summary of Information

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: January 30, 1947

Added: October 2002

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

G-2 Internal Correspondence

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: Cover letter included with Agent William Gowen's latest **report** by Capt. Robert M. Stuart of G-2. Stuart soon becomes a very prominent person in the struggle within American intelligence to either arrest Pavelic or let him go free. Paragraph Two is interesting, as Stuart must certainly have had access to the same information as Agents Gowen and Mudd. Paragraphs three and four are bewildering; a lark compared to the hard information being collected by the CIC at this time.

ROME AREA ALLIED COMMAND Office of the AC of S, G-2 APO 794, US ARMY

P/4615

RMS/as

25 February 1947

SUBJECT: PAVELIC, Dr. Ante

TO: AC of S, G-2, MTOUSA

1. CIC **Case #4522**, subject as above, is forwarded.
2. It will be noted that the presence of Subject in Rome is still open to question.
3. This office has just recently received information that a Croat, real name unknown, presently in MILAN, has offered large sums (\$1000) for a passport and is also desirous of securing a passport for his family.
4. Arrangements have been made for this person to secure a passport in Rome. When this person appears he will be interrogated in the hope that this individual may be able to throw some light on PAVELIC.

related links

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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ROBERT M. STUART

Captain, GSC

AC of S, G-2

1 Encl:

CIC Report, **Case #4522**, two copies

:: filing information ::

Title: G-2 Internal Correspondence

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: February 25, 1947

Added: October 2002

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who's who



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CIC Memorandum from Agents Caniglia and Zappala

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: The lack of background on Pavelic in this report is appalling, particularly as it comes after Special Agent Robert Clayton Mudd's extensive **biography** on the fugitive. Regardless, these agents mention the "Croat Convent of 'S. Girolamo degli Illirici,'" though they place Pavelic's wife there. Most of the CIC Agents appeared to be obsessed with locating Pavelic's wife, even though the couple had ceased sharing a habitation for reasons of security in the Summer of 1945 when in **Austria**. This document was also forwarded to Rome Area HQ by Capt. **Robert M. Stuart**.

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ROME DETACHMENT
ZONE FIVE
A.P.O. 512, U.S. ARMY

GAZ/md
15 March 1947
Case No. 4760

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: Ante PAVELIC (POGLAVNIK).

RE: Summary of Information

1. According to a usually reliable source, information regarding Subject was submitted to these Agents and subsequently passed on for guidance and consideration.

2. Until a few months ago Ante PAVELIC, the ex-POGLAVNIK of Croatia was hidden in Carinzia (Austria) in the American Occupational Zone. Since his sojourn in that region has become always more dangerous, PAVELIC, it appears, has taken advantage of the strong protection of a **high prelate** and provided with false documents was able to reach Rome in November 1946. In Rome PAVELIC took refuge in a religious institution which enjoys the privilege of diplomatic immunity since it is under the jurisdiction of



related links

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: Search

Exhibition: Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File

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the **Holy See**.

This Institute is the "COLLEGIO PIO PONTIFICIO IN PRATI" (Via Giocchino Belli, No. 3) whose director should be a prelate of Croatian or Slavic origin who is probably aware of POGLAVNIK's escape from Austria. With PAVELIC in the same seminary an intimate associate has taken refuge, a Certain Prof. SAIC, his former secretary and helper. PAVELIC and his secretary, provided with false passports, should soon be leaving for Spain where they would find refuge under the protection of the Spanish phalange.

PAVELIC is being frantically sought by the OZNA [*the Yugoslav equivalent of the KGB*] and elements of the Soviet GHEPEU. They are offering large sums for his capture or information regarding the exact place of his refuge. In Rome, at the Croat Convent of "S. Girolamo degli Illirici", can be found (or at least until a few days ago) PAVELIC's wife, LOVRENCIC, Maria with her two children. They arrived from Tuscany and in Florence they had contacts with ZANNONI, Olga. Another son, Ivan, born in 1908 in Zagabria is presently in Switzerland at Lausanne (Avenue de Rumines 5) and leads a happy life. Members of OZNA, it is reported, should be going soon to Lausanne, Switzerland and their assignment is to capture him or to force him to return to Yugoslavia.

3. Additional information pending results of investigation now being carried out, will be forwarded as soon as available.

LOUIS S. CANIGLIA, Special Agent, CIC
GEORGE A. ZAPPALA, Special Agent, CIC

:: filing information ::

Title: CIC Memorandum from Agents Caniglia and Zappala

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: March 15, 1947

Added: October 2002

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Unknown Document

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: Several of these index card-sized documents are scattered throughout the file. Possibly they were once part of a manual database, or were pulled together for reports sent forward to Washington. This one presents no new information but it looks like it was part of a larger file of "Yugoslav Anti-Communists." Those in the State Department who considered Pavelic less a war criminal than a useful tool against the Soviet Union and their proxies would soon have their way.

PAVELITCH Ante CIC Zone 3 Filed Z-[illegible] Yugoslav Anti-Communists

YUGOSLAV dtd 14 April 47
(Alias Gonner, Pedro)

One time Chief of the USTACHI Movement. In the spring of 1946, Subject was reported to be in Rome, hiding under the name of Pedro GONNER. He had a Spanish Passport which was given to him by the Spanish Consulate in Rome. Later unconfirmed information reported that he had left for South America.



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Unknown Document

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: April 14, 1947

Added: October 2002

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Investigation by Capt. Marion Scott

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: A Report by Capt. Marion Scott who, while attempting to locate Ante Pavelic, stumbles across information regarding several other Ustasa fugitives hiding in Italy on their way to South America. By the tone of paragraph six, it appears to have now become common knowledge among CIC agents that the Vatican was sheltering Ante Pavelic and other Ustase war criminals. Vilko Pecnikar, mentioned in paragraph four, was one of the leaders of the pre-war Ustase and later became a general in a terror unit known as the "Poglavnik's Body Guard." According to Loftus and Aarons in *Unholy Trinity*, he was one of the key Ustase to reorganize the fugitives into **Krizari** ("Crusader") units, staffed largely by Ustase, which made many terrorist incursions into Yugoslavia after the war, with American support. This is the first mention of the Crusaders in the Army file, and perhaps prompted **this document** to be passed onto the agents working the CIC case a few weeks later.



Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: Search

Exhibition: Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS HEADQUARTERS, MTOUSA, APO 512

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CASE No. _____
18 APRIL, 1947.

TO: OFFICER IN CHARGE
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS,
HEADQUARTERS, MTOUSA,
APO 512, U.S. ARMY.

SUBJECT: INVESTIGATION RE: WHEREABOUTS OF ANTE PAVELIC,
CROATIAN WAR CRIMINAL AND FORMER USTASA LEADER,
(JUGOSLAVIA).

1. On April 11, 1947, the following persons met at Headquarters, G-2, MTOUSA, and discussed the above subject:
 - (a) Col. Blunda, Acting Asst. Chief of Staff, G-2,
 - (b) Lt. Col. Tom Hartman, Officer in Charge, G-1, MTOUSA
 - (c) Mr. Grennan, Officer in Charge, C.I.C., MTOUSA,

- (d) Mrs. Heda Stern, civilian,
- (e) Capt. M.H. Scott, CMP, from AMG, Venesia-Giulia, (Trieste).

By agreement and instruction of Col. Blunda and Lt. Col. Hartman, the discussion and further arrangements continued between the above letter-named three persons, at the office of Mr. Grennan, Headquarters, C.I.C.

2. At that time we turned over to Mr. Grennan for his purpose of photographic reproduction, the following photographs:

- (a) One exceppent-likeness [sic] photo, size 7 X 9 1/4 inches, of ANTE PAVELIC,
- (b) One camera snapshot, size 2 1/4 X 3 1/4 inches, of MRS. MARA PAVELIC, wife of Ante Pavelic,
- (c) One post-card-size group photo, size 3 1/4 X 5 1/4 inches, of the three children of Mr. & Mrs. Ante Pavelic, namely, (left to right): (1) Mirjana, (daughter), (2) Visnja, (daughter), (3) Velimir, (son).

The above-mentioned photographs were returned to us by Mr. Grennan at his office on 15 on 15 April, 1947.

3. Following our conference with Mr. Grennan on 11 April, 1947, we procered [sic] to Florence where, on the following day, we contacted Maj. Wadio Giacobbe, Officer in Charge, Florence Detachment, C.I. C., and obtained his assistance in an investigation of one ISIDORI, Brunetto, alias BENEDETTI, Benedetto, (see their investigation report, B8F-6114-P, dated 14 April, 1947). Our motive for that particular investigation was: to gain a better position of appreciation and confidence in connection with a source known by us for valuable and reliable information on Ante Pavelic, his family and colleagues. The results of that information thus far are useful and promising to our search.

4. While conferring with Mr. Grennan on 11 April, 1947, and examining our photographs of the various members of the Pavelic family, mention was made that a young man was then being questioned by his office, who was suspected of being Velimir, son of Ante Pavelic; that he was picked up in Florence, and had apparently attempted to make contacts at a POW Camp at or near Livorno. Subsequently through investigation we gained the following information, which may or may not have connection with the young man who was being questioned:

About the last of August, 1946, Mara Lovrencic (wife of Ante Pavelic) and her three children, Visnja, Mirjana and Velimir Pavelic came to Florence and stayed one night at the home of a friend, telling them that Mrs. Pavelic had come there from Austria, and that the children had come from Rome. Next day, they proceded [sic] from Florence to CECINA (Province of Livorno) where they took up residence, probably early in September 1946 under the following false names: MARTINI, Maria, widow of Antonelli; daughter of the late Giuseppe

and Rosi Ana; born at Trento, 8 March 1896; and her children: ANTONELLI, Marie, of the late Pietro; age 21; and Clara, age 20. Our information fails to explain the difference between the facts that all three children were with Mrs. Pavelic at Florence but only two of them were indicated as being with her under false names at Cecina. We do not know WHERE they resided in Cecina, but records of the Comune of Cecina might reveal useful information such as signatures, fingerprints, etc. where they applied for Identity Cards, Tessera, etc. Their story to their landlady and local authorities there was that their identity documents had been "robbed from them". Soon thereafter, Mrs. Pavelic is said to have gone to Rome, to "L'Associazione Croata, San Gerolamo", to attempt to obtain false identity documents, but apparently failing in this, returned to Cecina, where their secrecy and extreme retirement attracted local suspicion and they then disappeared. We are reliably informed that the elder daughter, Visnja Pavelic, is betrothed to one PECNIKAR, Vilko, former Commander of the Croat (Ustasa) "Gendarmerie," whose last-known whereabouts are said to be in Modena or its vicinity. It is quite possible that Mrs. Pavelic and the children are with or near him.

5. In our efforts to ascertain the whereabouts of former associated [*sic*] of Pavelic in connection with tracing him, we are informed that one BOSNJAK, Slavisa, fu Pietro, born at Spalato in 1909; and one BUICIC, Mirko, fu Jurani; former Ustasa Minister, are both presently guests at the Villa San Francesco, Rome, of Padre-Generale Turwitt; and are both in close contact with the Croats having refuge at the **Vatican**.

6. In 1942, Ante Pavelic bought a villa at Via Salvatino, No. 6, Florence, (Fiesole), from DONATI, Donatella for 750,000 lire and registered it in the names of himself and his wife, Mara. It is still their property, in their names, and its rental is paid to the account of Mrs. Pavelic.

7. During our short interval at Florence I went to the Girls' School, SS, Annunziata, Poggio Imperiale, Florence, upon the suggestion of Mrs. Stern, and obtained from the Directress, the dossier of Mirjana Pavelic, who with her sister Visnja, was a student there in the late 1930's. This dossier contained two applications for admission of the two girls to that institution, each containing the personal signature of "Dr. Ante Pavelic"; also certified birth certificates of the two daughters, and other less pertinent records. The complete dossier was turned over by us to Mr. Grennan at his office on 15 April 1947 for his information, and photographic reproduction of the signatures of Pavelic; and will be later returned to the afore-mentioned [*sic*] school as promised by me. The Directress was cooperative and gladly turned the dossier over to me.

8. We are reliably informed that two ex-chambermaids of the Pavelic

family who were in their service in Italy for a long time up to 1941, then in Croatia during Pavelic's regime there, then remaining faithfully with them in their flight from Croatia, are living at or near a certain town in northern Italy. (We can name the town, but need further careful and diplomatic "conversion" to learn the names and precise location of them). These chambermaids have told a friend that each time the "Allied Officials" were about to capture the Pavelic's [sic] they were moved elsewhere by Allied personnel who were hiding them, and who were each time rewarded by Pavelic's with jewelry and money amounting to great sums. These chambermaids were trusted and faithful friends and we are practically sure they keep in touch with the Pavelic's.

9. In the U.S. Zone of Austria, we know of two women in a town known by us; one is the wife of a former Ustasa Minister (PERIC), the other, the sister of a former Ustasa Finance Minister (KOSAK) (the latter, shot by Tito regime). Both of these women were formerly great friends of Pavelic, but now would gladly betray him. In the same town, in refuge, is a former Navy Commander under Pavelic, whom Mrs. Stern knew very well before Pavelic's regime. This man would have full confidence in Mrs. Stern and has asked friends to help him get in touch with her for assistance. He probably has valuable information on the whereabouts of Pavelic and other important fugitives.

10. Mrs. Stern was informed that "a new bunch of Ustasi" were collecting and preparing for shipment to So. America from Genova, and that one PSENICNIK, Srecko, living at Via [illegible - Osanam? Asanam?], No. 9, Milan, the Assistant of one of Pavelic's Ministers, knew all about the preparations, and she knew that she would be able to gain valuable information from him, or else from his two Ustasi friends, one DRAGAN and one FRANIC, living at Viale Morgani, No. 81, Milan. So, following our conference of 15 April, 1947 with Mr. Grennan, we proceeded to Milan where, on 16 April, we contacted Mr. Ingargiola, Officer in Charge, Milan Detachment, C.I.C.. On 17 April, Mrs. Stern discreetly [sic] inquired for the above three persons, and was definitely advised that all three had sailed from Genova for Argentina (So. America) about twenty days ago.

11. The interval of our investigation covered by this report is obviously too short to permit us to follow up and develop many of the leads indicated. However, we have here submitted them for further reference and whatever immediately value they may have. Our best and most valuable source of information is a person of long and trusted friendship of Pavelic and his family, who knows and confides in Mrs. Stern enough to give her much of the information already obtained, and who COULD, (and we believe WILL) finally actually "lead" us to Pavelic. This person must be handled carefully however, and must not suspect that Mrs. Stern is actually "on Pavelic's trail". We are quite sure that this person would not "talk" by force, but from our experience through our tactics thus far

employed, we are convinced of our ultimate success.

12. For observation of Mr. Grennan, we left him on 15 April, '47, our copy of information submitted AFHQ (G-2) in connection with our investigation regarding this same subject in 1945. More valuable information was obtainable along this line at that time, and of course the situation has changed very much in the meantime. Many of the fugitives named in that report have undoubtedly escaped to So. America, etc., but others still remain at liberty in this theater. Our information indicated that Pavelic and his family are among the latter.

13. We remain now, as two years ago, at the disposal of your office, to contribute our utmost service in this matter without any personal ambitions.

14. As indicated in our personal conversation of 15 April '47, Mrs. Stern must depart for London, England on 19 April in connection with her private affairs and her eventual immigration to the U.S. If deemed possible by your office, she is willing to return to Italy as soon as possible, probably by about 10 May, '47, and continue her service on this search. She could return to Trieste where she has previously resided and has many acquaintances who volunteer useful information to her; among them being one family whose three Ustasi cousins went with one of the most recent groups from Genova to So. America. From Trieste, it would be quite easy and inconspicuous to check and follow up important leads and connections under various feasible excuses acceptable to all, such as pretending to visit her ill daughter at Merano Sanitorium (as the daughter is actually there confined with T.B.). Her most important condition would be that she be permitted to live at Allied hotels for her safety, especially when at Trieste.

Marion H. Scott
Capt, CMP, O-522200.

DISTRIBUTION:

C.I.C., AFHQ (MTOUSA) (3)
Capt M.H.Scott, CMP (2)
Mr. Ingargiola, C.I.C. Milan (1)

:: filing information ::

Title: Investigation by Capt. Marion Scott

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: April 18, 1947

Added: October 2002

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Cover Letter to the Scott Report

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: Cover letter sent with the **Marion Scott Report**, casting doubt on the usefulness of his main informant, a civilian named Heda Stern. All of this was taking place in the north of Italy, far removed from Pavelic's location in Rome.



COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS

[illegible address] **ZONE 3**

APO 512 U.S. ARMY

H51/reI

21 April 1947

SUBJECT: Investigation Re: Whereabouts of Ante PAVELIC

TO: Chief, CIC, *[illegible]*, MTOUSA, APO 512, U.S. ARMY

1. Forwarded herewith report concerning Subject prepared by Captain Marion H. SCOTT and Mrs. Heda STERN.

2. Your attention is invited to paragraph *[illegible - 10?]* which indicates that all leads in this area known to Mrs. STERN at this time have sailed for South America.

3. Although Mrs. STERN appears to have excellent contacts who could possibly lead her to the whereabouts of PAVELIC, it must be recognized that she has lived in Yugoslavia for a long period of time and her many close friends who know PAVELIC and from whom she could obtain valuable information. However, it would be extremely difficult for this office to attempt to obtain information from the same sources until such a time as Mrs. STERN can uncover something definite concerning the whereabouts of PAVELIC.

4. Mrs. STERN departed the 18th April for London, England, where she will make preparations for her voyage to America. Prior to her departure, Mrs. STERN stated that she would return to Italy in the event that her sailing is delayed in England.

Henry B. Ingargiola

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

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Supervising Agent
Zone 3, Milan

:: *filing information* ::

Title: Cover Letter to the Scott Report

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: April 21, 1947

Added: October 2002

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The Do Marius Report

From the CIA: This document was obtained from the CIA. It's veracity is questionable, as few of the details contained herein can be confirmed anywhere else. It's author, according to knowledgeable sources, could have been the future director of CIA Counter Intelligence, James Jesus Angleton, who would later open the floodgates to Nazi war criminals fleeing from justice in Europe for use in the anti-Communist crusade. The CIA did not exist in 1947, but Angleton headed the British-American OSS Unit known as "SCI-Z" which worked to undermine the Army Counter Intelligence Corps' work in the case of the inventor of the Nazi's mobile gas chambers, Walter Rauff. The Poglavnik shifts to a third person narrative in the next to last paragraph.

Secret/Control
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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP
INTELLIGENCE REPORT

COUNTRY: Yugoslavia INFO: January 1947
SUBJECT: Dr. Ante Pavelich DIST: 6 May 1947
PAGES: 3

ORIGIN: *[blacked out]* SUPPLEMENT:

[blacked out: a series of evaluation and distribution charts]

SOURCE W.

1. Do Marius, a former Italian intelligence officer in Dalmatia and Albania during the war, recently visited Dr. Ante Pavelich at his quarters in the **Vatican** Monastery in Rome which enjoys extra-territorial rights. Do Marius commenced conversation with Pavelich by saying that he had visited many eminent Serb leaders in Italy and that they all agreed that a union of the historical provinces of Serbia and Croatia was impossible after the massacre of the Serbs and Croats by the Ustashi. Pavelich's reply was as follows:



related links

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US
Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav
Draganovic

Misc: Search

Exhibition: Top Secret:
The Pavelic Army File

Timeline: The Ustase
Movement

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"That has been my point of view in the past and thank God the Serbs have come to realize this for there are then no difficulties between us. I admit my guilt in regard to the massacre of the Serbs and I would be a very happy man if it had not happened. But that is past and done with. Tito now rules over Serbia and Croatia and we must liquidate Tito. If the Croats and the Serbs would work together, we could do this a good deal more easily. If again no agreement can be reached, Tito will continue to rule in Yugoslavia. As regards the future of Croatia and Serbia, I think Tito has failed to create a federative Yugoslavia and though one might speak of much, we cannot consent to discussion of this on the basis of any such regime as exists at present in Yugoslavia or of a confederation. We have to create three absolutely sovereign states bound together by a customs' union. We are in accord with the Slovenes; our frontier with Slovenia is the R. Kupa. With the Serbs, however, there are difficulties in this connection. I should be pleased if an understanding was reached concerning the setting-up of sovereign states, but we have still to come to an agreement over frontiers.

"In 1941, I was wrong in extending the frontier of Croatia as far as the Drina and Zemun. But in the first place it was the Italians and Germans who decided this matter, and in the second place I thought they would make concessions to the Serbs (by ceding them Bosnia and Srem), thus making the consolidation of Croatia easier.

"The majority of Serb emigres are followers of Draza (i.e. Mihailovic) and their politics are fundamentally those of Draza. Our problem is therefore simple for I have an agreement with Draza of February 1945 concerning the frontier demarcation of the Croat and Serb areas. Dr. Bracich first approached me as Draza's plenipotentiary and later Predavoc in company this time with a certain Croat who was with Draza (Do Marius could not recall his name), and subsequently General Djukich with Lt. Col. Andrich. It was confirmed on this occasion that the boundary line between Serbia and Croatia would follow the Neretva and Bosnia rivers. As you see there was no difficulty about that. This is indicated in letters from Draza which I have kept.

"My foreign representative is Dr. Machek. He is the representative of all the Croats. At the time Machek created the Croat Banovina 26 August 1939, I was against the idea, but I was not against him. For the rest, I am a follower of the late Radich and Machek, I am completely with him. During the time the Independent State of Croatia was in existence, I favored Machek's followers for I formerly belonged to the Radich party.

"The Ustashi Headquarters in Austria is located in Klagenfurt, Rome is the Headquarters in Italy. The chief in Austria is engineer Prkovich, former Minister of Forests, and in Italy is his brother, the former Minister of the Interior. They keep in touch with one another (as well as with General Mate Boban, the head of the *Krizari* in Croatia) by

radio.

"The *Krizari* in Croatia are very strong. They were at one time divided into four groups. They are now united under the command of General Boban. Until recently, they experienced great difficulties in obtaining ammunition as Tito has been carrying out wholesale re-equipment with Soviet war material which is larger in caliber. In the meantime the English have sent them Soviet rifles and they can easily get ammunition now.

"The English help them in every way since they are anxious to have strong *Krizari* forces as a basis of resistance to Tito."

2. In regard to the question of finance, Pavelic made the following reply:

"When we crossed over into Austria bar gold was brought in two trucks and hidden in an Austrian monastery. When the English surrendered to Tito some 25,000 Croats and arrested Pavelich together with his staff and wanted to hand them over, they gave the English this gold and so saved themselves.

"When the crash came large sums of money were transmitted to Switzerland. The Swiss recently refused to hand over this

[further pages missing]

:: filing information ::

Title: The Do Marius Report

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: May 6, 1947

Added: October 2002

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CIC Information Sheet

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: A sheet detailing information acquired from unknown sources. The four letters at the top - OZNA - would appear to indicate that this information was acquired from the Yugoslav secret police, which was known as OZNA at the time.

U.S. EYES ONLY

PAVELIC Ante

OZNA

G-2 Rome report dated 19 May 1947
File 610-3D folio (60).

G-2 Rome received the following information dated 15 May 1947
from I.A.I.-RAAC.

Reliable **Vatican** source reports Subject still living in Rome in a religious institute located in the Prati District, with extra territorial rights and in possession of a passport made out to a Minister of Religion Subject soon will leave for Spain from Genoa with no intentions of going to the Argentine

G-2 Rome report dated 20 June 1947...Ref; P/4/AM
File: 610-3D (63).

Reference CIC report Summary No. 5109: The report from the usually reliable source has been received stating that Pavelic, Marja, wife of subject, now living with her daughter CECINA (GROSSETO) will shortly be moving to Florence. Address in Florence is expected to be Via Sedirapino 6.

Information received from a Vatican source on 3 June stated that subject is living in the Religious Institute and holds a passport made out to PADRE GOMEZ, a Spanish Minister of religion; that subject is shortly to leave for Spain and that his trip has been arranged for by some Jesuits in the Vatican.



Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: CIC Information Sheet

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: May 19, 1947

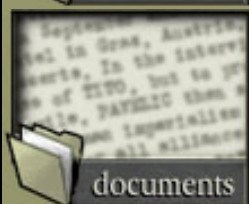
Added: October 2002

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Unknown Document

From the US Army file on Ante Pavelic: Another of the small index cards that litter the file, possibly pulled from a database.

PAVELIC,

He is mentioned over Belgrade Radio as being let escape by the British. He is supposed *[sic]* to be a War criminal.

Ref. D. #169925
memo 25 May 47



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Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: Unknown Document

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: May 25, 1947

Added: October 2002

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CIC Summary of Information

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: A report filed by Agents William Gowen and Louis Caniglia squelching rumors that Pavelic has left Rome.



COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS ROME DETACHMENT ZONE FIVE APO 512 US ARMY

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)
Documents: [The US Army Files](#)
Documents: [The CIA Files](#)
Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)
Misc: [Search](#)
Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)
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9 JUNE 1947

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION:

SUBJECT: PAVELICH, ANTON

1. The following information concerning the whereabouts of Subject has been submitted to these Agents by an informant of this office.

2. Dr. Anton PAVELIC, former President of the Independent State of Croatia, frequently rumored to have left for Genoa, Spain and Argentina, is reported once more to be hiding in Rome. Among his domiciles is an apartment [*sic*] on the second floor in Via GIACOMO VENEZIANO, No. 17, stairway "C", where he was several weeks ago, dressed as a hunter.

WILLIAM E.W. GOWEN, Special Agent, CIC
LOUIS S CANIGLIA, Special Agent, CIC

SOURCE: Usually Reliable
INFORMATION: Unconfirmed
SUMMARY #5109

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scans: page 1



:: filing information ::

Title: CIC Summary of Information

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: June 9, 1947

Added: October 2002

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CIC Information Sheet

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: This document confirms the information given in Agent William Gowen's **previous report**, right down to the room number. This appears to have been prepared in final preparation for enforcing an arrest on Pavelic, on Vatican property if need be. The list of "other Ustasha personalities" is only a handful of the high-ranking officials who would escape from justice, contrary to claims made elsewhere that only Pavelic and one or two other Ustase escaped justice after the war. Within the next 18 months, nearly the entire cabinet of the Independent State of Croatia will have relocated to Buenos Aires.

COPY

TRANSLATION

Subject: Ante PAVELIC and other USTASHA personalities

1. Ante PAVELIC is in hiding as an ex-HUNGARIAN General under the name of "Giuseppe". He wears a small pointed beard and has his hair cut short at the sides after the fashion of a German Army officer.
2. Hi [*sic*] is living on Church property under the protection of the Vatican, at Via Giacomo Venezian No. 17-C, second floor. On entering the building you go along a long and dark corridor. At the end of the corridor there are two stairways, one to the left and one to the right. You must take the right. On the right the rooms are numbered 1,2,3, etc. If you knock once or twice at door No. 3 an unimportant person will come out. But if you knock three times at door No. 3, door No. 2 will open. It leads to the room where PAVELIC lives, together with the famous BULGARIAN terrorist **Vancia MIKOILOFF** and two other persons.
3. About twelve other men live in the building. They are all Ustasha and make up PAVELIC's bodyguard.
4. When PAVELIC goes out he uses a car with a Vatican (SCV) number-plate.



related links

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: Search

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5. The following persons visit the convent occasionally:

- a) Ivica FRKOVIC, editor of the Ustasha Paper "Hrvatski Narod";
- b) Dr. Feliks POLJANIC, Asst. chief of police SARAJEVO;
- c) Ciro KUDUJA, Ustasha Colonel;
- d) Dr. VIDALI, Asst. chief of the Ustasha-Croat Security Police;
- e) Zvonko DUGANIC, Asst. chief of Croat Information Service (he lives in ROME, tel.N. 43302);
- f) Peter SIMIC;
- g) Dr. Lovro SUSIC, secretary of Ustasha movement in Italy. Travels frequently (ROME BOLOGNA, TRIESTE). At present living in CASERTA.
- h) Joso ZUBIC, police commissioner of SARAJEVO;
- i) Husnija HRUSTANOVIC, journalist;
- j) Zdravko BJELOMARIC.

:: filing information ::

Title: CIC Information Sheet

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: c. July 1947

Added: October 2002

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CIC File: "Hands Off"

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: This the "smoking gun," the most important document we've yet uncovered from a file that sources indicate was picked clean, filled with disinformation and still only released begrudgingly. Mark Aarons and John Loftus note in *Unholy Trinity* that "Eventually the operation [to arrest Pavelic] was allowed to quietly die. The apparent determination to arrest this notorious Nazi mass murderer disappeared, just as Pavelic himself had seemingly done in May 1945... Senior US officials were then developing their own network of ex-Nazis, and were beginning to co-ordinate activities with both the Vatican and London... No one cared about Nazis as long as they were anti-Communist." (p 82-83). "GM" is Gono Morena, Agent William Gowen's supervisor in Rome, who was apparently told verbally by Grennan to forget this order and made a note of it to pass on to his subordinates - and to history.

SUBJECT: Pavelic, Anton

TO: Supervising Agent, CIC, Zone FIVE, APO 528, U.S. Army.

1. Reference is made to **SOI No. 5109**, your office, dated 9 June 1947, which indicates information to the effect that Subject is reported living in Rome on the second floor of the Via Giacomo Veneziano, 17, stairway "C".

2. Request advice as to results of your investigation at above address.

3. The Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, MTOUSA, desires that Subject be taken into custody on sight and that this office be notified immediately when such apprehension is made.

BERNARD J. GRENNAN,
Special Agent, CIC,
Chief of Operations.



[Documents: Ante Pavelic](#)

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New instructions: "Hands Off",
Source Mr. Grennan & Lt. Col Hartman
14 July 1947

GM.

:: filing information ::

Title: CIC File: "Hands Off"

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: July 7-14, 1947

Added: October 2002

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Memorandum from the US Political Adviser

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: This file contains the State Department's instructions that the US and British governments feel it necessary to bring the Italian authorities in on Pavelic's planned arrest in Rome. Most authorities agree that the Italian police at this time were notoriously unreliable, and the fact that they were to have a role in any action of a highly secretive nature - such as a covert arrest of a person protected by the Vatican - indicates that Allied authorities were seeking to shift the blame for Pavelic's eventual "escape."

UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS

July 29, 1947

TOP-SECRET

MEMORANDUM TO: ACTING SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER
(Through Chief of Staff)

SUBJECT: ANTE PAVELIC

The Department of State informs me that Ante Pavelic, Croat Ustasha wanted as a war criminal by the Yugoslav Government, is rumored to be residing at the present time in disguise within the Vatican. The Department has informed the British Embassy in Washington, in reply to its request for the views of the United States Government on whether the United States and United Kingdom military authorities should assist the Italian authorities in endeavoring to arrest him at a suitable opportunity outside Vatican territory, with a view to his surrender to the Yugoslavs, that the United States Government agrees that the United States military authorities should cooperate with the Italian authorities to the extent necessary and possible in this particular case. The Department has pointed out, however, that such cooperation is not to be considered as a precedent contravening the general position of the United States that the matter of alleged quislings outside Allied jurisdiction is the responsibility of the Italian authorities. In this connection I refer to my memorandum to you of July 28, entitled "Alleged



related links

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

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Yugoslav Quislings at large in Italy."

Joseph N. Greene, Jr.
Acting U. S. Political Adviser

cc to D/COS
G-5 Section
BRIT POLAD
JA Section
G-2 SECTION

:: filing information ::

Title: Memorandum from the US Political Adviser

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: July 29, 1947

Added: October 2002

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Memorandum from the British Political Adviser

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: This is a response to the **letter** from the American Political Adviser, which strangely insisted on the participation of the unreliable Italian authorities on any endeavor to arrest Pavelic.

Office of the British Political Adviser
to the Supreme Allied Commander,
A.F.H.Q., C.M.F.

47/166/2A.

2nd August, 1947

TOP SECRET

To: - A/SACMED. [*Acting/Supreme Allied Commander Mediterranean*], through Chief of Staff

From: - British Political Adviser

Copy: - D. C/S.

J.A.G.

G-2.

G-5.

United States Political Adviser

Subject: ANTE PAVELIC

I refer to the United States Political Adviser's **memorandum** on this subject of 29th July.

H.M. Government are in full agreement that this man should be apprehended on the terms proposed by the United States State Department.

They are moreover most anxious that no time should be lost in



related links

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laying the plan. All details available on the British side are to be found in Rome and I am to ask that your representative should call at H.M. Embassy as soon as possible to concert action. He should contact Mr. Bendall in the first instance.

P.W. Scarlett
British Political Adviser

:: filing information ::

Title: Memorandum from the British Political Adviser

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: August 2, 1947

Added: October 2002

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Brief from G-2 to Allied Headquarters

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: This document lifts most of its body, word for word, from **the report** filed by Agent Robert Clayton Mudd more than seven months previous. It omits Mudd's recommendation that Pavelic be arrested, though much other material is excised as well.



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

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Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

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INFORMAL ROUTING SLIP

HEADQUARTERS
MEDITERRANEAN THEATER OF OPERATIONS
Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2
APO 512, U.S. Army

File:

SUBJECT: Ante PAVELIC

(from: G-2, Phone: 307, To: DC/S AFHQ; Date: 7 Aug 47)

text-only version
scans: page 1 - 2

1. In reply to the request 6 August 1947, below is a brief of the life of Ante PAVELIC.

2. Ante PAVELIC was born in 1896 in IVAN PLANINA in BOSNIA and practiced law in ZAGREB. An extremist even in youth, he became a member of the arch-terrorist union known as the "Frankovci" under Doctor Josip FRANK. In the years immediately after the first world war he became involved in many disputes with the other Yugoslav political parties and was the sole representative of his party in the Yugoslav Parliament. In the early 1920s PAVELIC established many contacts in VIENNA and BUDAPEST and was in close contact with the Macedonian terrorist society, IMRO.

3. Shortly after the proclamation of the dictatorship of King ALEXANDER in January 1929 PAVELIC fled abroad and was subsequently condemned to death in absentia by ALEXANDER for his part in anti-Serb demonstrations organized by the Bulgarian and Macedonian terrorists.

4. From 1930 onwards, while living abroad, a great part of the time

in ITALY, he became the leader of a terrorist organization eventually to be known as the USTASHI. This organization, financed by ROME and BUDAPEST and given moral encouragement by the Germans, was responsible for a serious flurry of bomb outrages from 1930 to 1935. Training centers for terrorists were set up at BRESCIA and BORGOTARO, ITALY. The series culminated in the assassination of King ALEXANDER at MARSEILLES, FRANCE on 14 October 1934.

COMMENT:

The singular lack of added protection afforded the Yugoslav Monarch when it was well known that one attempt had already been made on ALEXANDER's life, are rather ghastly tributes to the organizational ability of PAVELIC who had apparently bribed some high official of the Surete Generale.

5. When ITALY was asked by YUGOSLAVIA to extradite PAVELIC for his guilt in this assassination, ITALY stubbornly refused and during his time of normal house arrest PAVELIC often conferred with CIANO on a possible "Coup d'etat."

6. In April 1941, PAVELIC traveled to ZAGREB and under the auspices of the Italians and Germans proclaimed the "Free and Independent State of Croatia." In June and July of 1941, PAVELIC and his Croatia [*sic*] nationalists representing some of the outstanding thugs in the Balkans, slaughtered tens of thousands of Serbians living in his independent state and along its border.

7. PAVELIC remained as head of the "Free and Independent State of Croatia" until early 1945 when he disappeared. Traces have been found in his residence in Austria until the Spring of 1947 when it is believed he traveled to ROME.

For the Assistant Chief of Staff,

CHARLES D. HARTMAN JR
Lt. Colonel, GSC
G-2 (CI) Section

:: filing information ::

Title: Brief from G-2 to Allied Headquarters

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: August 7, 1947

Added: October 2002

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Memorandum from Agent William Gowen

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: There are many explanations for this document. Loftus and Aarons in *Unholy Trinity* believe Gowen, who had worked harder than any other agent on the case, was told of the change of plans - that Pavelic would not be arrested, but simply allowed to flee Europe for South America - and put the best face on it. Other sources claim Gowen was set up by forces in the State Dept. who never wanted Pavelic to be captured - or the Ratline exposed - in the first place. Whatever the case, within 45 days, the Counter Intelligence Corps has gone from planning for Pavelic's imminent arrest to looking at him as a misunderstood man whose victims, the Serbs, wish him to go free. Note paragraphs five (about **Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac**), six (rationale for the **Vatican's** protective umbrella around the Ustase), and thirteen and the Agent's Comments (allegation that Pavelic is being protected not just by the Vatican but the British.)

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ROME DETACHMENT
ZONE FIVE
A. P. O. 512, U. S. ARMY



related links

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

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Exhibition: Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File

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WEWG/ms

29 August 1947

Case No. 5650

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: PAVELIC, Ante

1. Pursuant to the instructions of the Supervising Agent, this Detachment upon the request of the AC of S, G-2, MTOUSA, these Agents are herewith submitting the following information concerning Subject.

2. PAVELIC, Ante, former Chief of State of the Croat Independent State 1941-1945 and at present on the London War Criminal List recognized by Great Britain and the United States, is in hiding in Italy, probably in the Rome area. Though his present status cannot be concisely established, it is known that numbers of Croat guerillas [*sic*] in Yugoslavia are fighting and dying in his name.

3. PAVELIC began his career as a political emigrant in 1929 after the Serbs had murdered RADIC, the leader of the Croats in the Yugoslav Parliament. The Subject, a violent Croat nationalist, subsequently fled from Yugoslavia, and the Serbs retaliated by killing off all members of his family. As a result of this, PAVELIC became even more radical and rose to the leadership of the Croat USTASCIA Movement in 1933 at which time he was in Geneva, Switzerland. Living in the boarding houses and third class hotels of Central and Western Europe, including those of Paris, Geneva, Rome and Budapest, in contact with the political intelligence agents of MUSSOLINI and HORTHY, in alliances against Yugoslavia with Balkan secret societies, and in league with the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia, combating the Serb Orthodox Church, Subject built up a large series of acquaintances in a number of countries. In 1935, he was responsible for the MARSEILIE [*sic*] assassination of King ALEXANDER of Yugoslavia and the French Foreign Minister, BARTHOUE.

4. In the meantime, he had married a Jewess and now has three (3) children by her; two daughters and a son.

5. Though fanatically anti-Serb and to a slightly lesser degree anti-Orthodox, PAVELIC is a cultured person and a social liberal. It is said, with exactly what foundation is unknown, that **Archbishop STEPINAC, Alois** of Zagreb was the Subject's evil genius. STEPINAC was one of PAVELIC's close friends and is reputed to have taken him at the time of his political frustration when the tragedy of his family was still a fresh memory and to have turned him into a religious fanatic. The fact is, however, that during the early months of the PAVELIC regime about 150,000 persons of the Serb Orthodox faith were slaughtered - in many cases, it is a matter of record, they were offered salvation if they renounced their faith and became Catholics.

6. Thus, today, in the eyes of the **VATICAN**, PAVELIC is a militant Catholic, a man who erred, but who erred fighting for Catholicism. It is for this reason that Subject now enjoys VATICAN protection. Certain it is that the reports STEPINAC sent to the Holy City, concerning Subject must have been favorable.

7. Due to the Croat-Italian frontier question, PAVELIC slowly dropped his very close contact with the Italian Fascist Government and came to an agreement with the Germans sometime prior to 1941. This was not an unnatural step since Croatia had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire for hundreds of years with the middle

and upper classes all speaking German, and with the Croat military and naval officers all graduates of Austrian academies. In April 1941, when Germany and Italy invaded Yugoslavia, PAVELIC declared the Independent Croat State and the Croat elements of the Yugoslav Armed Forces for the most part deserted and turned on the Serbs. PAVELIC's tie to the Germans tightened when the Italians formally annexed parts of Croatia and declared other regions occupied territory. (After the Italian Armistice, 8 September 1943, Subject incorporated these territories into Croatia). The Croats found this particularly odious because they themselves had turned over these areas to the Italians. The friction between PAVELIC and the Italians increased despite Subject's Rome visit to MUSSOLINI in 1941. Eventually, the Italian SIM (Intelligence) organized the sale of war materials to MIHAILOVIC for explicit use against the Croats.

8. During the war, when CHURCHILL was backing the idea of an Allied Balkan invasion and MIHAILOVIC commanded the major Allied Force in the area, the Chetnik Commander approached two of PAVELIC's ministers VOKIC and LORKOVIC. He did so seeking the eventual cooperation of the Croats in the supposedly impending Allied invasion. The Subject tolerated this relationship for some time; however, when this invasion failed to materialize, the two a/m ministers were tried, sentenced, and executed.

9. In May 1945, just prior to the final German collapse, when TITO had already been recognized by Britain and the United States, the remnants of the Croat Armed Forces were retreating towards southeast

[a page appears to be missing; the rest of paragraph 9, 10, 11, and much of 12 are not available]

Minister assassinated with Alexander in 1935. On the other hand, PAVELIC is known to be in contact with the VATICAN which sees in him the militant Catholic who yesterday fought the Orthodox Church and today is fighting communist atheism.

13. Since no emigrant political leader with as many enemies and as many acquaintances as the Subject could long hide from the eyes of the world without also positive assistance, indubitably, the Subject is today being supported and exploited by some power. Though it can be admitted that the VATICAN could successfully hide an individual, it must be brought to mind that he also has a wife and three (3) children who are also under cover and are being supported. Due to the regulations of the Roman Catholic Church, no man can live with his wife inside a religious institution. Allegedly PAVELIC's family came to Italy with PAVELICIC, a former Croat minister, and lived first in CECINA, Tuscany, for some time and then moved to Florence. His son is now reported studying at Bologna and one daughter is believed married. His wife with the remaining daughter

supposedly remain in Florence. PAVELIC's family must have fled through the British lines from Croatia in 1945 and its location must have been known to the British at that time. Knowing something of the British Intelligence system, these agents feel sure that it must have been and continues to be closely surveilled by the British. It is also not excluded that the Italian authorities do not know of the exact location of PAVELIC's family.

14. For some time a number of rumors have been circulating concerning PAVELIC's supposed attempts to flee Italy using false passports. PAVELIC obviously has need of false documents and is *[sic]* probably in the possession of a large number of them. But these agents doubt that PAVELIC desires to leave Italy, the Vatican, his family, what remain of his organization, and the fight to which he has fanatically dedicated his life.

AGENTS' COMMENTS:

PAVELIC, after years of frustration and bitterness succeeded in returning to his homeland a conquering hero. He obviously is hoping and fighting for the same end today with all the fanaticism of a desperate and cornered revolutionary. For the reasons given above he is receiving the protection of the VATICAN whose view of the entire "PAVELIC Question" is that, since the Croat State does not exist and, since the TITO regime cannot be expected to give anybody a fair trial, the Subject should not be turned over to the present Yugoslav Regime with the excuse of bringing him to justice. The extradition of PAVELIC would only weaken the forces fighting atheism and aid Communism in its fight against the Church.

PAVELIC's crimes of the past cannot be forgotten, but he can only be tried by Croats representing a Christian and Democratic Government, the VATICAN maintains. While PAVELIC is allegedly responsible for the death of 150,000 persons, TITO is the agent of STALIN, who is responsible for the deaths of tens of millions of persons in the Ukraine, White Russia, Poland, the Baltic and the Balkan States over a period of about twenty-five (25) years.

It is the opinion of these Agents that the Subject has been closely linked to the British in the past and still is, though to what degree is unknown.

The present Chetnik view of PAVELIC is that he ought not to be turned over to TITO at the present time since his following trial would be used as a basis for more anti-American and pro-Communist propaganda.

Monsignor JURETIC, Agostino, reputedly the Chief Croat Peasant Party representative in Europe now that Dr. *[Vladko]* MACEK is in America and who went to school with Subject, recently stated in

regard to PAVELIC's present status, "he has got all his faith in the British".

RECOMMENDATIONS:

These Agents recommend that the VATICAN and Chetnik views of PAVELIC be appreciated and that no direct police action be taken against him on the part of the American Military Authorities. Such an action would force his extradition to TITO and would bolster the present British anti-American propaganda campaign be waged [sic] among the political emigres in Western Europe. (In the case of the Croats the British state that while they have only extradited seven (7) Croats from Italy the United States has extradited ninety-eight (98) from Austria). If however, contact can be established through the VATICAN, as these Agents believe quite possible, and proof can be collected concerning British protection and cooperation with Subject, then the British could be forced to arrest and extradite him themselves. The ultimate disposal of PAVELIC is necessary if the Croat democratic and resistance forces are to ever be recognized by the United States. In the meantime, these Agents recommend that attempts be made to discover the whereabouts of PAVELIC's wife and three (3) children who are apparently still dispersed in Italy.

LOUIS S. CANIGLIA, Special Agent, CIC.
WILLIAM E.W. GOWEN, Special Agent, CIC.

APPROVED:
GONO MORENA
Supervising Agent.

Distribution:
To AC of S G-2 only as per
verbal request to investigative
Agents.


:: filing information ::

Title: Memorandum from Agent William Gowen

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: August 29, 1947

Added: October 2002



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an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

Memorandum from Agent William Gowen

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: This document contains the most widely quoted passage in the entire US Army dossier on Ante Pavelic, related to his incriminating relationship with the **Vatican**. The reference to **Krunoslav Draganovic**, the organizer of the Vatican's Ratline, indicates that Agent Gowen had put together the entire puzzle behind the development of a nest of Nazis inside the Holy See. This is the last substantial report submitted by the Counter Intelligence Corps before Pavelic left for Argentina one year later.

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ROME DETACHMENT
ZONE FIVE
A. P. O. 512, U. S. ARMY

WEWG/ms

12 September 1947

Case No. 5650-A

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: PAVELIC, Ante

Re: Present Status

1. The following information concerning subject has been the result of further investigation of Case No. 5650 as per instructions Supervising Agent, this detachment following the request of AC of S, G-2, MTOUSA.

2. Between five (5) and ten (10) days ago, PAVELIC underwent a serious operation. Reputedly, he barely survived this operation. Indirect contact is being maintained with one of *[sic]* Subject's acquaintances through **DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav**. The name of this acquaintance is not known to these Agents and apparently the man



Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: Search

Exhibition: Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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in question is not as yet aware of the interest of an American agency.

3. These agents have received the following impression of PAVELIC's contact with the **VATICAN**.

PAVELIC's contacts are so high and his present position is so compromising to the VATICAN, that any extradition of Subject would deal a staggering blow to the Roman Catholic Church.

AGENTS' COMMENTS:

It is the opinion of these Agents that an interview can be arranged with Subject on extraterritorial ground when the condition of his health permits his movement.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

It is recommended that the final disposition of Subject's case await the clarification that such an interview as described above could bring.

LOUIS S. CANIGLIA, Special Agent, CIC.
WILLIAM E.W. GOWEN, Special Agent, CIC.

APPROVED:
GONO MORENA
Supervising Agent.

:: filing information ::

Title: Memorandum from Agent William Gowen

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: September 12, 1947

Added: October 2002

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Unknown Document

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: Another of the small, index card-sized files mixed among the papers of Pavelic's dossier. None of the claims can be verified.

PAVELIC Alias KERES

SUBJECT is the commander of the "Ustascha" resistance army which is reported to be operating in TSHERNAGORA and in the Dalmatian area. The Ustascha headquarters is in the vicinity of GORZ, near UDINE. SUBJECT maintains a liaison with partisans fighting in Poland and in Czechoslovakia and uses "KERES" as a cover name.

Ref. D. 198454 MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION ON THE BALKANS
17 Oct 1947 RE: BALKAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Unknown Document

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: October 17, 1947

Added: October 2002

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Telegram Received by G-2

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: There is no date listed, but we place this in 1948 based upon circumstantial evidence which is not quite decisive. According to this, Pavelic was still living at least part of the time at his Vatican sanctuary at San Girolamo.



related links

For Colonel Harvey Smith, G-2

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: ROME

Date: 7 January 7 pm

Code: ~~Top~~-Secret

Received: 8 January 11:36 am.

For Colonel Smith, G-2.

The following information received from Rome this date to be forwarded to you:

"Possible aliases are Brodic (repeat Brodic) and Dasovic (repeat Dasovic) Embassy source certain he was in Rome December 15 at Croatian Religious Institute St. Hieronym, via Tomacelli 132. Apparently did not depart vessel which sailed for Argentina about December 20 and he may now have returned to Austria.

His son reported to be in Rome now under assumed name, Braco (repeat Braco).

Pavelich reported to have had plastic surgery performed."

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

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Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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KEY

REM:rem

:: *filing information* ::

Title: Telegram Received by G-2

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: January 7, 1948

Added: October 2002

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Unknown Document

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: Another of the small, index card-sized files mixed among the papers of Pavelic's dossier. Interesting quote about the future orientation of the Ustase - implying, of course, that they will continue to exist.

PAVELICH, Ante

SUBJECT is the leader of the USTASHI (the Ingurgents *[sic]*)

SUBJECT is the head of the Croatian Regime

SUBJECT was mentioned in this report concerning "USTASHI" and it was said that "The principles will be the same as the principles of the USTASHI leader Ante PAVELICH, during the time of his emmigration to Italy, before SUBJECT took power in Croatia.

Ref. D. 152147 USTASHI (The Insurgents)

Memo: 16 Feb. 1948



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Unknown Document

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: February 16, 1948

Added: October 2002

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Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina

From the CIA File on Ante Pavelic: This appears to be a microfilm copy of a report with a plethora of details on the arrival of Ante Pavelic and other Ustase in Argentina. The CIA today claims to have no knowledge of where other documents relating to his long exile in Argentina have gone. Vjekoslav Vrancic is one of Pavelic's confidants and is mentioned **here** as one of Pavelic's fellow fugitives in the Vatican's San Girolamo sanctuary, as is [Lovro] Susic. Vinko Nikolic, mentioned at the end of paragraph five, would be named a senator by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in 1997. Illegible portions are marked by [?]

Subject: Reported Arrival of Ante PAVELIC in Argentina

Date of Information: Current

Date Acquired: November 1948

Date of Report: 2 December 1948

1. Ante PAVELIC former head of the Independent State of Croatia and pro-Nazi war criminal, is reported to have arrived in Buenos Aires on board the Italian ship SS SESTIERE which docked on 6 November from Genoa, Italy.

2. PAVELIC traveled under an unidentified assumed name, as an engineer, on International Red Cross documents. On board, he was disguised by a heavy beard and a moustache. Upon arrival in Buenos Aires, he is said to have shaved both beard and moustache.

3. Ivica PEROVIC, Vjekoslav VRANCIC and Jezo [? - HRANCIC?] had been secretly advised by Father Stjepan [?] from Rome that PAVELIC was sailing for Argentina on the SS SESTIERE.

4. For a few months prior to his departure from Italy, PAVELIC stayed at a monastery by Castel Gandolfo near Rome, the Pope's summer home. With **Father DRAGANOVIC's** help, subject made his way to Genoa from whence he came to Argentina.

5. Shortly after his arrival in Buenos Aires, PAVELIC held two long conferences with [?], in which the latter, speaking in the name of the Argentine government, extended full help and cooperation. Later, subject received VRANCIC, [?], [? - Tutzia?], Father Vlado [? -



related links

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: [Search](#)

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Bilobnik?], [?] SUSIC and the two editors of the bi-weekly newspaper "Croatia", Ivan SEVISTIC and Vinko NIKOLIC.

6. In his first meeting with his followers in Argentina, PAVELIC urged the Ustashi to stand together and work for the restoration of the "Independent State of Croatia". He added that there is [? - possibly "no", but probably "an"] assurance that Dr. Vlatko MACEK will work for a free Croatia.

7. After several days in Buenos Aires, subject, accompanied by VRANCIC, left for the interior. Some say that they went to Cordoba, but source is of the opinion that Pavelic may be in Vandil in the Province of Buenos Aires, [? - 330?] kilometers south of the City of Buenos Aires. This belief is supported by the fact that a staunch follower of PAVELIC, [? - COLLUSI?], a Croat engineer, suddenly left Buenos Aires for Vandil.

8. PAVELIC's first steps upon arrival in Argentina indicate that he plans to become politically active. If such is the case, source believes he will exercise considerable influence over local Yugoslav immigrants, especially the Croats and Ustashi. Source states that PAVELIC is convinced that he has a mission to perform, and that he and his followers still regard him as the "Poglavnik" or chief of state.

:: filing information ::

Title: Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: December 2, 1948

Added: October 2002

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Unknown Document

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: Another of the small, index card-sized files mixed among the papers of Pavelic's dossier. Seems to allege some connection between Pavelic and the "Croatian Catholic Union," though little can be truthfully established.

PAVELIC, Ante

Res: 14055 Ohio Avenue, c/o Mrs. Katherina PEJAKOVIC, DETROIT 4, Michigan or BUENOS Aires, Argentina

Former puppet government head in CROATIA.

RD-180391, A/R Reg V-19798, VI-15373, subj: CROATIAN CATHOLIC UNION dtd 4 Dec 50



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Unknown Document

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: December 4, 1950

Added: October 2002

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Unknown Document

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: Another of the small, index card-sized files mixed among the papers of Pavelic's dossier, this one from a larger piece on the Croatian Resistance Movement.

PAVELIC, Ante.

SUBJECT charged **LUBURIC** with the organization of the whole of the Croatian Resistance Movement in case Yugoslavis [*sic*] was occupied.

RD-232318, Ltr, ID, Subj: The Croatian Resistance Movement.



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

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Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: Unknown Document

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: 1950s

Added: October 2002

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News: Tito Asks Peron to Yield Pavelic

A few scholars have pointed out that the Yugoslav Communist authorities, in an effort to "sweep away" the slaughter from World War II, had dropped attempts to extradite Ante Pavelic from Argentina. The following article from the *New York Times* is dated May 24, 1951 - just three years after Pavelic's arrival in Buenos Aires.

May 24, 1951

TITO ASKS PERON TO YIELD PAVELIC

*Yugoslav Note Also Requests Other Ustasish
Residing in Argentina Be Extradited*

Special to the New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, May 23 - The Press Directorate announced tonight that the Foreign Ministry had sent a note to the Argentine Government on May 19 requesting the extradition of **Ante Pavelic** and other Ustashi war criminals who are now residing in Argentina.

Pavelic, who occupied the position of Poglavnik or chief of the Nazi and Italian Fascist puppet state of Croatia during the last war, is held responsible for the mass murder of 800,000 Serbs, Croats and Jews by Ustasish.

The note to the Peron Government followed a similar note to the United States Government requesting the extradition of **Andrea Artukovic**, who served as Minister of Interior under Pavelic and who in the Yugoslav view shared the responsibility for the mass exterminations in Croatia. United States immigration authorities picked up Artukovic in Los Angeles and released him on bail pending an investigation.

Anti-Tito "Government" Set Up

In its note to the Argentine Government, the Foreign Ministry said that Pavelic and his associates had set up a "government" in Buenos



CIA File: [Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The Ratline](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Essay: [The Poglavnik's Family Tree](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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Aires whose activities were directed against the present Yugoslav state. The note added that these men were publishing several newspapers and were enjoying the protection and patronage of the Argentine Government.

The Yugoslav note charged the Argentine Government with giving official employment to many notorious Ustashis and cited the case of Ivan Herenic, Ustashi police chief of Croatia and now employed in the Ministry of Public Works at Buenos Aires under the name Juan Horvat. The note also mentioned the case of Josip Balen, former Ustashi Minister who is now employed by the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture under the name Ivan Barac.

Asylum Right Not Contested

The Tito Government's not asserted the the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs had made an arrangement with the "commissariat of the Ustashi Franciscans" in Buenos Aires whereby the Ustashis could obtain legal status. According to the notes, this commissariat is authorized to issue certificates of birth and marriage and other legal documents to Nstashi *[sic]* emigres that are accepted by Argentine authorities.

The note said the Yugoslav Government did not contest the right of any state to grant asylum to political emigres, but in the case of the Ustashis the issue involved war criminals who were plotting openly against Yugoslavia.

The note concluded with the statement that the Yugoslav Government expected the Argentine Government to take immediate steps to end the activities of the Ustashis against Yugoslavia and advised the Argentine Government that the extradition of the Ustashis was being requested.


:: filing information ::

Title: News: Tito Asks Peron to Yield Pavelic

Source: *New York Times*. Transcribed by Erica Case.

Date: May 24, 1951

Added: November 26, 2003



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Ustasha Resurgence in Europe

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: Taking the Fifth Amendment is not supposed to be interpreted as an admission of guilt. Nevertheless, it's hard to imagine what exactly is in this report that caused it to be pulled from the US Army dossier by the CIA for reasons of national security, now more than fifty-one years after it was written. The classification notices from the CIA that followed this cover page are included [here](#) and [here](#).

[top of document missing]

6230

Reported Resurgence of Ustascha Org. in Europe Controlled by Ante PAVELIC
11 Dec 1951

Attached hereto is a report concerning Subject. We should appreciate receiving your comments and any information available in your files concerning subject.

Charles B. Martin
Stuttgart Representative

Tel. Ext 267

21 Dec 1951

1. Reference your minute 1. above, a file check this organization revealed no information relative to the resurgence of subject organization.

2. In the event that such information comes to our attention, it will be furnished without delay.



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

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FOR THE COMMANDING OFFICER:

EUGENE L. MALRADY

Maj. TG

Capt *[illegible - Gesregen?]*/em/ms/Stgt 9342-564 Chief, Operations
Section GPS

21 Dec 51

M/R:

DAD requested all available information in our files re the resurgence of Subject organization. They have some info that Ante Pavelic, wartime leader of this Org was attempting to reorganize in Austria, Belgium, and Italy.

RHG/em

:: filing information ::

Title: Ustasha Resurgence in Europe

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: December 11, 1951

Added: October 2002

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Unknown Document

From the US Army File on Ante Pavelic: Another of the small, index card-sized files mixed among the papers of Pavelic's dossier, this refers to a piece on Ustase subverting the Catholic refugee agency Caritas.

PAVELIC, Ante

24 Jun 53

War criminal, who is believed to be in Argentina or Italy. Former ustasha leader, who directed the Croatian nationalist movement; this movement has sponsored an "information collecting agency" for operations in Yugoslavia and Austria under cover of the various Caritas offices in Austria.

Ref: D-336336 Conf Rpt dtd 16 Dec 52 # R-1991-52 - 430th
Sub: Yugoslav Emigre Activities in Austria
ce/COM



related links

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Unknown Document

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: June 24, 1953

Added: October 2002

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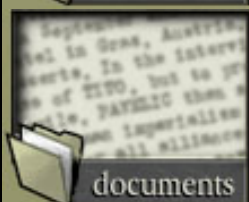
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Founding Declaration of the Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP)

English translation of the seminal document of the *Hrvatski Oslobodilacki Pokret*, (Croatian Liberation Movement, or HOP), the successor to the wartime Ustase, founded by *poglavnik* Ante Pavelic and 12 other former Independent State of Croatia ministers in exile in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The "latest developments" mentioned in the opening salvo refers to the reconciliation of Yugoslavia and the USSR after eight years of bitter fighting, though Yugoslavia would never return to the Warsaw Pact or the Soviet orbit.

CROATIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

DECLARATION

In view of the latest developments regarding the Belgrade Communist government and of the insoluble ties between that government and Soviet Russia, we the undersigned, members of the government of the Independent State of Croatia, pledge to begin work for the immediate liberation of Croatia among ourselves, the Croatian people, and to collaborate with all other peoples enslaved by Communism and all other free people willing to participate.

Required by these consultations and agreements, which were already successfully implemented by a part of the Croatian Liberation Movement in many countries, is a resolute commitment by all organizations and society as a whole against Communist tyranny. Parties to the strengthening of this movement are the Croatian Ustase Movement (HUP), the Croatian Republican Peasant Party-Stjepan Radic (HRSS), the Croatian Armed Forces (HOS), the Croatian State Party (HDS), all patriots, and every part of society and every underground organization abroad with similar goals. Its purpose is the immediate and unconditional freedom for all Croatian people, and to restore the Independent State of Croatia in all her territory, fully comprised of all Croatian lands defined as that between the Mura, the Drava, the Dunava, the Drina and the Adriatic Sea.

Communism destroys the freedom of all people, and leads to the



related links

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: The Croatian Liberation Movement

Documents: Odpor

Misc: [Search](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

[text-only version](#)

destruction of all spiritual and material values. To fight this evil all people with free hearts and values must be united and prepared for the struggle.

The Croatian Liberation Movement, within the great country of Croatia and abroad, prepares themselves one and all, each making his own contribution, realizing that Communism is a threat without borders, a threat not only totalitarian but universal, and consequently this struggle requires upon all peoples in all places working together in refusal and defiance.

June 8, 1956

Dr. Ante Pavelic, Poglavnik and Commander-in-Chief of the Croatian Armed Forces

Dr. Dzafer beg-Kulenovic, deputy and President of the NDH

Dr. Vjekoslav Vrancic, Minister of the NDH

Dr. Stjepan Hefer, Minister of the NDH and deputy of the Peasant Party

Dr. Jozo Dumandzic, Minister of the NDH

Ivica Frkovic, Minister of the NDH

Stipe Matijevic, deputy of the Peasant Party, Doglavnik and State Councillor of the NDH

Dr. Petar grof Pejacevic, Minister of the NDH

Dr. Andrija Ilic, Minister of the NDH

Dr. Oskar Turina, Minister of the NDH

Dr. Ivan Kordic, State Councillor the NDH

Josip Markovic, State Security of the NDH

Ivan Asancaic, Leader of the Croatian Home Guard [*Domobran*]

:: filing information ::

Title: Founding Declaration of the Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP)

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: June 8, 1956

Added: October 2002

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an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

News: Pro-Nazi is Hunted

News account indicating that the Argentine authorities actually revoked Ustase leader Ante Pavelic's asylum after the international attention brought by the attempt against his life on the night of April 10, 1957. However, as the second paragraph alludes, he had already left for Spain, where he would succumb to injuries from the attack two years later.

April 27, 1957

PRO-NAZI IS HUNTED

Argentina Orders Arrest of Wounded Yugoslav

BUENOS AIRES, April 26 (UP) - The Ministry of Interior tonight issues an order for the arrest of **Ante Pavelic**, prominent pro-Nazi leader in Yugoslavia who headed the independent Croatian state set up during the invasion by Hitler's armies.

The Ministry said Pavelic had disappeared from his home in suburban Buenos Aires and was considered a fugitive.

He was shot and seriously wounded by an **unidentified assailant** two weeks ago. He was hit in the right shoulder and near the spinal column.

Pavelic came to Argentina in 1946. the Yugoslav Government is seeking his extradition as a war criminal.

related links

Feature: [Two Bullets for Pavelic](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The Ratline](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Essay: [The Poglavnik's Family Tree](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

[text-only version](#)
[scans: page 1](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: News: Pro-Nazi is Hunted

Source: United Press. Transcribed by Erica Case.

Date: April 26, 1957 (published
April 27, 1957)

Added: November 26, 2003

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News: Ante Pavelic Dies in Madrid at 70

The *New York Times* obituary for Ante Pavelic. The **scanned image** of this file includes a photograph taken at the time of the attempt on his life.

December 30, 1959

ANTE PAVELIC DIES IN MADRID AT 70

*Head of Nazi Puppet Regime in Yugoslavia
Sentenced to Death by 3 Countries*

MADRID, Dec. 29 (Reuters) - Ante Pavelic, head of the Nazi puppet regime in the Croatian region of Yugoslavia during World War II, died yesterday in the German Hospital here it was revealed today. He was 70 years old.

Product of Turbulence

M. Pavelic was a product of the turbulent politics and extreme nationalist passions that gave the Balkans in the inter-war years the nickname of the "cockpit of Europe." Three times he was sentenced to death - each time by a different state.

He was convicted of being the master hand behind one fo the most sensational political assassinations of his era - that King Alexander of Yugoslavia and Foreign Minister Louis Barthou of France.

For most of his adult years M. Pavelic, a short, stocky man with piercing eyes, a broad forehead and shaggy eyebrows, lived in the underground world of quasi-legality that was the customary habitat of the Balkan terrorist.

He was a Croat extremist whose supreme opportunity came when the German Nazis and the Italian Fascists attacked Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941. Hitler and Mussolini detached Croatia from Yugoslavia and established M. Pavelic as the Croatian "Poglavnik" or



Feature: [Two Bullets for Pavelic](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The Ratline](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Essay: [The Poglavnik's Family Tree](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

[text-only version](#)
[scans: page 1](#)



fuehrer.

Vanished After Liberation

When the cardboard structure of the Croatian "kingdom" collapsed with the liberation of Yugoslavia late in 1944, M. Pavelic fled. Most of his chief lieutenants were captured and executed. But he vanished.

Apparently M. Pavelic donned peasant garb and made his way to Rome, where he had many friends as a result of his long residence in exile. He masqueraded there for a while as a Hungarian general and then managed to reach Argentina, where he was given refuge by President Juan Perón.

He lived in comparative obscurity in the little town of Caseros, not far from Buenos Aires, until 1957, when he was **shot and wounded twice** in an assassination attempt that he blamed on agents of Tito.

When the Argentine Government late in 1957 **agreed to consider** a Yugoslav extradition request, M. Pavelic disappeared. He was reported to have gone to Paraguay. Just when he went to Spain is not known.

M. Pavelic was born July 14, 1889 in Herzegovina, the son of a railroad worker, and studied law at the Universities of Zagreb and Vienna. When the Yugoslav state was formed at the end of World War I, he joined the Croatian State Party and was elected to the Yugoslav Parliament.

Became More Extreme

His politics became more and more nationalist and extreme. He was bitterly opposed to the Moderate Croat leader, Stepan Raditch, who was assassinated in the Yugoslav Parliament on June 20, 1928. There was no indication that M. Pavelic had a hand in the Raditch affair, but he left Yugoslavia soon thereafter and joined a Croat terrorist extremist group, called the Ustachis, led by Dr. Ivo Frank.

A few months later M. Pavelic went to Sofia and negotiated a cooperative agreement between the Ustachi and IMRO, the Macedonian terrorist organization that had been in existence since 1893. Shortly thereafter, M. Pavelic for the first time was sentenced to death - in absentia - by the Royalist Yugoslav Government.

After the assassination of King Alexander and M. Barthou in Marseille in 1934, France vainly tried to persuade Mussolini to extradite M.

Pavelic from Italy, where he had set up headquarters. Mussolini refused, although M. Pavelic was arrested and imprisoned until May, 1936. He was condemned to death in absentia for the second time - February, 1936 by France - for his role in the Alexander-Barthou affair.

M. Pavelic continued to live in Italy with his wife and three children in a villa at his disposal by Mussolini until April, 1941, when he returned to Zagreb to to establish his ill-fated Croat nationalist government.

He was sentenced to death in absentia for the third time on July 15, 1945, by the Tito Yugoslav government for his role in the war atrocities in Yugoslavia.

:: filing information ::

Title: News: Ante Pavelic Dies in Madrid at 70

Source: *New York Times*. Transcribed by Erica Case.

Date: December 29, 1959
(published December 30, 1959)

Added: November 26, 2003

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US Congress: H.Res 235 IH

Referred to originally on the site of Argentinian researcher **Uki Goni** and downloaded from the **Library of Congress**, this is the complete text of a resolution pending before the US House of Representatives *right now*. The cosigners of the Resolution are listed in the preamble. We will be following the progress of the Resolution throughout the 108th Congress.

H.RES 235 IH 108th CONGRESS 1st Session

H. RES. 235

Urging the Government of Argentina to build upon the steps it has taken to shed light on the relocation to Argentina of Nazis and other war criminals following the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945 and the subsequent end of World War II and release all official records pertaining to the relocation to Argentina of Nazis and other war criminals following these events.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 14, 2003

Mr. HINCHEY (for himself, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. BELL, Ms. CARSON of Indiana, Mr. CASE, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. DOYLE, Mr. FILNER, Mr. FROST, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. HONDA, Mr. ISRAEL, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. MCNULTY, Mr. NADLER, Mr. RODRIGUEZ, Mr. SHAYS, Mrs. TAUSCHER, Ms. WATSON, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. WEXLER, and Mr. WYNN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations



related links

CIA File: Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina

Article: The Final Redoubt of Nazism

Article: The Return of Bolivia's Blood-Stained Dictator

Congressional Bill: "For the Relief of Andrija Artukovic"

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Documents: The Ratline

Judicial Testimony: Measures Taken Against the Jews

Misc: Search

Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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RESOLUTION

Urging the Government of Argentina to build upon the steps it has taken to shed light on the **relocation to Argentina** of Nazis and other war criminals following the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945 and the subsequent end of World War II and release all official records pertaining to the relocation to Argentina of Nazis and other war criminals following these events.

WHEREAS Nazis and other war criminals seeking to avoid prosecution for their role in the Holocaust, one of the most horrific crimes ever witnessed by human kind, were permitted to relocate to Argentina following the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945 and the subsequent end of World War II;

WHEREAS some of the most notorious criminals of the Holocaust resided in Argentina , including Adolf Eichmann, Edward Roschmann, Erich Priebke, Kurt Christmann, and **Ante Pavelic**;

WHEREAS Argentina , as a member of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research, has agreed on the importance of encouraging all archives, both public and private, to make their holdings on the Holocaust more widely accessible;

WHEREAS Argentina , as a member of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research, has committed to the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust and therefore agreed to `throw light on the still obscured shadows of the Holocaust' and committed to `take all necessary steps to facilitate the opening of archives in order to ensure that all documents bearing on the Holocaust are available to researchers';

WHEREAS in 1997 Argentina created the Commission of Inquiry into the Activities of Nazism in Argentina to identify Nazis who settled in the country, determine if Nazi loot had arrived in Argentina , and evaluate the impact of Nazism on Argentine society;

WHEREAS in addition to the Commission of Inquiry into the Activities of Nazism, more work needs to be done by the Government of Argentina to fulfill its international commitments and shed light on the relocation of Nazis and other war criminals following the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945 and the subsequent end of World War II because much remains unknown about this period;

WHEREAS the New York Times reported on March 9, 2003, that the Government of Argentina is resisting calls to make public official

records regarding collaborative efforts to relocate Nazis and other war criminals to Argentina;

WHEREAS Argentina has not responded to requests from numerous researchers for access to Argentina's archives on the relocation of Nazis and other war criminals;

WHEREAS the release of all records regarding the relocation of Nazis and other war criminals to Argentina is necessary to form a full understanding of the aftermath of the Holocaust and to ensure that future attempts by war criminals to avoid prosecution are thwarted;

WHEREAS the release of such records in no way indicts the present Government of Argentina in the relocation of Nazis and other war criminals; and

WHEREAS the release of such records by the Government of Argentina will be viewed as an important and positive gesture to all people who seek an accurate accounting of history: Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the Government of Argentina should--

(1) build upon the steps it has taken to shed light on the relocation to Argentina of Nazis and other war criminals following the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945 and the subsequent end of World War II; and

(2) make public all of Argentina's official records pertaining to the relocation to Argentina of Nazis and other war criminals.

:: filing information ::

Title: US Congress: H.Res 235 IH

Source: Library of Congress

Date: May 14, 2003

Added: June 27, 2003

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Article: Croats Honor Author of Anti-Semitic Laws

Excerpt from Associated Press wire report.

ZAGREB - Croatia has named a downtown street after the author of anti-Semitic laws who also served as a deputy to Croatia's World War II Fascist leader, newspapers reported yesterday...

The renaming has drawn strong protest from Croatian intellectuals. [Mile] Budak was the author of an anti-Semitic law banning Jews from the arts and other public offices in World War II.

Members of the commission for Renaming of Streets and Squares said that their decisions could be justified by Budak's literary work, the newspaper reported...

After the establishment of the [Ante] **Pavelic's** Ustasha regime in Zagreb, Budak published and cosigned the "Law on Protection of People's and Aryan Culture of Croatian People."



Documents: [Mile Budak](#)

Documents: [Jewish Victims](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

[text-only version](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: Article: Croats Honor Author of Anti-Semitic Laws

Source: Associated Press wire report. No attribution listed.

Date: February 10, 1993

Added: October, 2002

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Order: Maks Luburic's Proclamation

This mysterious missive was first published in the Chicago Croatian newspaper *Danica* (Morning Star) on August 9, 1950. The hitherto unknown personage behind the alias of "General Drinyanin" soon revealed his identity in the pages of his own publication, *Drina*: none other than Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic, the founder of the camp at Jasenovac and one of the most sadistic killers of the Ustase regime. From Spain, Luburic organized the defeated Ustase in *Otpor* or *Odpor*, a new organization which spanned a dozen countries and, as this document shows, never relinquished the overall command of all Croatian armed forces bestowed upon him by Ante Pavelic in the dying days of the Independent State of Croatia.

From: Headquarters of the Fifth Assembly of Croatian Armed Forces, having jurisdiction over all subjects of the Croatian armed forces living on the territory of the European states...

It has been learned that some persons - unauthorized - are endeavouring to persuade individuals to enlist in foreign armies.

By order of the Supreme Command of all Croatian Armed Forces, all subjects living in any European state is notified that no individual is authorized, nor is permitted in any capacity, to join a foreign army without a special authorization permit.

The Supreme Command of all Croatian Armed Forces will marshal its forces against Bolshevism when the time is right, to fight side by side with all other anti-Communist nations, under our own flag and within our own Croatian army formations!

Headquarters
5th Assembly
General Drinyanin



related links

Documents: Vjekoslav
"Maks" Luburic

Documents: Jasenovac

Documents: NDH Decrees

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Ustase
Movement

[text-only version](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: Order: Maks Luburic's Proclamation

Source: *Danica*

Date: August 9, 1950

Added: December 2002

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The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Otpor and *Otpor* were the colloquial names given for the *Hrvatski Narodni Odpor*, (HNO) or Croatian People's Resistance, was founded by one of the most brutal Ustase leaders, **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic** after World War II, and thus can be traced back definitively to the Ustase. The judges in the following decision characterized Otpor as "a multinational Croatian nationalist organization[,] other members of which had engaged in gun running, bombings, and assorted violent crimes." Four defendants and prominent Otpor leaders were found guilty of conspiracy to bomb a dance studio in New York's Union Square and a travel agency which booked trips for emigres returning home. By far the most sensational crime of which the defendants were convicted was the plot to murder Joseph Badurina, Secretary General of the Croatian National Congress and, in the judges' words, "a strong advocate of Croatian independence but a steadfast and vocal opponent of violence." For daring to disassociate themselves from the Ustase successor organizations, Badurina and other moderate Croats lived under constant threat of murder; in this case, the defendants stalked him as he walked his young daughter to school, waiting for the right opportunity to kill him from an idling van. This case is related to the **Ljubas convictions**, in which several of the same characters mentioned below figure prominently (and during which it was revealed that the conspirators also mailed Badurina a bomb concealed within a hollowed-out book). The court decision below (which overturns the RICO Act conviction on technical grounds, while affirming the others) is excerpted for brevity; the entire text is available as a text file [here](#).

UNITED STATES of America,
Plaintiff-Appellee, v.
Franjo IVIC, Nedjelko Sovulj, Ivan Cale and Stipe Ivkovic,
Defendants-Appellants

Nos. 81-1350, 81-1351, 81-1352, 81-1353, Nos. 296, 297, 286, 301
- August Term, 1982

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT
700 F.2d 51; 1983 U.S. App. LEXIS 31061

November 15, 1982, Argued



related links

Judicial Decision: The
Second Otpor RICO Trial
in New York City

Documents: Otpor
Leader Ante Ljubas

Documents: Otpor

Documents: The Croatian
Liberation Movement

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Ustase
Movement

Essay: The Poglavnik's
Family Tree

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January 25, 1983, Decided

PRIOR HISTORY: Appeals from judgments of the District Court for the Southern District of New York, Milton Pollack, Judge, convicting defendants, members of a Croatian nationalist terrorist organization, after a jury trial, on six counts of a seven count indictment, and imposing sentences ranging from 20 to 35 years.

DISPOSITION: Affirmed except that the convictions on count 1 (RICO) are reversed and the count is dismissed, and that the sentences on counts 5 and 6 are vacated and the cause is remanded to permit resentencing.

[.....]

JUDGES: Feinberg, Chief Judge, and Friendly and Oakes, Circuit Judges.

OPINION BY: FRIENDLY

OPINION: FRIENDLY, Circuit Judge:

These appeals from judgments of conviction in the District Court for the Southern District of New York, after a trial before Judge Pollack and a jury, concern the terrorist activities of four Croatian nationalists from mid-November to mid-December, 1980. During this one-month period, a Joint Terrorism Task Force, made up of Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), detectives of the New York City Police Department Arson and Explosives Section, as well as other FBI personnel, including a number of agents and translators able to understand Serbo-Croatian, conducted a large scale investigation, including the operation of four interception devices, the execution of eight search warrants, and around-the-clock physical surveillance of the four appellants and their coconspirators. This investigation culminated in the apprehension of these four appellants without the loss of life or limb or the destruction of property which the evidence demonstrated they intended.

After thorough consideration of appellants' many contentions, we affirm all the convictions except those on Count One under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act ("RICO"), 18 U. S.C. §§ 1961, 1962(d). As to these we hold that appellants' acts and plans, however misguided, are not within RICO.

THE FACTS

The evidence at trial showed the following: [1.] Defendants, Cale, Ivic, Sovulj, and Ivkovic, were active partisans of Croatian independence, committed to the separation of Croatia from Yugoslavia. [2.] Defendant Cale owned a house at 31 North Eckar St., Irvington, New York. He lived on the bottom floor of the house and rented the top floor to defendant Ivkovic. Defendant Ivic, who had preceded Ivkovic as Cale's tenant, resided at 381 Broadway, Dobbs Ferry, New York. Ivkovic was the owner of a white Chevrolet van, registered to him at the North Eckar St. address.

In the early morning hours of November 18, 1980, surveillance agents of the FBI observed Ivkovic drop off his white van at Ivic's residence. Ivic then drove the van to Astoria, in the borough of Queens, where he picked up defendant Sovulj. Together Ivic and Sovulj drove to the intersection of 43rd St. and Broadway in the same borough, arriving there at 8:20 a.m. They parked on 43rd St., just north of Broadway, and replaced the left rear glass window of the van with a cardboard screen, leaving a two-inch opening at the top. Except for a five-minute interval during which the van circled the block, Ivic and Sovulj remained inside the parked but idling van until 8:54 a.m., peering through the aperture southwards down 43rd Street. The significance of the location was that one Joseph Badurina lived with his wife and children at 32-18 43rd St., just south of Broadway. Badurina was a prominent Croatian journalist and politician, the Secretary General of the Croatian National Congress, an umbrella organization for various Croatian groups, and editor of the Congress' publication, The Messenger. Badurina was a strong advocate of Croatian independence but a steadfast and vocal opponent of violence. He had previously published in The Messenger an open letter to the Croatian community from then U.S. Attorney Robert Fiske, Jr., along with an editorial endorsing it.

These views had not endeared him to those in the Croatian independence movement who favored less gentle methods: Indeed, on at least one occasion his life had been threatened in a leaflet distributed by a member of OTPOR, a Croatian separatist organization of which defendants were members.

Badurina routinely walked his young daughter to school in the morning along 43rd Street, directly passing the spot where Ivic and Sovulj sat in the idling van on the morning of November 18. His regular practice was to leave his home between 8:25 and 8:30 a.m., drop off his daughter, and return alone by 9:15 a.m. Alerted by the FBI, Badurina took a different route on November 18 and thereafter did not venture outside his home for the next four weeks.

On the mornings of November 24 and 25 and December 10, Ivic and Sovulj or, on the latter date, Ivic alone, repeated essentially the same maneuver. After the November 24 visit FBI agents followed Ivic back to Dobbs Ferry. When he exited the van, he was seen

carrying a slender object, two and one half to three feet long, wrapped in some sort of white covering. Ivic cradled the object in his arm as one would a rifle.

A subsequent search of Ivkoscic's van, pursuant to warrant, yielded the cardboard screen cut to fit the rear view window. The cardboard box from which the screen had been cut was found in Cale's basement, as was a loaded Dutch 30.06 semi-automatic rifle mounted with a high-powered Mayflower scope. The rifle was inside a camouflage bag, which was in turn secreted beneath white painter's drop-cloths.

This and other evidence of a conspiracy to kill or otherwise injure Badurina, including statements by Sovulj to FBI agents denying ever being with Ivic in a white van anywhere in Queens, furnished the basis for Count 7 of the indictment, charging a conspiracy to violate Badurina's civil rights in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 241, and also furnished a possible predicate act for the RICO count (Count 1), charging a conspiracy under 18 U.S.C. § 1962(d) to violate 18 U.S.C. § 1962(c).

On November 28, 1980, Ivic and Cale talked about possible bombings. After discussing bomb construction techniques and the availability of dynamite, they identified prospective bombsites, describing one as "at the end of this avenue" and another as a "studio". It was agreed that Ivkoscic would "show the way". Next day, immediately after Cale ordered him to obtain dynamite and "smash it however you want", Ivic drove Ivkoscic's car to Bridgeport, Connecticut. There he made two stops, the first at the J & I Machine Shop and the second on Colony Street, near the residence of one Ante Caron, a J & I employee. On his return to his residence in Dobbs Ferry, Ivic removed a telephone company shopping bag from the car and carried it inside. Some forty-five minutes later he carried the same bag outside, placed it in Ivkoscic's car, and drove to New York City where he joined Ivkoscic in a Croatian demonstration outside the Yugoslav Consulate on Madison Avenue. With Ivkoscic driving, the two men proceeded to the south end of Fifth Avenue. After circling Washington Square twice and then Union Square once in very heavy traffic, Ivkoscic stopped the car in a cross-walk at the intersection of 16th St. and Union Square West. Ivic left the car briefly to inspect the premises at 19 Union Square West where the George Tomov Yugoslav Folk Dance Ensemble maintained a studio. Tomov had rented the studio for that evening to groups giving a party to celebrate Yugoslavia's Independence Day. The party had been widely advertised in the Yugoslav community and was expected to draw prominent Yugoslav officials, including the Yugoslav Ambassador to the UN and members of the Yugoslav Consulate. A search of Ivic's residence on December 12, 1980, pursuant to warrant, turned up the telephone company shopping bag which had been in the car when Ivic and Ivkoscic stopped outside the dance studio on the afternoon of November 29. Inside the bag were

assorted bomb paraphernalia and a lady's purse [3.] containing a fully operational time-bomb, consisting of 3 cartridges of 80% gelatin dynamite connected to an electric blasting cap and a clock. The time-bomb was set to explode five hours after circuitry contact was made. Thus, had the bomb been placed at the dance studio during the afternoon of November 29, it would have exploded in the middle of that evening's Independence Day festivities. Ivic did not in fact place the bomb because, as he explained later to Cale, "There was no place to park. And at the last moment you have to put that thing together, you understand?". A search of the Caron residence on Colony Street in Bridgeport on December 18, 1980, again pursuant to warrant, yielded eleven cartridges of 80% gelatin dynamite and electric blasting caps identical to the three cartridges and blasting cap in the time-bomb found in the telephone company bag in Ivic's apartment. This and other evidence furnished the basis for Count 2, charging a conspiracy to transport and utilize explosives in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 844, for Count 3, a substantive count for unlawful interstate transportation and receipt of explosives in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§ 844(d) and 2, and for Counts 4 and 5, charging attempts by means of explosives to damage and destroy, respectively, the vicinity of Washington Square Park [4.] and a building on Union Square West, in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§ 844(i) and 2, as well as providing two possible predicates for the RICO conspiracy count.

The next bombing site selected was the Rudenjak Overseas Travel Service, a travel agency which specialized in booking trips to Yugoslavia. On the morning of December 4, Ivic surveilled the agency's office, located at 550 East 187th St. in the Bronx. Next afternoon he reported to Cale that the only effective way to destroy the agency was to leave the bomb in a garbage can outside the front display window. Cale concurred and authorized the operation, telling Ivic "I would do it There is no risk here." However, a few hours later that same day, Cale, Ivic, and Ivkovic discovered loose wires in Cale's basement. Fearing that they had been subject to electronic surveillance, they abandoned the plan. This and other evidence furnished the basis for Count 6, charging an attempt to damage and destroy, by means of explosives, a travel agency located in the Bronx, in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§ 844(i) and 2, and also provided another possible predicate for the RICO conspiracy count.

We need only add that the searches on December 12, 1980, of Cale's residence, Ivkovic's van, and Ivic's apartment yielded, in addition to the loaded Dutch 30.06 military rifle, the cardboard box and screen cut therefrom, and the telephone company bag which we have already mentioned, a supply of 30.06 and .38 calibre ammunition, a loaded revolver, and two copies of a pamphlet entitled "Headquarters of the Croatian Revolutionary Forces". The search of the Caron residence in Bridgeport on December 18, 1980, produced a haul which the Government characterizes as "an arsenal of weapons and ammunition" - including, in addition to the previously mentioned

dynamite and blasting caps, a second Dutch military rifle virtually identical to that found in Cale's basement, a silencer, and several hundred rounds of ammunition. Also found were a copy of the same "Headquarters of the Croatian Revolutionary Forces" pamphlet and a manual detailing procedures for constructing terrorist weapons, including timebombs.

THE INDICTMENT, THE VERDICT AND THE SENTENCES

[.....]

Sentences:

Cale: Sentences on counts 1 and 2 are consecutive, the total there of to run concurrently with the sentences on counts 3, 5, 6, and 7, which are consecutive to one another. Total: 35 years.

Ivic: Same sentencing pattern. Total: 30 years.

Ivkosic: Same sentencing pattern. Total: 20 years.

Sovulj: Consecutive sentences on counts 1 and 7. Total: 20 years.

LEGALITY OF THE ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE

As already stated, the extensive electronic surveillance carried out in this case was based on three district court orders dated November 20, November 25, and December 10, 1980. The first order, issued by Judge Owen of the Southern District and Judge Platt of the Eastern District of New York, authorized the installation and operation of interception devices inside Ivkosic's Chevrolet van and the living-dining room area of Cale's house at 31 North Eckar Street.

This order named as subjects of the interception Cale, Ivic, and Sovulj, and "others as yet unknown", but did not name Ivkosic. The second order, issued by Judge Owen, named the same subjects and authorized the installation of an interception device in Cale's basement. The third order, likewise signed by Judge Owen, added Ivkosic as an interception subject, extended the authority to intercept conversations in Cale's living room and basement, and further authorized interception of wire communications on Cale's telephone.

Appellants mount a series of attacks on the legality of these orders. While we have little to add to the excellent opinion of Judge Pollack denying defendants' motion to suppress, 508 F. Supp. 1038 (S.D.N.

Y. 1981), we shall deal briefly with certain of their contentions.

Appellants' principal challenge is to the initial order of November 20. They argue that if this was defective, the results of interceptions authorized by the later orders must also be suppressed since these were obtained, in considerable measure, by evidence secured as a result of the interceptions authorized by the November 20 order. We find it unnecessary to pass upon this contention since we are satisfied with respect to the legality of the November 20 order.

The November 20 order was based on a 14-page affidavit by Kenneth J. Maxwell, a Special Agent of the FBI in New York. Appellants claim that this affidavit failed to make the showing of probable cause required by 18 U.S.C. § 2518(3) (a). They contend that the affidavit merely lumped together a long recitation of past bombings and murders, to which it did not connect them, with an account of an altogether "innocent" visit of Ivic and Sovulj to Badurina's neighborhood. Appellants have grotesquely mischaracterized the Maxwell affidavit and fundamentally mistaken the standards governing the determination of probable cause.

As said in *United States v. Ventresca*, 380 U.S. 102, 108, 13 L. Ed. 2d 684, 85 S. Ct. 741 (1965), "affidavits for search warrants, such as the one involved here, must be tested and interpreted by magistrates and courts in a commonsense and realistic fashion". When so read, the Maxwell affidavit provided ample cause to believe that a conspiracy was afoot to kill or injure Joseph Badurina.

Under the heading "Recent Surveillance" the affidavit treated in great detail the events witnessed by FBI agents on the morning of November 18, 1980.

Specifically, it reported the following surveillance observations: that Ivic and Sovulj had driven a van to Badurina's street at the precise time of day when Badurina regularly walked his daughter to school; that they had positioned the van directly along the route ordinarily taken by Badurina and his daughter, replaced the van's rear window with a cardboard screen over which they peered towards Badurina's house, and remained there in the idling van for upwards of twenty-five minutes; and that on the evening before as well as the evening after the trip to Badurina's neighborhood, Ivic had visited Cale's residence on North Eckar Street.

These surveillance observations were given unmistakable color by the following allegations: that Cale was the New York chapter President and Sovulj an active member of OTPOR, a multinational Croatian nationalist organization other members of which had engaged in gun running, bombings, and assorted violent crimes; that Cale's residence at 31 North Eckar Street had served as a regular meeting place for OTPOR members in the past; that the van driven

by Ivic and Sovulj was registered to Ivkovic, who resided at Cale's house; that Badurina had written articles opposing the use of violence by Croatian groups and was working to expel OTPOR from certain Croatian political organizations; and that there had been one previous attempt and numerous threats on Badurina's life for supposed disloyalty to the Croatian cause. None but the willfully naive could doubt that all this afforded probable cause to believe that Cale, Ivic and Sovulj were engaging in a conspiracy to take Badurina's life. The fact, if it be such, that the events of November 18 are susceptible of perfectly "innocent" explanation does not defeat probable cause. See *United States v. Webb*, 623 F.2d 758, 761 (2 Cir. 1980).

[.....]

Further point is made that the November 20 and 25 intercept applications did not name Ivkovic, as allegedly was required by 18 U.S.C. § 2518(1) (b) (iv), which provides that an application shall include "the identity of the person, if known, committing the offense and whose communications are to be intercepted." The Government's factual answer, that it did not have probable cause to believe that Ivkovic was involved in the criminal activities until he was observed driving a bomb around Manhattan on November 29, 1980, and that he was named in the next (and last) intercept application filed on December 10, 1980, seems convincing enough. Moreover, the Supreme Court has held that failure to comply with the identification requirement of § 2518(1) (b) (iv) does not, standing alone, invalidate an otherwise proper interception order, *United States v. Donovan*, 429 U.S. 413, 432-37, but see n. 23, 50 L. Ed. 2d 652, 97 S. Ct. 658 (1977).

On the other issues raised with respect to the intercept orders - the alleged inadequacy of the showing that normal investigative procedures would not be successful, 18 U.S.C. § 2518(3) (c), and the alleged failure to satisfy the minimization requirement, 18 U.S.C. § 2518(5) - we are content to rest on the opinion of Judge Pollack, 508 F. Supp. at 1041-42.

THE RICO COUNT

Count 1 of the indictment entitled "Racketeering Enterprise" contains five paragraphs. The first alleged that appellants, three other individuals, and others unknown to the grand jury constituted an "enterprise" as defined by 18 U.S.C. § 1961(4). Although the statute defines this simply as including "any individual, partnership, corporation, association, or other legal entity, and any union or group of individuals associated in fact although not a legal entity", the indictment went on to say "to wit, a group of individuals associated in fact which conspired to engage in various criminal

activities including acts and threats involving murder and arson as chargeable under the laws of the State of New York." The second paragraph charged that "it was the primary object of this criminal enterprise" that the defendants "would and did use terror, assassination, bombings, and violence in order to foster and promote their beliefs and in order to eradicate and injure persons whom they perceived as in opposition to their beliefs." The third paragraph charged that it was "the primary means of this criminal enterprise" that defendants and their associates "would and did receive, transport, possess, conceal, stockpile, construct, and utilize explosives, blasting caps, bombs, rifles, handguns, silencers, and ammunition." The fourth paragraph charged that the defendants, "being associated with the criminal enterprise described in Paragraphs One through Three, which enterprise was engaged in and the activities of which affected interstate and foreign commerce, did unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly conspire and agree to conduct and participate, directly and indirectly, in the affairs of that enterprise through a pattern of racketeering activity: that is, through two or more acts and threats of murder and arson in violation of" certain laws of the State of New York. The fifth paragraph alleged that "in conducting the affairs of their criminal enterprise through this pattern of racketeering activity, the defendants and others with whom they were associated performed the following acts and actions among others." There followed a list of 27 acts reading like the listing of overt acts usual in a garden-variety conspiracy indictment but unnecessary in a RICO conspiracy indictment.

This count, and the judge's effort to enlighten the jury how to deal with it, have precipitated a large number of objections. Appellants contend that the indictment was defective in failing to give adequate notice of what predicate crimes the Government intended to rely upon to establish a "pattern of racketeering activity", as defined in 18 U.S.C. § 1961(1) and (5); that the Government failed to charge or prove the existence of a discrete ongoing organization existing apart from the alleged conspiracies to murder and place explosives, as allegedly required by *United States v. Turkette*, 452 U.S. 576, 69 L. Ed. 2d 246, 101 S. Ct. 2524 (1981); that the judge's instructions left the jury under the mistaken impression that proof of two of the 27 "steps" listed in the fifth paragraph of Count 1, many of them not crimes, would suffice as proof of the two acts of racketeering activity required by § 1961(5); and that in any event the consecutive sentences imposed on Cale, Ivic, and Ivkovic for Counts 1 and 2 and on Sovulj for Counts 1 and 7 constituted constitutionally impermissible double punishment. We find it unnecessary to consider these arguments since in our view the conduct charged in the indictment and proved at trial did not constitute an offense under § 1962(d) because, as the Government conceded at argument, it was neither claimed nor shown to have any mercenary motive. [5.]

[.....]

Defendants joined together not to make money but, as the indictment itself stated, see slip op. pp. 15-16, *supra*, to advance the goal of Croatian independence. They undertook to murder Badurina and to bomb the dance studio and the travel agency not to obtain money, but rather to eliminate political opponents, win publicity, or otherwise further their chosen cause. [6.] If "enterprise" in subsection (c) is given the same meaning which that term clearly has in subsections (a) and (b), then the group to which the indictment charged and the proof showed that defendants belonged is outside its scope.

[.....]

In sum, RICO is the lineal descendant of a pair of 1967 Senate bills designed to apply antitrust-type measures to the problem of "black money". Although the bill ultimately enacted as RICO went somewhat beyond this initial conception, preventing and reversing the infiltration of legitimate businesses by organized crime elements remained its core purpose. Mere statement of RICO's origins, most particularly of the mischief it was meant to remedy, indicates that political terrorism, at least when unaccompanied by any financial motive, see note 6 *supra*, is beyond its contemplated reach.

[.....]

CONVICTIONS UNDER OTHER COUNTS

Invalidation of the convictions under Count 1 does not, of course, lead automatically to reversal of the convictions on the other counts. Cf. *United States v. Losada*, 674 F.2d 167, 170 (2 Cir.), cert. denied, 457 U.S. 1125, 102 S. Ct. 2945, 73 L. Ed. 2d 1341 (1982) (dismissal of conspiracy count on double jeopardy grounds after close of Government's case or after verdict does not automatically require dismissal of convictions on substantive counts). Before addressing the specific objections made to these, we first consider whether the presence of the RICO count had any spillover effect sufficiently prejudicial to call for reversal.

We see no sufficient reason to think that it did. The evidence of defendants' acts was, to be sure, of the sort to arouse a jury, but substantially all the evidence adduced in support of the RICO count could and doubtless would have been presented under an indictment not containing that count. The elimination of the RICO count would not have significantly altered the trial strategy of the defense, see *Pacelli v. United States*, 588 F.2d 360, 366 (2 Cir. 1978), cert. denied, 441 U.S. 908, 60 L. Ed. 2d 378, 99 S. Ct. 2001 (1979)...

The defendants' challenge to the sufficiency of the evidence to

establish the assassination scheme charged in Count 7 does not warrant serious discussion. Although our summary of the evidence suffices to show this, it does not do justice to the wealth of detail adduced at trial. The surveillance observations, the intercepted conversations, the fruits of the searches, the false exculpatory statements by Sovulj, and Badurina's position in Croatian circles, not only justified but almost compelled the inference that, but for the FBI's warnings, defendants would have sought to take Badurina's life.

[.....]

We have no doubt of the sufficiency of the evidence with respect to the attempt to bomb the dance studio on Union Square (Count 5). The defendants charged in that count had obtained dynamite and bomb paraphernalia, constructed a fully operational time bomb, inspected the building to be bombed, picked a precise time for the bomb to explode, and transported the bomb to the close vicinity of the site. They had done every act that would have been involved in the complete crime save for setting the time bomb in place, and there is every reason to think they would have done that too had it not been for the unavailability of parking space. Here there was more even than a "substantial step", there was "dangerous proximity to success", *Hyde v. United States*, 225 U.S. 347, 388, 56 L. Ed. 1114, 32 S. Ct. 793 (1912) (Holmes, J., dissenting).

The evidence with respect to the attempt to bomb the travel agency (Count 6) is much weaker. The evidence proved only that Cale and Ivic had discussed the bomb site and the best means of planting a bomb there, that they had acquired and had readily available the explosives needed to carry out the bombing, see Model Penal Code § 5.01(2) (e), that Ivic had reconnoitered the site, see *id.* § 5.01(2) (c), and that Cale had authorized the operation. In contrast to the Union Square dance studio episode, however, defendants never actually transported a bomb to the contemplated site, see *id.* § 5.01(2) (f). Although we share the view expressed by then Chief Judge Kaufman in *United States v. Stallworth*, *supra*, 543 F.2d at 1040, that society should be able "to punish malefactors who have unequivocally set out upon a criminal course without requiring law enforcement officers to delay until innocent bystanders are imperiled", see also G. Williams, *Criminal Law - The General Part* 632 (2d ed. 1961), we are concerned that attempt liability, with its accompanying heavy penalties, not be imposed for remote preparatory acts insufficiently corroborative of a firm criminal purpose. Certainly the defendants in *Stallworth*, as well as those in *Jackson*, *Manley* and *Mowad*, had gone a great deal further toward commission of the crime than Cale and Ivic had gone with respect to the travel agency. In *Stallworth*, for example, it was said that at the time the police intervened a bank robbery was already "in progress", *supra*, 543 F.2d at 1041; there was no room whatsoever for doubt that defendants there had "unequivocally set out upon a criminal

course." The Government cites *United States v. Brown*, 604 F.2d 347, 350 (5 Cir. 1979), cert. denied, 445 U.S. 962, 100 S. Ct. 1649, 64 L. Ed. 2d 237 (1980), as being "remarkably on all fours with this case." [10.] In fact, however, the evidence there of planning - or at least of what Brown thought to be such - was considerably more extensive than here; on the other hand, in *Brown* explosives had not been procured, the persons relied upon to make the procurement being undercover agents. Recognizing that the question is inescapably "a matter of degree", see *United States v. Jackson*, supra, 560 F.2d at 120, we conclude that the evidence, viewed in the light most favorable to the Government, see *Glasser v. United States*, 315 U.S. 60, 80, 86 L. Ed. 680, 62 S. Ct. 457 (1942), was sufficient, although barely so, to support the convictions on Count 6.

Defendants convicted on Counts 5 and 6 also challenge the judge's instructions. The principal claim concerns an instruction, given after the "substantial step" requirement was set out, that if the jury concluded beyond a reasonable doubt that one or more defendants acquired and had readily available explosives with the intention of carrying out the bombing charged in the count, or if it concluded beyond a reasonable doubt that one or more defendants reconnoitered and inspected a bomb target in planning for its destruction, then it might conclude that either of these acts, standing alone, constituted a substantial step in furtherance of the bombing.

We do not agree with defendants' assertion that these instructions amounted to the direction of a verdict once the jury had been convinced of the historical facts beyond a reasonable doubt. The judge told the jury that it "may" conclude, not that it must. He elaborated on this by saying:

In each instance it is up to you to determine whether the acts of a defendant, individually or together with other acts, reaches the level of a substantial step in furtherance of an intended crime - and hence constitutes a criminal attempt.

Nevertheless we do not regard this form of instruction, for which the Government has cited and we have found no precedent, as desirable. Although it clearly is drawn from § 5.01(2) of the Model Penal Code, the Commentary indicates that this provision was intended for use by the judge not in charging the jury but in deciding whether to send a case to it. See Model Penal Code, § 5.01(2), Comment at 49 (Tent. Draft No. 10, 1960). Also, the instruction omitted to explain that reconnoitering and possession of explosives can constitute a "substantial step" only "if strongly corroborative of the actor's criminal purpose." Moreover, although the judge used all the appropriate words to prevent this, we think it far too likely that some jurors may have leapt to the conclusion that satisfaction beyond a reasonable doubt that a defendant had engaged in one of the enumerated acts relieved them of the harder task of determining beyond a reasonable doubt that his conduct had constituted "a

substantial step in a course of conduct planned to culminate in his commission of the crime." Jurors should not be distracted from this central task. However, no objection was made at trial to this portion of the charge, and we surely cannot regard it as a plain error or defect affecting substantial rights, F.R.Cr.P. 52(b).

Nonetheless we cannot leave this subject without a further word. Under the sentencing pattern stated on slip op. pp. 9-10, *supra*, the sentences on Counts 5 and 6 had relatively little practical significance since they ran concurrently with the consecutive sentences on Counts 1 and 2. In light of our reversal of the convictions under Count 1, the sentences under Counts 5 and 6 become the sole bases for considerably lengthened terms of imprisonment. We have some doubt whether the district judge would have imposed such heavy sentences on Counts 5 and 6, more particularly the latter, if he had known that they would have this result. We thus vacate the sentences on these counts and remand to enable the district judge to reconsider them if he is so advised.

[.....]

The judgment of conviction under Count 1 (RICO) is reversed with instructions to dismiss the count on the ground that the conduct charged in the indictment and proved at trial did not constitute an offense under 18 U.S.C. § 1962; the sentences under Counts 5 and 6 are vacated and the cause is remanded to enable the district judge to consider resentencing; in all other respects the judgment is affirmed.

Footnotes

1. A considerable part of the evidence was obtained as a result of electronic surveillance authorized by District Judge Owen of the Southern District and District Judge Platt of the Eastern District of New York. We shall discuss below the questions raised as to the legality of this surveillance. [[back](#)]

2 Croatian nationalism has roots deep in the nineteenth century, when Croatia was part of the Hapsburg Empire. The formation in 1918 of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929, did not fully satisfy Croatian nationalist aspirations. A nominally independent state from 1941 to 1945, Croatia has been since 1945 one of the six constituent republics of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Separatist agitation has persisted in the post-World War II period, despite the decentralizing policies followed by the Belgrade Government. The Croats are the second largest national group in Yugoslavia, after the Serbs. Their differences with the latter are ethnic, religious (they are

Roman Catholics and the Serbs Orthodox), and linguistic (though their spoken language is the same, their alphabets are different).

[\[back\]](#)

3 The particular significance of this purse was that Cale and Ivic had emphasized the desirability of having the bomb placed at the studio by a woman, whom they said Sovulj had agreed to supply. [\[back\]](#)

4 Apparently this concerned the cruising immediately antecedent to the stop on Union Square. [\[back\]](#)

5 The argument that RICO is inapplicable to a case where there is no charge of economically motivated activity was not advanced in any intelligible form in the district court. The brief (pp. 14-16) and reply brief (pp. 5-7) for Ivic and Sovulj in this court could be charitably read as making the point. However, after we had sharply raised the issue at oral argument we requested the Government and the appellants to submit letter briefs on the subject, which they have done. The Government, while arguing vigorously against the substance of the position we had suggested, does not claim there is any procedural bar to our taking note of it. This position was well advised. F.R.Cr.P. 12(b) (2) provides that the failure of an indictment to charge an offense "shall be noticed by the court at any time during the pendency of the proceedings." The term "pendency of the proceedings" had been consistently construed to encompass an appeal. See, e.g., *United States v. Thomas*, 144 U.S. App. D.C. 44, 444 F.2d 919, 920 n.1 (D.C. Cir. 1971) and cases cited there; *United States v. Clark*, 646 F.2d 1259, 1262 (8 Cir. 1981). See also *United States v. Wexler*, 621 F.2d 1218, 1223 (2 Cir.), cert. denied, 449 U.S. 841, 101 S. Ct. 119, 66 L. Ed. 2d 48 (1980). Appellate courts are permitted, *Government of Virgin Islands v. Greenidge*, 600 F.2d 437, 439 n.2 (3 Cir. 1979), indeed required, *United States v. Meacham*, 626 F.2d 503, 509 (5 Cir. 1980), to raise the issue sua sponte.

In addition, F.R.Cr.P. 52(b) provides that " Plain errors or defects affecting substantial rights may be noticed although they were not brought to the attention of the court." An appellate court may do this on its own motion. See *Screws v. United States*, 325 U.S. 91, 107, 89 L. Ed. 1495, 65 S. Ct. 1031, plurality opinion of Justice Douglas, 118, concurring opinion of Justice Rutledge, (1945); *Silber v. United States*, 370 U.S. 717, 8 L. Ed. 2d 798, 82 S. Ct. 1287 (1962) (per curiam); *Fisher v. United States*, 328 U.S. 463, 467-68, 90 L. Ed. 1382, 66 S. Ct. 1318 (1946); *United States v. Bacall*, 443 F.2d 1050, 1063 (9 Cir.), cert. denied, 404 U.S. 1004, 30 L. Ed. 2d 557, 92 S. Ct. 565 (1971); *United States v. Adams*, 634 F.2d 830, 836 (5 Cir. 1981). See also *United States v. Atkinson*, 297 U.S. 157, 160, 80 L. Ed. 555, 56 S. Ct. 391 (1936). The failure of an indictment to charge an offense has been noticed under Rule 52(b) even where the defect had not been raised either below or on appeal. See, e.g., *Chappell v. United States*, 270 F.2d 274, 276 (9 Cir. 1959); *United States v. Clark*, 412 F.2d 885, 887-88 (5 Cir. 1969). [\[back\]](#)

6 The Government tells us that in some cases terrorist organizations have engaged in robbery or extortion to obtain money to further their activities. The applicability of RICO to such cases can be dealt with when and as they arise. [[back](#)]

[.....]

10 Decisions of the Fifth Circuit on the subject of attempt are peculiarly persuasive since that court's Mandujano decision, *supra*, 499 F.2d 370, is a leading case adopting the approach of the ALI Model Penal Code which this court followed in Stallworth, *supra*, 543 F.2d 1038. [[back](#)]

:: filing information ::

Title: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Source: Lexis/Nexis

Date: January 25, 1983

Added: April 2003

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Alleged Vatican Protection of Yugoslav War Criminals

This document was obtained from the archives of the US State Department; its origins are, despite investigation, undetermined. Despite the notation that it is a "re-typed copy," there are numerous typographical errors, and repeated misspellings which a trained and educated diplomat would be unlikely to make. It identifies San Girolamo monastery as the chief base of shelter and smuggling for accused war criminals. However, for the first time, members of the Serb and Montenegrin puppet regimes are identified as hiding there. Only one other document mentions officials from these regimes in San Girolamo - a **February 12, 1947 report** from Naples CIC agent Robert Clayton Mudd which identifies the Minister of Propaganda of the Nedic regime as residing in San Girolamo. Members of the Albanian collaborationist regime are also mentioned. Paragraph 9(c) refers to Stjepan Hefer, a prewar member of the **Croatian Peasant Party** who joined the Ustasha as a minister in the NDH government and led the **Croatian Liberation Movement** after Pavelic's death.

[handwritten:] Re-typed copy

12 July 1946

SUBJECT: Alleged Vatican Protection of Yugoslav War Criminals.

1. At No. 7 Via Carlo Alberto, Rome, in a building under extraterritorial Vatican jurisdiction, are located the COLLEGIUM ILLIRICUM and the COLLEGIUM ORIENTALIS.
2. The Ustasche of PAVELIC'S Independent Croat State formerly championed the theory that the Croats are not Slavs, but are of Gothic origin. Subsequent to the fall of Nazium *[sic]* this theory was repudiated, and REDACTED the COLLEGIUM ORIENTALIS is engaged in advancing the theory that the Croats are of Porsian *[sic here and below - read "Persian"]* origin.
3. Both theories, that of the Gothic and that of the Porsian origin of the Croats, are supported by the Vatican which wishes to strengthen Croat separatist tendencies and to assure their support of the



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Vatican-inspired "Catholic State" which is projected to include CROATIA, BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, DALMATIA, SOLVENIA *[sic]*, CARINTHIA, ISTRIA and the JULIAN MARCH linked to AUSTRIA.

4. This same separatist tendency, is evident among the Slovenians, too, and the "Strazar" Party supported by the Jesuit Academy at No. 6 Via Borgia, Rome, is its principal propaganda organ. The Academy is headed by Father PRESEREN himself of Slovenian origin, a member of the Supreme Directorate of the Jesuit Institutions. Hesitation of Slovenian People's Party leader Dr. Mih KREK to join the Yugoslav Central Committee in London, despite his strongly maintained position regarding the necessity for the creation of a democratic Yugoslav Federation, is surely to a great extent based on a knowledge of what is taking place in the Croat San Girolamo degli, Illirici Foundation in Rome and in the Jesuit Academy.

5. In Austria, following their withdrawal from Yugoslavia with the Germans, the members of the NEDIC and the Dimitrijo LJOTIC Quisling organizations, and the Montenegrin Separatists proceeded to draw up a deed with Croatian Ustascha organs by means of which they hoped to obtain Vatican sponsorship with a view to escaping possible war-criminal prosecution. Such Vatican sponsorship was accorded the Ustascha, chiefly in order to assure their silence regarding the atrocities committed by Clergy-led Croats who had indulged in a ruthless program of extermination of Jews and Orthodox Serbs.

6. The mission of resquing *[sic - rescuing]* war criminals was assumed by ████████ at the COLLEGIUM SAN GIROLAMO, took over the matters of sheltering and administering sheltered NEDIC-LJOTIC war criminals, Montenegrin Separatists, Bosnian and Albanian Moslems, as well as Ustascha members and Croat war criminals. The terms of the mutual deed, which was applicable to war criminals of all parties, were carried out by sending the fugitives, provided with forged papers, from Italy to Spain via France, in groups of three. In order to avoid too stringent police check, top-drawer criminals were allowed to travel by sleeping car.

7. Save RADONIC, former Minister of Justice of the Montenegrin Separatist Quisling Government, previously sheltered by the COLLEGIUM ILLIRICUM, disappeared from Rome a short time ago, and it is believed that he, too, was sent to Spain. RADONIC was apparently well-provided with money, having brought with him the funds remaining to the Montenegrin Government at the time of withdrawal from Yugoslavia. It is difficult to estimate the amount of such funds, but it is rumored to be in the neighborhood of 50 million Lire; this sum was well-hidden and remained unknown even to Vatican experts.

8. The following fugitives are reported to be sheltered by the

COLLEGIUM ILLIRICUM in Rome at the present time:

- a. Steve VUJOVIC, ex-Minister of Montenegrin Separatist Quisling [sic] Government;
- b. Lazar SOSKIC, ex-Police Chief of Montenegrin Separatist Government;
- c. Dr. Stevan IVANIC, Director of the Belgrade Institute of Hygiene under NEDIC-LJOTIC Quisling Government;
- d. Eng. VALILJEVIC, ex-Commerce Minister under the Puppet Government;
- e. Marisav PETROVIC, formerly Colonel of LJOTIC SS formations.
- f. The two VRIONI brothers, former members of the Albanian puppet government;
- g. Jusuf KOSOVAC, well-known Albanian assassin, sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for murder in pre-war Yugoslavia.
- h. Isa NOLJETINAC, Chief of Police of the Albanian puppet government, responsible for the slaughter of 200 Serbs at Prishtina.

9. Others, not actually sheltered in the COLLEGIUM ILLIRICUM but who otherwise enjoy Church support and protection are reported as follows:

- a. Dr. Dimitrije NAJDANOVIC, formerly a professor of theology at the University of Belgrade, is presently in a private apartment in Rome at No. 13a Via Capedistria [REDACTED];
- b. Dr. Salih BALIC, Bosnian Muslim, formerly a deputy of the late Dr. Mehmed SPAHO's Moslem Party, he later adhered to PAVELIC and became the latter's Consul at LJUBLJANA. A short time ago he was arrested by the Italian Police in the vicinity of the COLLEGIUM SAN GIROLAMO; checking on his illegal sojourn in Rome, the Police discovered his name on an Allied war-criminal list, and sent him to the Ustascha Camp at Forli. Escaping from the camp, BALIC returned to Rome and is said to be hidden
- c. Dr. HEFER, ex-Minister of the PAVELIC government and a Ustascha war-criminal, is said to be hidden

:: filing information ::

Title: Alleged Vatican Protection of Yugoslav War Criminals

Source: US State Department, declassified 9/15/85.

Date: July 12, 1946

Added: September 20, 2003



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US Treasury: The Bigelow Memo

The existence of the following document was revealed in the 1990s, and with other materials sparked a frenzied search for remains of the Ustase treasury believed to have been smuggled out of the country. Most researchers today believe that the Ustase treasury was picked apart and gradually reduced in the unsystematic method that Emerson Bigelow describes before Pavelic secured it in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

21 October 1946

Mr. Harold Glasser,
Director of Monetary Research,
Room 5000 U.S. Treasury Building,
Washington D.C.

Dear Harold:

The following report has recently been received from a reliable source in Italy. It is sent to you in the belief that it may be of interest.

The Ustascha organization (a Croatian fascist organization, headed by Ante Pavelic) removed funds from Yugoslavia estimated to total 350 million Swiss francs. The funds were largely in the form of gold coins.

Of the funds brought from the former Independent Croat State where Jews and Serbs were plundered to support the Ustascha organization in exile, an estimated 150 million Swiss Francs were impounded by British authorities at the Austro-Swiss frontier; the balance of approximately 200 million Swiss Francs was originally held in the Vatican for safe-keeping. According to rumor, a considerable portion of this latter amount has been sent to Spain and Argentina



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Essay: [The Poglavnik's Family Tree](#)

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through the Vatican's "pipeline", but it is quite possible this is merely a smokescreen to cover the fact that the treasure remains in its original repository.

Sincerely yours,

Emerson Bigelow.

:: filing information ::

Title: US Treasury: The Bigelow Memo

Source: NARA

Date: October 21, 1946

Added: May 17, 2004

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American Agents in the Krizari Campaign

Note the date on this document - July 3, 1947. At the precise moment that these two Krizari operatives were leading the agent's source to believe that they enjoyed significant Allied-American support, the arrest of Ustase leader Ante Pavelic was being planned in Rome by agents of the US Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps - and being thwarted by their superiors. This document could be part of a larger report, but other pages have not been located.

Possible Operational Significance

3 July 1947

[illegible], Karlo. Probably identical with [illegible], Karlo who represents one of the two original groups of Croatian Nationalist elements in Barnoli Refugee Camp - Stjepan [illegible] leads the other group. This group [illegible] to remain in Europe at any cost but aims for union with resistance forces in Croatia in not too distant future. Subject was contacted by [illegible] who came from Austria about January 1947 and claims support of Mons. Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC, reportedly in contact with an American Agency which will supply arms and equipment for resistance into Croatia. In spite of alleged enmity between [illegible] and [illegible], both have the same courier, Lt. [illegible]. This and the identity of their projects leads source to infer that they are members of separated networks all originating with the same American agent, who represents, source concludes, a strong American interest to despatch trained personnel and equipment into Croatia.

Information in report on activities of [redacted] Major Stjepan [illegible], Karlo [illegible], Stjepan [illegible] et al. Evaluation [redacted] 19/3/47.

[illegible], Stjepan. Chief spokesman for other group of Croatian Nationalist elements at Barnoli which wishes to remain in Europe at any cost etc. Subject states that in the Spring (1947) he intends to attempt to enter Croatia clandestinely for purpose of joining the resistance. Subject promises his men complete equipment and armament from, he states, Allied sources. Subject states that his courier to Croatia, Lt. [illegible] (see [illegible], Karlo above) has



related links

CIA File: Organization of the Ustase Abroad

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: The Krizari Campaign

Misc: Search

Essays: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

text-only version
scans: page 1

been arrested by Italian police. At one time was to have proceeded to Croatia on a clandestine anti-TITO mission.

Information, with exception of last sentence, from same document as above. Last sentence from [REDACTED] dated 19 March 1947.

:: filing information ::

Title: American Agents in the Krizari Campaign

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: July 3, 1947

Added: January 31, 2003

[home](#) » [documents](#) » [cia](#) » cia0011.html

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Documentary Evidence of Krunoslav Draganovic's Ustase Activity

Father Krunoslav Draganovic, one of the main operatives on the Ratline, kept detailed lists of the "refugees" granted hospitality and a place of refuge at the monastery of San Girolamo, Rome. Army Counter-Intelligence Corps Agent William Gowen obtained these lists, which included the Ustase suspects' real names as well as their aliases. After making copies, Gowen wrote up a lengthy memorandum and sent four copies to his superiors. None have ever been found, but one of the agents who received a copy of the list was Naples CIC Agent Robert Clayton Mudd. The following document summarizes Gowen's memorandum and draws attention to several Ustase war criminals wanted by the Allied authorities on Draganovic's lists. Coming as it does after the famous instructions from Gowen's superiors to keep his "**hands off**" of Pavelic and other Ustase leaders in Rome, it is possible to speculate that this report represented the last attempt by CIC agents still "in the dark" of the American plans to rescue Pavelic and Co. to inform their superiors of the vast extent of the Nazi and Ustase smuggling network that Father Draganovic - and, unknown to Mudd and Gowen, those same superiors - had put into operation.

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
TRIESTE UNITED STATES TROOPS
APO 88, US ARMY



related links

CIA File: The Re-
Recruitment of Krunoslav
Draganovic

CIA File: Krunoslav
Draganovic's Pay
Records, 1959-1960

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: The US
Army Files

Documents: Krunoslav
Draganovic

Misc: Search

Essay: The Lawsuit
Against the Vatican and
the CIA

Timeline: The Ustase
Movement

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scans: page 1 - 2

y-3109

5 September 1947

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

SUBJECT: DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav

RE: Documentary Evidence Involving SUBJECT with Ustasha Activity at the San Girolamo Monastery, Rome.

1. Attached photostats of personal files and documents of the Croat Nationalist priest **DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav** procured in Rome

indicate clearly his involvement in aiding and abetting the Ustashi to escape into South America. The documents also indicate his connections with Ustasha personnel, a fact which DRAGANOVIC has formally denied personally to this Agent. (Photostats to G 2 TRUST only).

2. The first list includes the nominal role of all Croats who are fed, clothed, housed and otherwise provided for by the Monastery of San Girolamo, but it also includes the names of several long sought after Yugoslav War Criminals whose presence in the Monastery and whose sponsorship by the Vatican DRAGANOVIC has consistently denied.

3. The names of the following Ustashi War Criminals are to be noted on this list:

DEVICIC, Ivan	Serial	351
DOSEN, Drago	"	389
IMPER, Dragutin	"	639
JURKOVIC, Blaz	"	705
MARKOVIC, Josip	"	1018, 1019, and 1020
MAVREK, Stanko	"	1062
ORSANIC, Ante	"	1176
PAVICIC, Ante	"	1208
RUKAVINA, Ante	"	1407
SEKULIC, Ivan	"	1444
SRNAK, Rudolph	"	1484
SREDL, Josip	"	1627
VLAHOVIC, Ante	"	1773
<i>[illegible]</i> , Dusan	"	1841
BELOBRAJDIC, Leopold	"	109
DJAK, Jakob	"	370 (believed to be alias of DJAL, Jakov)
BIOSIC, Josip	"	136
DOBRENIC, Stjepan	"	376
BARANOVIC, Ante	"	70
MATAJA, Milan	"	1047

4. The second series of photostats indicates that DRAGANOVIC and the Monastery were doing their utmost to get immigration visas for Croat sailors in answer to the offers of several Central and South American countries to accept certain specified amounts of qualified sailors and maritime men. However, on this list are known names of compromised people.

5. The Third List written in Spanish contains the names of 115 Croats with all their personal particulars. These 115 people have all expressed a desire to emigrate to ARGENTINA. It is very possible that this list of individuals have already shipped to the Argentine and

it must be assumed that in the majority they are compromised Ustashi personalities with aliases. It seems only reasonable to assume that the more important personages will be, or would have been shipped out first.

6. Enclosed herewith also are the photographs of documents containing the pertinent data on such Ustasha personalities as BARIC, Vice, Kren, Vladimir, alias KRENMIR, Vladimir, BABIC, Ivan, HIBL, Josip alias HUBL, Josip, KAMBER, Dragutin alias KAMBER, Blaz, PAVICIC, Ante alias PAVICIC, Anton, SARIC, Ivan, SUSIC, Lovro alias SUSIC, Marijan, VRANCIC, Vjekoslav alias VRANIC, Petar.

COMMENTS:

7. Ref para 3 identification and background of personalities mentioned here are contained in CIC TRUST SOI y-3097 dtd 22 August 1947.

8. Photostats attached were obtained by Special Agent WILLIAM GOWEN of the Rome CIC Detachment and passed on to this Agent for use and evaluation.

[signed]

ROBERT C. MUDD
Special Agent, CIC

APPROVED: WILLIAM W. TYNG

Chief CIC TRUST

DISTRIBUTION:

G-2 Trust (2)

G-2 MTOUSA (2)

Rome CIC (1)

Chief CIC (1)

File (1)

:: filing information ::

Title: Documentary Evidence of Krunoslav Draganovic's Ustase Activity

Source: CIA, declassified September 12, 1983

Date: September 5, 1947

Added: April 6, 2003

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The "Alter Ego" of Ante Pavelic

Four months after the **mysterious intervention** to protect Ante Pavelic from arrest, this report - ominously, it is signed only by "Capt." - appears, essentially repeating the information gathered by CIC Agents William Gowen and Robert Clayton Mudd. This document is among the earliest to contain censored passages blacked out when passing through the CIA declassification process in February, 1998. The address listed for the Pontifical Welfare Commission for Refugees as well as "a certain ELIAS Ivica," - Via Piave 41 - is within blocks of the address given for Zvonko Kojadin, a chief Ustase captain in Rome, who according to **this document** lived at Via Piave 70. The reference to "8 Sept 43" is to Italy's capitulation and subsequent occupation by German and Allied forces.

AFHQ LIAISON OFFICE
I.A.I. - RAAC

26 November 1947.

Ref: 3938

SUBJECT: DRAGANOVIC Krunoslav Stefano.

TO: AC of S, G-2(CI), AFHQ.

1. CS has been able to provide the following information on Subject.

2. DRAGANOVIC Krunoslav Stefano, fu Pietro e di Franci Maria, was born at BRCKO (Croatia) on 30 Oct 1903. He became a priest and was Professor of Theology at ZAGREB University. He has been in Italy since 1943 and is known as the 'alter ego' of **Ante PAVELIC**. As such it is his task to co-ordinate and direct Ustascha activity in Italy. He provides them with ;oral [*sic*] and material help and in particular he is able to send to America all those who collaborated with the Germans and Fascist occupation forces and so incurred reprisals from TITO.



related links

Army File: "Hands Off" -
The Order to Halt the
Pavelic Investigation

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav
Draganovic

Documents: The US
Army Files

Misc: Search

Exhibition: Top Secret:
The Pavelic Army File

text-only version
scans: page 1

3. He is helped in this activity by his numerous contacts with the Embassies and Legations of South America in Italy and with the International Red Cross and by the fact that the Croatian Confraternity of the College of S. Girolamo degli Illirici, where he has his office, issues false identity cards to the Ustascha. With such documents and with the approval of the Pontifical Welfare Commission for Refugees, located in Via Piave 41, ROME, which is controlled almost exclusively by Ustascha, passports can be obtained from the International Red Cross, where DRAGANOVIC has some way of ensuring their issue.

4. He was a trusted follower of **Ante PAVELIC**, the former Head of Croatia, he was entrusted with the archives of the Croatian Legation after 8 Sep 43, for safeguarding, as well as all valuables smuggled by the Ustascha.

5. Until a short time ago, he was helped by a certain ELIAS Ivica, working in the Pontifical Commission in Via Piave 41, who appears to have left for South America a few days ago with a group of Croats who were, for the most part, in possession of false documents.

6. Owing to the delicate nature of this matter, more precise details could not be obtained.

Capt.
AFHQ LIAISON (FAI)

:: filing information ::

Title: The "Alter Ego" of Ante Pavelic

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: November 26, 1947

Added: January 23, 2003

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News: Yugoslavs Try Fifty as Spies, Terrorists

An Associated Press dispatch from July 12, 1948 on the Communist Yugoslav government's trial of agents captured during the **Krizari** campaign. The bracketed paragraphs are as in the original.



Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Documents: [The Krizari](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Essay: [The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Exhibition: [Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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scans: [page 1](#)

YUGOSLAVS TRY FIFTY AS SPIES, TERRORISTS

LONDON, July 12 (AP) - Fifty men who have been charged with being spies and terrorists aided by "agents of the Vatican" were brought to trial today at Zagreb, Yugoslavia, according to a broadcast by Tanjug, the official Yugoslav news service, recorded here. The trial was said to have begun before a court of five judges.

According to the broadcast, "the priest Juredis and the Vatican confidence man **Draganovic**," working mostly in Italy, attempted to unite political fugitives who had escaped from Yugoslavia when marshal Tito's Communist regime was set up.

[The broadcast did not further identify Juredis. The Interior Ministry of the Yugooslav state of Croatia said yesterday that Dr. Krunoslav Draganovic, whom it called a "priest attached to the Vatican," Was one of the alleged spies.

[An authoritative Vatican source denied that Dr. Draganovic had been involved in sending spies into Yugoslavia.]

It was charged that the fugitives had formed a "Croat State Committee" that had sent at least ninety-five agents into Yugoslavia to work against the Croat People's Republic.

The resistance group organized abroad was aided by a foreign intelligence service as well as by "Vatican agents," the broadcast quoted the prosecutor as having said. The intelligence services was not identified.



:: filing information ::

Title: News: Yugoslavs Try Fifty as Spies, Terrorists

Source: Associated Press

Date: July 13, 1948

Added: November 24, 2003

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Rat Line from Austria to South America

Declassified in the furor over the Klaus Barbie scandal, this memo from the 430th detachment (based in Austria) of the US Army's Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) acknowledges for the first time the Ratline: the system worked out between the American Army and Father **Krunoslav Draganovic** for the "resettlement" of CIC operatives, including some who "may be of interest to the Denazification policy of the Allies." Barbie was Draganovic's most famous charge, but Ustase leader **Ante Pavelic** was among them. This memo indicates that a *quid pro quo* was worked out between the priest and the Americans: Draganovic would agree to transport CIC friends like Gestapo chief of Lyon Barbie, and the Americans would assist "persons of interest" to Draganovic. According to a **later memo** by the same author, Paul Lyon of the 430th CIC, contact was made with Draganovic on the American Ratline in the Summer of 1947 - the time that the *Rome* detachment of the CIC was **ordered to halt** arrest proceedings against Pavelic.

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
(430th CIC Detachment)
CITY OF VIENNA
APO 777 US ARMY

12 July 1948

SUBJECT: Rat Line from Austria to South America.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

1. In accordance with instructions from the Office of the Director of Intelligence, USFA, these agents have attempted to establish a safe means of resettlement of dependents of visitors and VIP personalities.



related links

US Army File: History of the Italian Rat Line

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Misc: Search

Exhibition: Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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2. Through the Vatican connections of **Father Draganovic**, Croat, DP Resettlement Chief of the Vatican circle, a tentative agreement was reached to assist in this operation. The agreement consists of simply mutual assistance, i.e., these agents assist persons of interest to Father Draganovic to leave Germany and, in turn, Father Draganovic will assist these agents in obtaining the necessary visas to Argentina, South America, for persons of interest to this Command.

3. It may be stated that some of the persons of interest to Father Draganovic may be of interest to the Denazification policy of the Allies; however, the persons assisted by Father Draganovic are also of interest to our Russian ally. Therefore, this operation cannot receive any official approval and must be handled with minimum amount of delay and with a minimum amount of general knowledge.

4. On 3 July 1948, these agents contacted the Austrian representative of Father Draganovic in Salzburg, as prearranged. Through the assistance of CIC Salzburg, transportation was obtained and the representative was escorted to Bad Reichenhall, Germany, where he was to meet the German representative of Father Draganovic's organization. However, due to unforeseen circumstances, the German representative did not appear. The Austrian representative was escorted back to Salzburg to await developments.

5. On 4 July 48 these agents received a telegram from the U.S. contact in Rome (Fred Martin) that the German representative was arrested while crossing the German/Austrian border on or about 1 July 48. It was the desire of the agents to go to Bad Reichenhall, Germany to make the necessary investigation, however due to transportation difficulties, this was not deemed advisable.

6. The status of subject rat line is not settled at this time, however it is felt that with CIC connections in Germany, these agents can assist the German representative and continue their progress as outlined above.

NOTE: It is suggested to the Chief, 430th CIC Detachment, USFA, that a reassignment of jeeps be made, and that two detachment jeeps be assigned to headquarters. These jeeps could be stationed and utilized by Land Salzburg and Land Upper Austria but be prepared to move upon call from representatives of CIC headquarters. In this manner most of the difficulties in obtaining transportations for such operations can be avoided. Also the responsibilities for incorrect use of said vehicles, i.e., police violations, utilizing Government vehicles for pleasure, will be the responsibility of the driver and not the Land Section to which the jeep is originally assigned.

It is believed that in this manner considerable time, personal difficulties, and personality differences could be avoided and assist in the speedy completion of similar missions.

[signed]

PAUL E. LYON

S/A, CIC

[signed]

CHARLES CRAWFORD

S/A, CIC

DISTRIBUTION:

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Maj. Bolton - Land Salzburg (1)

CIC Files (1)

:: filing information ::

Title: Rat Line from Austria to South America

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: July 12, 1948

Added: July 7, 2003

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Franjo Cvijic and the Ustase Treasury

This report from the CIA quotes information from a source which still remains classified today. The circumstance which led to Franjo Cvijic being in neutral Switzerland as the NDH collapsed, with more knowledge of the Ustasha Treasury than anyone but the Poglavnik Ante Pavelic himself, has always seemed too tantalizing to be mere coincidence, as was his arrest and "parole" by American occupation authorities in Austria. In this document, the unknown source hints that Cvijic's wife (who he seems to have picked up during his fugitive adventures - how she wound up back in Yugoslavia is unknown) was working for Yugoslav intelligence. It is perhaps worth pointing out a minor curiosity of the CIA documents in our possession, including this one: the degree to which American intelligence had personalized Yugo-American relations. Men stalking Pavelic are as often "agents of Tito" as they are "Yugoslav agents," and Ustase henchmen, as in **here**, are "handed over to Tito," as if a head of state is really overseeing the extradition. In comparison, the names Stalin, de Gasperi, Peron and Truman are hardly ever mentioned, and never as a synonym for the states they led. Without going too far, a psychological interpretation to a certain extent may help explain how and why some of the more infamous decisions in relation to American support of Ustase fugitives were made.



Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Documents: The US Army Files

Misc: Search

Essays: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

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Subject: Franjo CVIJIC (CVIIC)

Report No.: [REDACTED]

Place acquired: [REDACTED]

Date of Information: Current

Evaluation: [REDACTED]

Date Acquired: [REDACTED] June 1949

Source: [REDACTED]

Date of Report: 17 June 1949

1. [REDACTED] Franjo CVIJIC is a native of Nova Gradiska, Croatia. He was an Ustasha and the last president of the Croatian State Bank in Zagreb. He traveled in that capacity to Switzerland in the spring of 1945 to negotiate commercial treaties with that country in which the Independent State of Croatia held a favorable bank balance. The **Pavelic regime** assets are

reported to have included, 2,500,000 Swiss Francs, 1,700 kilograms of gold in bars, and about 40,000 kilograms of silver.

2. The collapse of the PAVELIC regime found Subject still in Switzerland where he remained for a while, moving later to Vienna where he married. He was arrested and imprisoned in Vienna by the American Military Authorities, and later paroled. Meantime, Subject's wife escaped from Yugoslavia and joined her husband in Vienna. There is some doubt whether Subject's wife effected a legitimate "escape" or if she was allowed to leave under certain commitments to TITO.

3. It seems likely that Subject's travel documents were arranged by Father **Stjepan DRAGANOVIC**. Subject has not yet arrived in Argentina, but many of his former friends and acquaintances are expecting him.

4. [REDACTED] could not say at this time if Subject and/or his wife are connected in anyway with the Communists. After their arrival in Buenos Aires, [REDACTED] will attempt to ascertain their political affiliations.

:: filing information ::

Title: Franjo Cvijic and the Ustase Treasury

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: June 17, 1949

Added: January 25, 2003

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History of the Italian Rat Line

In 1950, French representatives were demanding the extradition of the former Gestapo chief of the city of Lyon, Klaus Barbie, from the American Zone in Occupied Germany. Rumours were already circulating that Barbie was employed by the 66th detachment US Army's intelligence arm, the Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC). It was then that the 66th CIC learned of the program to smuggle "assets" out of Europe being utilized by the 430th CIC detachment based in Austria: the Ratline. This memo was written by Paul Lyon, the man who established the American agents' relationship with **Krunoslav Draganovic** and maps out the history of the program beginning in the Summer of 1947, coincidentally the same time when the CIC plan to arrest Ustase leader **Ante Pavelic** was mysteriously terminated. Given the equivocation on the issue by some, it is interesting that Lyon states emphatically that "Dragonovich is known and recorded as a Fascist, war criminal, etc."

Informal Routing Slip

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES FORCES IN AUSTRIA

SUBJECT: History of the Italian Rat Line

No.: 1

FROM: Hq 430th CIC Opns

TO: D/G-2 ATTN: Maj Milano

DATE: 10 Apr 50

1. ORIGINS.

a. During the summer of 1947 the undersigned received instructions from G-2, USFA, through Chief CIC, to establish a means of disposition for visitors who had been in the custody of the 430th CIC and completely processed in accordance with current directives and



related links

US Army File: Rat Line
From Austria to South
America

Documents: The US
Army Files

Documents: Krunoslav
Draganovic

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Misc: Search

Essay: The Return of the
Golden Priest: The
Second Recruitment of
Krunoslav Draganovic

Exhibition: Top Secret:
The Pavelic Army File

Timeline: The Ustase
Movement

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requirements, and whose continued residence in Austria constituted a security threat as well as a source of possible embarrassment to the Commanding General of USFA, since the Soviet Command had become aware that their presence in US Zone of Austria and in some instances had requested the return of these persons to Soviet custody.

b. The undersigned, therefore, proceeded to Rome where, through a mutual acquaintance, he conferred with a former Slovakian diplomat who in turn was able to recruit the services of a Croation *[sic]* Roman Catholic Priest, Father Dragonovich *[sic - here and below]*. Father Dragonovich had by this time developed several clandestine evacuation channels to the various South American countries for various types of European refugees.

2. HISTORY OF OPERATIONS.

a. During 1947 and 1948 it was necessary to escort the visitors physically from Austria to Rome from the standpoint of security and to avoid any embarrassment on the part of the US Government which could arise from faulty documentation or **unforeseen border and police incidents**.

b. Documents to assist in the journey of these people from Austria to Rome were secured through S/A Crawford, Reference IRS, Subject: "Debriefing of S/A Crawford", dated 6 April 1950.

c. Upon arrival in Rome, the visitors were turned over to Dragonovich who placed them in safe haven houses then being operated under his direct supervision. During this period, the undersigned then actively assisted Father Dragonovich with the help of a US citizen, who was Chief of the eligibility office of IRO in Rome, in securing additional documentation and IRO aid for further transportation. This, of course, was done illegally inasmuch as such persons could not possibly qualify for eligibility under the Geneva IRO Charter. However, after several months the American suddenly lost his mental stability through overindulgence in alcohol and disclosed some of the details of the arrangement to his superiors and other official agencies in Rome which required the undersigned to realign the operation and to discontinue contact with the IRO office. Thus, Father Dragonovich was forced to turn to other sources in the National Catholic Welfare Organization. He also secured permits for residence of these persons from the Italian police, permits to travel from Rome to Genoa or Naples, as the case might be, and permits from the Italian Foreign Office for various visas. In short, it can be stated that Dragonovich handled all phases of the operation after the defectees arrived in Rome, such as the procurement of IRO Italian and South American documents, visas, stamps, arrangements for

disposition, land or sea, and notification of resettlement committees in foreign lands.

d. As the operation continued, Dragonovich's possibilities for the necessary means, documentation, travel and permits expanded and it became possible to ship the visitors from Austria, thus eliminating personal escort by CIC agents to Rome. A new phase was thus established and an employee of Dragonovich proceeded to Austria, picked up the charges and took them to Genoa where they were placed in safe haven houses to await disposition to South America.

3. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED.

The following difficulties and problems may be expected by those who may become engaged in rat line operations:

a. Frequent changes in travel documents necessary for movement in European countries.

b. Changes in the Italian border control and police supervision of DP's in Italy.

c. Land and sea transportation facilities or lack thereof.

d. Opening and closing of immigration quotas by the various countries of South America.

e. The physical condition of visitors and dependents. It may be stated here that it is desirable that all persons be examined for TB, syphilis or other contagious diseases and that the female dependents be cautioned during the evacuation period relative to pregnancy, inasmuch as pregnant women or small children are acceptable only with grave difficulty and at great expense.

f. Marriage Status. In view of the fact that Dragonovich is a Roman Catholic priest and the National Catholic Welfare is involved, the marriage status of male and female must be clearly established, inasmuch as the personalities associated in this operation will not condone any acts contrary to the Church such as common law marriage, illegitimate children not baptized, etc.

g. Although it might be advantageous to have absolute "control" of Father Dragonovich and his means of evacuation, it may be categorically stated that it is not possible and in the opinion of the undersigned not entirely desirable. Dragonovich is known and recorded as a Fascist, war criminal, etc., and his contacts with South American diplomats of a similar class are not generally approved by US State Department officials, plus the fact that in the light of

security, it is better that we may be able to state, if forced, that the turning over of a DP to a Welfare Organization falls in line with our democratic way of thinking and that we are not engaged in illegal disposition of war criminals, defectees and the like.

4. COMPROMISES.

a. As stated above, the US citizen, Chief of the Eligibility Office, Rome was one [REDACTED] who was allegedly a member of OSS during World War II, and who fancied himself as a top intelligence operative in Italy. After his breakdown due to alcoholism, [REDACTED] imagined himself as the saviour of Italy in view of the danger of a Communist victory during the elections of 1948, thus told stories of how the undersigned could assist in providing large numbers of underground troops, military supplies, sea evacuation, air evacuation and the like. This, of course, caused inquiries as to the exact nature of the work in which the undersigned was engaged. This was explained away successfully in a personal interview with Admiral Mentz, Chief of IRO, Italy, and a full report was submitted to G-2, USFA.

b. The Brazil Expedition was, again, a compromise which was not the fault of operational technique. A female visitor who was inclined to be rather frivolous in her attentions became a public nuisance while under protective custody in Austria and was, therefore, evacuated as a married woman in custody of her amour of the moment. During the voyage, the lady in question changed her mind and upon arrival in Brazil sought assistance and protection from both the Brazilian authorities and the US Embassy. They, of course, were uninformed, inasmuch as it is impossible, due to lack of knowledge of transportation dates, visa quotes, etc., to give prior information as to when the shipments are to be made. The affair was made a matter of official investigation and necessarily other innocent people were involved and returned to Europe.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS.

a. It has been the experience of this organization that only one man should be assigned the mission of disposition when dealing with Father Dragonovich. Inasmuch as he, although reliable from a security standpoint, is unscrupulous in his dealings concerning money, as he does a considerable amount of charity work for which he receives no compensation, it is not entirely impossible that he will delay one shipment for one organization to benefit another organization who pays higher prices.

b. Due to the background of Father Dragonovich and the nature of

his work, it is not believed practical that the MA's in foreign countries under diplomatic status should become involved with the DP's who land through his channels of this operation.

c. Each visitor should be thoroughly and properly briefed and preparations for his movement be made in light of his cover story. Each should be furnished sufficient clothing, some travel money, and advance notice be sent through Dragonovich channels to assist in his rehabilitation in the country where he lands.

d. The facilities of Father Dragonovich should be handled as a single operation by one agency and no attempt should be made to control him or his sources for reasons set forth in this memorandum.

FOR THE COMMANDING OFFICER:

[signed]

PAUL E. LYON
IB Operations Officer

Tel: Salzburg 1146

[Handwritten: Copy No. 2 burned 14/4/50 - RW.]

:: filing information ::

Title: History of the Italian Rat Line

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: April 10, 1950

Added: July 7, 2003

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"A Dangerous and Uncompromising Extremist"

This overview of Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic's activities in Italy was most likely produced by someone "out of the loop" in the Ratline operation. Despite the lack of new information, there are some interesting details in the report below, such as Draganovic's role in hiding the archives of the NDH Legation in Rome after Italy's capitulation in 1943 - a surprising show of authority for a man who had been in the country for scarcely two months, and as a mere "liaison with the Croatian Red Cross," as his cover story read. Bishop Hudal, mentioned in paragraph eight, was of course one of the most outspoken pro-Nazi clergymen in Europe, and head of his own "Ratline" in the immediate post-war years. Andrew Lundi (or, as below, Andrea Landi) makes a **later appearance** in the CIA files in connection with accusations that Draganovic was taking bribes (an allegation dealt with, and dismissed emphatically, here as well); the rather irrelevant inclusion of Lundi and the National Catholic Welfare Committee in both reports leads one to believe that someone in the organization had opened a back-channel to American intelligence agents in Rome.



CIA File: Irregular Activities of Krunoslav Draganovic
Documents: The CIA Files
Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic
Documents: The Krizari Campaign
Misc: Search
Essays: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Subject: Dr. Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC

Report No: [REDACTED]

text-only version
scans: page 1 - 2

Date of Info: 1945-1952

Place Acquired: [REDACTED]

Date Acquired: July 1952

Evaluation: [REDACTED]

Date of Report: 24 July 1952

Source: [REDACTED]

1. The College of S. Girolamo degli Illirici (St. Jerome of the Illyrians), located at 132 Via Tomacelli, Rome, is Vatican property under the protection of (Cardinal) Pietro FUMASONI-BIONDI, where young Croatian priests studying in the various Vatican Universities in Rome were lodged before the war.

2. The Rector of the College (Monsignor) Dr. Juraj MADJEREC, was



appointed on the recommendation of the Archbishop of Zagreb who was acting at the behest of the late King Alexander I of Yugoslavia, who was a patron of Mons. MADJEREC.

3. In 1941, immediately after the occupation of Yugoslavia and the resulting creation of the independent state of Croatia, Dr. MADJEREC changed his political orientation and became a Ustasha. Since that time, however, the true master of the college was Dr. **Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC**, a man in the trust of **Ante PAVELIC** who appointed him professor of the University of Zagreb "for special merit". In 1943, when the Croatian legation transferred to the North of Italy (edit. comment: at the time of the formation of the puppet Fascist Republic after the liberation of Mussolini) part of the archives of that legation was moved to the College of S. Girolamo by DRAGANOVIC himself, who was considered the Ustasha "charge d'affaires" [*sic*] in Rome.

4. At the end of the war, many Ustasha priests and officials began to flock to Rome, thus transforming the College into a veritable Ustasha nerve center. MADJEREC and DRAGANOVIC set up the "Bratovatina" Relief Association, of which the former became president and the latter secretary, in order to obtain from the Pontifical Commission of Assistance and from other organizations, funds for the relief of Ustasha, a category of refugees which was not included in Allied organized relief. In fact, the relief work carried out through the "Bratovatina" was only in favor of Ustasha war criminals.

5. DRAGANOVIC's work was, and still is, decisively oriented in favor of the Ustashi and hating all other political tendencies. This antipathy of his for all non-Ustashi did not even spare his fellow priests, with whom he is in open and constant discord. He is an extremely ambitious man, materialistic and without love for that segment of his fellow man who does not nourish Ustasha ideology, in short, an uncompromising and dangerous extremist.

6. Cardinal FUMASONI-BIONDI did not give his consent to the functioning of the "Bratovatima", nor did the Italian CS authorities. In spite of this, the Association is still carrying on its activity despite the prohibition, to issue identity cards, under false names, to Ustasha refugees in Italy.

7. It is learned [censored] that through DRAGANOVIC's efforts, all Ustasha refugees in Italy, including Dr. Ante PAVELIC, ~~have absconded in-~~
~~transatlantic countries~~ expatriated, primarily to Argentina. The majority of these, registered by Subject under false names, were able to get a free trip at the expense of the Allied authorities (IRO; International Red Cross, etc.) He also organized the escape of Ustasha criminals from Allied concentration camps at Afragola and Ferto di Pietralata, later arranging their emigration to Argentina. Among these are the ex-Ustasha ministers PERIC and VRANCIC, the latter a bitter anti-Italian whose book against Italy is well known.

8. Subject also aided many ex-Nazis whom he registered with IRO as Croat refugees. It is alleged that for this work, Subject received large compensation from (Monsignor) Alois HUDAL and from an unidentified

Protestant clergyman. It should be borne in mind however, that Subject took no interest in business which did not concern Ustashi and Nazis and, which did not yield him a particular financial benefit.

9. It is known in all Yugoslav emigre circles that Subject became head of the Ustashi in Italy, also creating an intelligence service in Rome and in Trieste. Information collected either through agents or through the direct interrogation of refugees in camps for foreigners, were, and still are, sent to the Central Direction of the Ustasha in Buenos Aires and also published in Ustasha newspaper "Croatia" put out in Argentina.

10. Subject spends a great deal, lives a comfortable life, travels considerably and lives in a private apartment at 28 Via Oslavia, Apt. 9, telephone No. 20284. All this is well known in Croat emigre circles, who have a poor opinion of him. His work is well known to the Vatican Secretariat of State, in an unfavorable light.

11. The Croat Center of the NCWC (the American National Catholic Welfare Committee) also has its headquarters, presided over in Italy by (Monsignor) Andrea LANDI and directed by the priest Josip LONCARIC who until 1951 was in charge of distributing IRO subsidies to refugees living outside of camps. For this work, LONCARIC comes under Mons. LANDI and not under Mons. MADJEREC, and is only lodged in that College as a refugee.

:: filing information ::

Title: "A Dangerous and Uncompromising Extremist"

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: July 24, 1952

Added: January 26, 2003

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Irregular Activities of Krunoslav Draganovic

A summary of information from a source, zealously blacked out by censors upon this document's declassification. This source alleges that Krunoslav Draganovic has been accepting bribes from "Jugoslav refugees," who we can presume did not have the good fortune of being high-ranking members of the Ustase. From context, it is possible that the "source" was a leaked or surreptitiously obtained internal report. Unlike most of the CIA files in our possession, this one retains the additional classification: "SECURITY INFORMATION."

From: [REDACTED]

Date: 1 Oct. 1953

Report No.: [REDACTED]

No. of Pages: 1

Local File No:

Report Made By: [REDACTED]

No. of Enclosures: 1

Distribution:
copy to:
Washington (3)

Approved by: [REDACTED]

Jugs in Italy
[REDACTED]

Source Cryptonym: [REDACTED]

Files (1)

References:



Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Documents: The Office of Strategic Services (US Branch)

Misc: Search

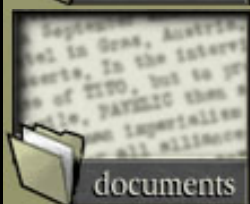
Essays: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

text-only version
scans: page 1

Source, Operational Data, and Comments:

Irregular Activity of Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC

1. [REDACTED] is a report indicating that the NCWC in Rome (directed by the American (Mons.) Andrew LUNDI) has been aware for some time that Subject has realized about 25,000 lire each from Jugoslav refugees for the promise that he would arrange for their emigration. The report further states that **DRAGANOVIC** has lost face in political, civilian and



ecclesiastical circles, including the **Vatican Secretariat of State**.

2. No copy is retained.

Date of Info: [REDACTED] Aug. 1953

Date Received: 28 Aug. 1953

:: filing information ::

Title: Irregular Activities of Krunoslav Draganovic

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: October 1, 1953

Added: January 25, 2003

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Attempt to Penetrate US Guard Companies

This document from 1954 alleges that Father Krunoslav Draganovic, between his first and second stint on America's payroll, attempted at least once to infiltrate US forces in Europe with "Croat refugees from Italy." Considering the mix of ordinary Croats and fugitive Ustase concentration camp guards and executioners hidden in Italy under Draganovic's care, this sort of freelancing was probably not thought of favourably - particularly in groups not "less than 20 men." If true, this would indicate that Draganovic was already working separately as early as 1954 on his own intelligence network.

[stamped:] 10 DEC 1954.

DRAGANOVIC, Fnu, Professor

Various sources of the [REDACTED] have stated that the representative of the Croatian National Committee, Professor DRAGANOVIC, was in KAISERSLAUTERN during the Christman *[sic]* holidays. There he had a conversation with a Polish colonel of a US guard company complex. Topic of conversation was allegedly how to intensify the arrival of Croatian refugees from Italy to the guard companies in KAISERSLAUTERN. It is to work as follows: when the Polish share of guard positions cannot be filled by polish persons, the colonel will send a special delivery letter to DRAGANOVIC and will request a number of Croats. The number must never be less than 20 men. DRAGANOVIC gets the transit visas for these people in ROME and sends the people to KAISERSLAUTERN.

Uneval.

related links

CIA File: Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records, 1959-1960

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: Search

Essay: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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scans: page 1

Sub: Attempt to penetrate US guard companies by Slav groups
outside Germany

:: filing information ::

Title: Attempt to Penetrate US Guard Companies

Source: CIA, no declassification date

Date: December 10, 1954

Added: May 25, 2003

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misc./&tc.

The Dismissal of Krunoslav Draganovic from San Girolamo

This intelligence report indicates that Krunoslav Draganovic has been "fired" from his position at the College of San Girolamo, largely on account of his activities of ten years previous. Within six months, however, he was back working with American intelligence. The report on the first of his renewed contacts is [here](#).

November 19, 1958

SUBJECT- The priest KRUNOSLAV DRAGANOVIC being asked to leave the College of St. Jerome of the Illirici.

Source-

About the second week of October-1958, Mons. Djuro Koksa, the vice director of the College of St. Jerome of the Illirici, by orders from the Secretary of State of the Vatican, asked the priest Draganovic to leave the college. Draganovic who has always boarded at the college, he was also asked not to assist anyone, the Yugoslav refugees in general and particularly the Croatian refugees.

The request for this priest ~~being asked~~ to leave the college was actually directed from the archdiocese of Zagrab [*sic - here and below*]. Mons. Franjo SEPER informed the Holy See that Draganovic had transformed the college into a refuge for propaganda purposes.

It has been revealed that, following the inquest made by the bishop of Zagrab Mons. Josip LAH who came to Rome 4 months ago, ~~that~~ the actions of Draganovic came to light, and also that he received great compensation from these Yugoslav refugees who did not belong to his political group. He received the compensation so as to solicit the authorities for emigration of these refugees. It has been known that the priests Giovanni TOMAS and Antonio MATAVIN who were collaborators of Draganovic also have been asked to leave the college.



related links

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Essay: [The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Essay: [The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

[text-only version](#)
[scans: page 1](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: Dismissal of Krunoslav Draganovic from San Girolamo

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: November 19, 1958

Added: February 6, 2003

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Summary of the Activities of the SILC

It is uncertain what group the acronym "SILC" refers to, or whether this document represents a summary of a report or information gathered by field agents of the CIA. The "Committee for the Relief of Slovene Refugees" mentioned in the first paragraph was a group sponsored by the Ustase Office of Colonization. After the Serbian population of a region was murdered or uprooted, Slovenes sent packing from the part of their country annexed by the German Reich as well as Carinthia were intended to take their place - an agreement brokered by Ante Pavelic and Adolf Hitler during their first meeting as heads of state. What a group of Slovenes actually thought of this is illustrated in **this letter** sent to German Plenipotentiary General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau.

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

Subject of Document:

Summary of the Activities of
SILC During the months of May-
July 1944.

RI File No: [REDACTED]**Dispatch on Source Doc.****Symbol No:**

DOC.#20 (Box 1)

Analyst: [REDACTED]

Date Processed: 20 Nov 1958

Cross Referenced to this File:

(J) Dr. Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC

Subject is a Roman Catholic priest, born at BRCKO in 1903. He was on refugee work in SKOPLJE when war broke out in Yugoslavia, and in the Autumn of 1941 started and became President of a Croat-Slovene Committee for the relief of Slovene refugees in ZAGREB.

In August 1943 D. came to Italy to represent the Croat Red Cross, his mission being to secure the release of, or otherwise help Yugoslav internees.

related links

Documents: The CIA Files

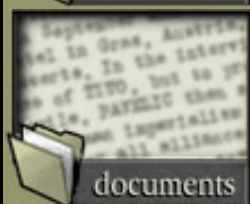
Documents: Krunoslav
Draganovic

Documents: The Office of
Strategic Services (US
Branch)

Misc: Search

Essays: The Lawsuit
Against the Vatican and
the CIA

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scans: page 1



D. was charged by the Serbs with being an ardent Ustashi, with ignoring all non-Croat Yugoslav internees, and when in ZAGREB, receiving support from **PAVELIC**, and working with the prominent collaborationist AVSENIK. No concrete evidence supports any of these charges, except that he was undoubtedly working with AVSENIK.

Politically he is fanatically anti-Serb, anti-Partisan and pro-Croat.

This man lives in Rome under the protection of the Vatican.

:: filing information ::

Title: Summary of Activities of SILC

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: November 20, 1958

Added: January 26, 2003

[home](#) » [documents](#) » [cia](#) » cia0007.html

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DOJ/OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie

Amid the scandal surrounding the extradition of the "Butcher of Lyons" Klaus Barbie from Bolivia, when millions for the first time heard the word "Ratline" uttered in connection with the American plan to smuggle accused Nazi war criminals out of Europe, the Department of Justice of the United States ordered all departments to search their files from the immediate post-war period and turn over all documents relating to the matter. This new-found determination to deal with accused Nazi war criminals in the United States would eventually lead to the **extradition** of the Independent State of Croatia Interior Minister, **Andrija Artukovic**, who had been living in California while extradition proceedings stalled for almost forty years. The following document is a heavily censored report from a department head (we do not know which one on account of the redacted passages) in connection with the DOJ's order. This summary is crucial, in that it admits for the first time that the "Ratline" existed, and uses a score of documents which we apparently do not have, either because they've since been lost or remain classified today. Father Krunoslav Draganovic (for some reason, repeatedly misspelled) is referred to as "one of the prime movers on the CIC/Austria disposal rat-line," and notes that he worked as an agent for the Department of the Army along with listing his service number. Though only the fourth paragraph directly concerns Draganovic and the Ustase, the entire document is reproduced here for context.



related links

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Documents: The Krizari Campaign

Misc: Search

Essays: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

text-only version
scans: page 1 - 2 - 3 - 4

[illegible] FOR: [REDACTED]

Chief, [REDACTED]

ATTENTION: [REDACTED] [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

FROM: [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

Chief, [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: DOJ/OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie (U)

REFERENCES: (A) OGC 83-02579 dated 29 March 1983 via
IMS, [REDACTED] Memo dated 1 April 1983
(B) OGC 83-03138 dated 15 April 1983 [REDACTED]

1. The following is a summary of an intensive search of the files and indices of the Directorate of Operations which surfaced voluminous records pertaining to individuals and/or elements listed in reference (A) and no identifiable information concerning War Department Detachment mentioned in reference (B).

2. US Army 430th CIC "**Rat Line**": There were cables and memos on the 430th CIC detachment activities and progress reports in Austria from July 1949 thru July 1955 contained in folder 7 of [REDACTED] but according to [REDACTED] this file was destroyed.

3. George Neagoy: Neagoy has a [REDACTED] File [REDACTED] which revealed that Neagoy was a special agent of the 430th CIC detachment but there was no mention of him having been responsible for the "Rat line" operation. He was also a former witting collaborator whose relationship was terminated. [REDACTED]

4. Father Krunoslav Dragonovich: Dragonovich has a [REDACTED] File [REDACTED] which revealed he was one of the prime movers in the CIC/ Austria disposal rat-line which operated circa 1948-1951 or later (RGBA-37554 dated 6 December 1956). Additional undated and unevaluated information listed Father Dragonovich as a CIC rat-line chief in Italy ([illegible]-85997 dated 23 January 1957). He was listed in the ISR ([illegible] 6239) for the Department of the Army, Service No. SD 7350, and dropped with prejudice on 23 January 1962 for security reasons and lack of control. Attached for your review is Dragonovich's [REDACTED] (Att. 2). [REDACTED]

5. Operation Rusty: Several records were surfaced concerning Operation Rusty but of the obtainable records only one was pertinent. Attached for your retention are copies of Operation Rusty/ Odeum (Att. 3), 1946 through 1949 [REDACTED]. [REDACTED]

6. 7821 Composite Group: There is reference to this Group in the Operation Rusty file (Att. 3). There was also mention of this Group in Col. WR Philp's file (see paragraph 9). Attached for your retention is a copy of [REDACTED] file (Att. 4) pertaining to 7821 Composite Group. If any additional information is needed concerning this file, please contact [REDACTED].

7. 7707 European Command Intelligence Center (ECIC): Three references to ECIC reports were surfaced but [REDACTED] was unable to locate them. [REDACTED]

8. Department of Army Detachment (DAD): The only records surfaced concerning DAD were from [REDACTED] and attached for your retention are copies of these records (Att. 5). You can contact [REDACTED] should you require additional information concerning these records. [REDACTED]

9. Col. WR Philps: Philps has [REDACTED] which reveals he was employed by the Department of Army as Commanding Officer of the 7821 Composite Group which supported US intelligence organizations in Europe. [REDACTED] Attached for your review is Philp's [REDACTED] (Att. 6).

10. Intelligence Division, EUCOM (US Army Command, Europe): There is reference to EUCOM in the attached Rusty file (Att. 3). Also attached [sic] are "Record Copies" of summaries of Headquarters European Command, Office of the Deputy Director for Intelligence, reports dated 8 December 1947 (Att. 7) and 22 December 1947 (Att. 8). All other references to EUCOM were in files that were destroyed. [REDACTED]

11. Office of Intelligence, HICOG (High Commission for Germany): There were numerous references to HICOG and except for attachment 9, all other records were destroyed. [REDACTED]

12. A review of all obtainable records pertaining to paragraphs 2 thru 11 revealed no mention of Klaus Barbie. [REDACTED]

13. Kurt Merk (Merck): Merk has a [REDACTED] File [REDACTED] which reveals he was a former German intelligence officer and leader of a CI reconnaissance detachment in France during World War II, and he also worked for CIC, Augsburg. Allegedly, with the consent of CIC, Merk was in contact with [REDACTED] Intelligence Service. He was considered to be an efficient intelligence worker but allegedly was involved in a large black market affair. Klaus Barbie was a good friend and close intelligence collaborator with Merk. Merk was dropped (without prejudice) as an informant by US intelligence agencies in the US occupied zones of Austria and Germany on 19 October 1949. Merk died on 5 September 1951. Attached for your review is Merk's [REDACTED] (Att. 10). (S)

14. According to information provided this Directorate by DDA/IPD, there is no indication that the individuals and/or elements listed in references have ever been the subjects of an FOIA/PA request. (U)

[REDACTED]

Enclosures - Attachments 1 thru 10

Distribution:

Original: - Addressee w/ refs and Atts.

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

:: filing information ::

Title: DOJ/OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: 1983

Added: February 6, 2003

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Article: The Return of Bolivia's Blood-Stained Dictator

On Krunoslav Draganovic's most famous protege: excerpt from "The Return of Bolivia's Drug-Stained Dictator," *The Consortium*, 1997, about the Butcher of Lyons and Ratline beneficiary, Klaus Barbie.



related links

A Latin American ghost from Washington's Cold War past is reappearing this summer. On Aug. 6, [1997] one of South America's most notorious drug-tainted military dictators, Hugo Banzer Suarez, will don Bolivia's presidential sash. That will make him responsible for battling cocaine traffickers in one of the world's top drug-producing nations...

...Amid strikes and political chaos in July 1978, Bolivian Air Force Gen. Juan Pereda Asburn overthrew Banzer, in the name - oddly enough - of saving Bolivia from "international communism"... Two years later, the Bolivian government prepared to indict Banzer on charges of human rights violations and corruption. But Banzer's remarkable luck held out. His friends, coca king Roberto Suarez and Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie, provided the money and muscle for the "Cocaine Coup."

Barbie, in particular, was already deep in Banzer's debt. After World War II, Barbie, known as the Butcher of Lyons for his work in Nazi-occupied France, was hired by the US Army's Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) to run a spy network of ex-Nazi officers. But French intelligence agents - seeking Barbie's arrest on charges of torture and murder - picked up his scent. The CIC then contacted Dr. **Krunoslav Draganovic**, a rightist Croatian priest who ran a **Vatican** "ratline" which helped hundreds of Nazi SS officers escape from Europe. Draganovic arranged papers and transportation for Barbie to flee from Germany to Italy and then to Argentina and Bolivia.

When French Nazi hunters were closing in again a quarter century later, Banzer and other Bolivian officers stepped forward as Barbie's protectors. During his 1971-78 dictatorship, Banzer repeatedly rejected French requests for Barbie's extradition. Barbie returned the favor in 1980, recruiting a mercenary army of neo-fascist terrorists, including Italy's Stefano delle Chiaie.

CIA File: [The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

CIA File: [Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records, 1959-1960](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Documents: [The US Army Files](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Essay: [The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

[text-only version](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: Article: The Return of Bolivia's Blood-Stained Dictator

Source: by Jerry Meldon, *The Consortium*

Date: 1997

Added: October 2002

[home](#) » [documents](#) » [draganovic](#) » kd0001.html

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Article: The Final Redoubt of Nazism

Krunoslav Draganovic's proteges in Argentina: excerpt from "Peron's Nazi Ties," *Time* magazine, 1998.



...At issue here is not merely a matter of diplomatic taste. Throughout the war, Argentina was regarded by U.S. diplomats and the U.S. media as the regional headquarters for Nazi espionage. After 1945, reports kept cropping up in the U.S. press that Argentina was the final redoubt of important Nazis and their European collaborators, a point dramatically brought home as late as 1960 by the capture and forcible removal to Israeli justice of **Adolf Eichmann**, principal director of the "final solution"...

As late as 1944, the Argentine military thought the Nazis were going to win the war, and during the first months of 1945 tried to act as if they had. Having bet on the wrong horse, Peron and his associates - far from reproaching themselves for their bad judgment, or at least striving to correct it - closed ranks and came to the rescue of some of the most unsavory figures to escape Allied justice in liberated Europe.

After 1945, the Argentine consulate in Barcelona became a distribution point for false passports, which enabled literally hundreds if not thousands of Nazi functionaries to escape to Argentina, including the infamous Dr. Josef Mengele. Eventually Argentina provided safe haven for such sinister personalities as Belgian Nazi collaborator Pierre Daye; Reinhard Spitzzy, the Austrian representative of Skoda in Spain; Charles Lescat, former Vichy functionary and onetime editor of the scurrilous magazine *Je Suis Partout*; SS functionary Ludwig Lienhardt; German industrialist Ludwig Freude; SS functionary (for a time) Klaus Barbie, "the Butcher of Lyons"; Eichmann; and Eichmann's adjutant Franz Stangl. Argentina also became home to dozens of Croats, veterans of the bloodthirsty Ustashe, as well as the wartime Prime Minister of occupied Yugoslavia, Milan Stojadinovich.

Some of these people had an important afterlife in Peron's Argentina. Vichyite Frenchman Jacques de Mahieu drafted the doctrinal texts of Peron's movement and became an important ideological mentor to Roman Catholic nationalist youth groups in the 1960s. Daye became the editor of one of the official Peronist magazines; Freude's

CIA File: [The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

CIA File: [Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records, 1959-1960](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

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business ventures prospered, and his son Rodolfo was the chief of presidential intelligence during Peron's first presidency. In 1951 Stojadinovich founded one of Argentina's main business dailies, *El Economista*, which still carries his name on its masthead.

Many of these people also benefited from the clandestine assistance of the **Vatican** in making their escape from Europe to Argentina. The one question Goni's book cannot answer is why either the Catholic Church or the Peron regime felt so strongly about the need to provide succor and assistance to partisans of a lost (and, one would have thought, thoroughly discredited) cause. Money did have something to do with it. Argentine officials in Europe were known to sell passports for large sums.

But there appears to have been a vague, confusing and still unexplained overlap between defeated Central European fascism, preconciliar Catholicism and nascent Peronism. A case in point is the career of a Croatian priest based in Rome, the Rev. **Krunoslav Draganovic**, who was deputed by Peron to facilitate the escape of hundreds of Nazis and their collaborators to South America, including the infamous Barbie. When the Butcher of Lyons asked the clergyman why he was going out of his way to help him, Draganovic merely replied, "We have to maintain a sort of moral reserve on which we can draw in the future." Thus the European fascist sensibility, if not precisely the fascist system, found new roots and new life in the South Atlantic region.

:: filing information ::

Title: Article: The Final Redoubt of Nazism

Source: "Peron's Nazi Ties: How the European Fascist Sensibility Found New Roots and New Life in the South Atlantic Region" by Mark Falcoff, *Time* magazine.

Date: November 9, 1998

Added: October 2002

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Article: Holocaust Gold Taints the Vatican

News excerpt from the *Sunday Telegraph*, July 27, 1997, by Bruce Johnson.



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The Vatican stands accused of using gold plundered from Holocaust victims in Yugoslavia during the Second World War to smuggle war criminals into Latin America and the Middle East.

The allegations, made by an international team of Holocaust experts, follow last week's publication of a recently declassified US Treasury document which, for the first time, drags the Vatican's name into the Holocaust gold scandal. The document surfaced at the same time as Swiss banks published names of holders of unclaimed wartime accounts which they had concealed for decades.

The allegations relate to a US Treasury memo of October 1946 by Emerson Bigelow, who worked for the Treasury's monetary research unit and who received reliable information from the OSS, precursor of the CIA, on Nazi wealth held in specific Swiss accounts.

Bigelow's memo claims that the Ustashas, the Nazi puppet regime of Croatia, used the Vatican to look after part of the millions of dollars' worth of gold and jewelry which they plundered from 900,000 Jews, Serbs, Croat moderates and gipsies they had put to death. The Vatican has denied the allegation.

Citing "reliable sources in Italy" - understood to mean US intelligence - the memo says that one third of the estimated 350 million Swiss francs which the Ustashas tried to remove from Yugoslavia was impounded by the British at the Austrian-Yugoslav border. The remaining 200 million "was originally held in the Vatican for safe-keeping," to keep the gold from falling into the hands of the Allies.

While stating this as fact, the document also quotes rumours saying a large portion of the Vatican-held money was sent through its "pipeline" to Spain and Argentina. But it adds that this could also be a "smokescreen to cover the fact that the treasure remains in its original repository" - namely, the Vatican...

It has also attracted considerable interest at the Simon Wiesenthal

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Centre, leading the international inquiry into Nazi gold. Shimon Samuels, the centre's director, said last week that the memo supports claims that Nazi gold received by the Vatican was later used to pay for war criminals to be smuggled out of Europe.

According to Mr Samuels, the "gold-line", or channels that were used to smuggle looted Nazi gold, was linked to the "rat-line", the mechanism by which war criminals were spirited out of Europe.

A connection between the Catholic Church and Nazi gold was very feasible, Mr Samuels said, since he is convinced that the Vatican played a crucial role in smuggling war criminals to South America...

Mr Samuels said the gold-line and the rat-line often coincided, and mentioned declassified US documents which talked of how the late Baron Thyssen "and other Nazi industrialists" after the war ploughed huge sums of money into Argentina.

The looted Nazi gold from Yugoslavia could have gone to the Vatican to finance the rat-line, Mr Samuels suggested...

Priebke's admission to the Bonaventura monastery in the Frascati hills of Rome, was arranged by a Right-wing activist called Paolo Giachini, who during the trial of the SS captain distributed smear leaflets against the Simon Wiesenthal Centre.

Priebke, who was Rome SS commandant Herbert Kappler's deputy, escaped from a British PoW camp near the Adriatic after the war. Shortly afterwards, he and his family sailed from Genoa to South America, travelling on a Red Cross passport. So, incidentally, did the Ustasha leader **Ante Pavelic** - disguised as a priest.

:: filing information ::

Title: Article: Holocaust Gold Taints the Vatican

Source: "Holocaust Gold Taints the Vatican," by Bruce Johnson.
Sunday Telegraph

Date: July 27, 1997

Added: October 2002



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Article: Pope's Apology an Empty Gesture

As the scandal over the fate of "Nazi Gold" has escalated, the Vatican has come under increasing fire for refusing to open their wartime archives to outside scrutiny. Paragraphs five and six are particularly relevant in the scope of this archive.

A leading Nazi-hunter yesterday attacked plans by the Pope to make an historic "apology to the Jews" shortly as a "cosmetic exercise" which would leave the "true facts" about help given to Nazi criminals by the Roman Catholic Church hidden in the Vatican archives.

Shimon Samuels, the head of international relations at the Simon Wiesenthal Centre - which has brought numerous former Nazi criminals to book - also said that Pius XII, who was Pope during the Second World War, had "sold the soul of the Church to the Nazi Devil"...

Mr Samuels said the seminar on Judaism was an "incestuous exercise" behind closed doors to which "not a single Jew has been invited". He said the only way to "come to terms with the past" was to open up the Vatican archives "to shed light on what really happened during the war years". He said he had asked the Pope to open the files, but Vatican officials had told him there were "no plans to do so"...

Jewish groups have long maintained that Vatican officials helped former Nazi officers to flee to Latin America and that Catholic monasteries and convents gave them refuge. It was alleged during the trial in Rome this year of Erich Priebke, a former SS captain extradited from Argentina and convicted of a wartime massacre of 335 men and boys, that he had taken refuge in an Italian monastery at the end of the war before being spirited to Buenos Aires.

It has also been claimed that gold taken from Jews by the Fascist wartime regime in Croatia, a Catholic country, was transferred to the Vatican for safe-keeping, although the Vatican has denied this.

"I have personally seen documents in the Buenos Aires archives showing that Ante Pavelic, the Croat Fascist leader, arrived in Argentina dressed as a priest and carrying a certificate of safe



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conduct from the Vatican," Mr Samuels said.

He added that the fate of persecuted Jews - and of Jewish gold - was becoming clearer as the archives of the KGB, the Stasi, the Swiss banks and Argentina were all opened, but said: "The Vatican remains the missing link."

:: filing information ::

Title: Article: Pope's Apology to Jews Attacked as Empty Gesture

Source: "Pope's Apology to Jews Attacked as Empty Gesture" by Richard Owen. *The Times* (London)

Date: October 30, 1997

Added: October 2002

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Response from the Vatican

This article was first published in *L'Osservatore Romano* by one of the priests responsible for searching the Vatican archives for evidence of Nazi collaboration. Father Graham, mentioned in paragraph two, is the Vatican's official historian, given the unhappy task of answering questions on the Vatican to journalists; he is extensively quoted - and contradicted by the evidence - in Aarons and Loftus' *Unholy Trinity*. Bishop Hudal was an overtly pro-Nazi priest who had his own Ratline aimed at helping Nazi officials escape to South America.

...The same article in the Paris daily, after inventing relations between Hitler and the Nuncio Pacelli, mentions **an article in the Sunday Telegraph** of July 1997 which accuses the Holy See of having used Nazi gold to help war criminals flee to Latin America, especially the Croat, **Ante Pavelic**: "Certain studies give credit to this theory". It is remarkable how easily journalists can be satisfied with documenting their own assertions. Historians, who often work for hours to check their references, would be envious of them. One can understand a journalist trusting a colleague, especially when the English title of the paper gives it an appearance of respectability. But there are still two assertions which deserve to be examined separately: that Nazi gold, or more precisely, Jewish gold stolen by the Nazis, was deposited in Vatican accounts, and that it was used to help Nazi war criminals escape to Latin America.

Indeed, certain American newspapers had produced a document from the Department of the Treasury in which the Department is informed that the Vatican had received Nazi gold of Jewish origin via Croatia. A "document from the Department of the Treasury" can sound impressive but one has to read below the headline and then one discovers that it is a note taken from the "communication of a trustworthy Roman informer". Anyone who takes such assertions as truth should read what Fr Graham wrote on the cleverness of Scatolini, an informer, who lived on information he invented and which he passed on to all the embassies, including that of the United States, which faithfully transmitted it to the State Department. In our research in the Secretariat of State's archives, we found no mention of gold stolen from Jews which was supposedly deposited in Vatican accounts. It is obviously the duty of those who make these assertions to supply documented proof, for example a receipt, which would not have remained in the Vatican archives, such as Pius XII's



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letters to Hitler. What is recorded instead is Pius XII's prompt intervention when the Jewish communities of Rome were subjected to blackmail by the SS, which demanded 50 kg. of gold from them; on that occasion the Chief Rabbi turned to the Pope to ask him for the 15 kg. they still needed, and Pius XII immediately gave orders to his officials to do what was necessary. Recent investigations have discovered nothing more.

Furthermore, the report of the Vatican supposedly helping Nazi criminals escape to Latin America is not new. We obviously cannot exclude the ingenuity of a Roman ecclesiastic who made use of his own position to facilitate the escape of a Nazi. The sympathies of Bishop Hudal, rector of the German national church, for the Great Reich, are well-known; but on this basis to imagine that the Vatican organized a large-scale flight of Nazis to Latin America means attributing a heroic charity to Roman ecclesiastics. In Rome the Nazi plans for the Church and the Holy See were well-known. Pius XII mentioned them in his address in the Consistory of 2 June 1945, recalling how the regime's persecution of the Church had been further aggravated by the war "when its supporters even entertained the illusion that, as soon as the military victory had been won, they would be done with the Church forever". Nevertheless, the authors to which our journalist refers have a somewhat elevated idea of the forgiveness of wrongs practiced in the Pope's circles, if they imagine that a number of Nazis were **taken in by the Vatican, conducted to Argentina**, protected by the dictatorship of Peron, and from there taken to Brazil, Chile and Paraguay, to save what could be saved of the Third Reich: a "Fourth Reich" would have been born on the *pampas*.

:: filing information ::

Title: The Vatican Response

Source: "Response to Accusations Against Pius XII: Myth vs Historical Fact," by Father Pierre Blet, S.J. *L'Osservatore Romano*.

Date: April 29, 1998

Added: October 2002

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State Department Report: The Fate of the Wartime Ustasha Treasury

This report was released during the furor over the deposits of Nazi gold in Swiss and Argentine banks. It's probably the most extensive statement on the Ustase released by the United States government - indeed, it's one of the only statements they've ever made. This has bounced around several US Embassy websites only to be taken down: we reproduce this segment here to keep it in circulation.

Holocaust Assets

U.S. and Allied Wartime and Postwar Relations and Negotiations With Argentina, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey on Looted Gold and German External Assets and U.S. Concerns About the Fate of the Wartime Ustasha Treasury

Released 2 June 1998

June 1998 Supplement to Preliminary Study on U.S. and Allied Efforts To Recover and Restore Gold and Other Assets Stolen or Hidden During World War II

[Sections:

- A. Establishment of the Wartime Croatian Ustasha Regime
- B. The Ustasha Treasury and Its Move to Switzerland
- C. The Ustasha Gold in British-Occupied Austria
- D. The Ustasha Underground in Rome and Ustasha Gold
- E. Postwar Changes in U. S. Policy Toward Croatian Ustasha War Criminals and Escapees
- F. Tracking the Fate of the Wartime Ustasha Treasury]

The Fate of the Wartime Ustasha Treasury [1.]

A. Establishment of the Wartime Croatian Ustasha Regime

In the wake of the German blitzkrieg through Yugoslavia and Greece in March and April 1941, the flight abroad of the King of Yugoslavia and government leaders, and the dismemberment (with the participation of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Italy) of Yugoslavia, the so-called independent state of Croatia was established on April 10,



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1941. A government composed of members of the Fascist Croat Ustasha political movement, headed by Ante Pavelic, was proclaimed a protectorate of Italy in May 1941, and was in fact supported throughout World War II by both Italian and German occupation forces. President Roosevelt denounced the invasion and dismemberment of Yugoslavia, and on May 18, 1941, Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles acknowledged the intention of the Yugoslav Government in Exile not to recognize the so-called "independent" Croat state, and expressed the indignation of the U. S. Government for "the invasion and mutilation" of Yugoslavia in creating the Croatian protectorate. Soon thereafter the Croatian police closed and sealed the U. S. Consulate in Zagreb, and the American Consul left Zagreb in June 1941. Throughout the War, U. S. policy was to avoid any action that might carry the implication of acknowledging the Croatian protectorate. [2.]

The Balkans were not a major theater of operations for Allied military forces, but the Allies did provide support to the Yugoslav guerrilla forces fighting the German and Italian occupation armies. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill and their advisers encouraged and supported the guerrilla effort, and U. S. and British special forces units were engaged in the struggle between the competing partisan armies—the Chetniks and the Communist-dominated Partisans. The Croatian Ustasha regime was a primary object of Yugoslav guerrilla campaigns, but it was not a significant target of Allied intelligence activities nor did it gain the attention of diplomatic policy-makers. British intelligence sought for a time to maintain contact with high-ranking officials of the puppet Croatian government, but the contact ended after Ustasha leader Ante Pavelic recognized that the Allies intended to support the Partisans. [3.]

Allen Dulles' wartime OSS Mission in Bern, Switzerland did attempt to monitor the activities of the Ustashi. Aware the Ustashi were persecuting the Jews, Serbs, and Sinti-Romani, Dulles sought to maintain contact with anti-Fascist elements in Croatian territory. [4.]

U. S. and British leaders were aware to some extent of the murderous efforts of the Ustashi regime against the Serbs, Jews, and Sinti-Romani peoples living in Croat-controlled territory. It is not clear if the Allied leaders clearly grasped that as many as 700,000 victims, most of them Serbs, had been killed at the Ustasha death camps at Jasenovac and elsewhere by the most ruthless and primitive methods, including mass shootings, clubbings, and decapitation. [5.]

U. S. authorities clearly had an understanding of what was happening to the Serbs in territory under Ustasha control if not to the Jews and Sinti-Romani people. In August 1941 Yugoslav Ambassador Constantin Fotich received from the Chief of the State Department's Balkan Desk a report describing the Ustashi

"comprehensive policy of extermination of the Serb race in the Independent State of Croatia" and relating the brutal and atrocious killings being committed. [6.] On December 20, 1941, Fotich called on President Roosevelt and reviewed with him a memorandum about the atrocities being committed against the Serbs. The President was shocked by the report and wondered how, after such crimes, the Serbs could expect to live in the future in the same state with the Croats. [7.] When British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden visited the White House in March 1943 to review Allied war aims, he heard President Roosevelt's "oft repeated opinion" that the antagonism between the Croats and the Serbs ruled out their being in the same state and that the Croats should be put under a trusteeship. The President expressed similar views to Secretary of State Hull in early October 1943 on the eve of Hull's attendance at the Moscow Foreign Ministers Conference. [8.]

The Vatican, which maintained an "Apostolic visitor" in Zagreb from June 1941 until the end of the War, was aware of the killing campaign, which started with the internment of most of the 35,000 to 45,000 Croatian Jews in the spring and summer of 1941, and continued with the flight of up to 5,000 Jews from the German-occupied areas of the Croatian state to the Italian portion of the protectorate, and the deportation to Germany of all remaining Croatian Jews beginning in July 1942. Croatian Catholic authorities condemned the atrocities committed by the Ustashi, but remained otherwise supportive of the regime.

During his March 1943 visit to Croatia, German Interior Minister Heinrich Himmler demanded that the few remaining Jews be deported to Germany (including those who had been baptized Catholics or married to Catholics). Germany continued its efforts throughout the War to compel the Italians to deport those Jews who had found sanctuary in Italian-occupied Dalmatia.

Many of them ultimately found safety on the island of Rab off the Dalmatian coast. [9] The German occupiers boasted that the Jewish population of Croatia had been wiped out by early 1944 (except for those who managed to gain Italian protection or escaped to join the Partisans). [10.]

B. The Ustasha Treasury and Its Move to Switzerland

Postwar reports indicated that some portion of the treasury of the Ustasha regime comprised the valuables stolen from the dispossessed and deported victims of the Ustashi ethnic cleansing campaign. U.S. intelligence experts concluded after the War that Ustasha leaders at one time had at their disposal more than \$80 million (350 million Swiss francs), mostly composed of gold coins, some of which were plundered from the victims of the Croatian

Holocaust. [11.] Other unevaluated reports in the early 1950s suggested that the treasury was smaller and its disposition less certain. In 1944 the Ustasha regime began to move assets into Swiss bank accounts for safekeeping. [12.] On May 31, 1944, the Swiss National Bank accepted 358 kilograms of gold (worth approximately \$403,000) from Croatia, and another 980 kilograms (worth \$1.1 million) on August 4, 1944.[13.]

The Croatian gold deposit of August 4, 1944, which was accepted by the Swiss National Bank for deposit and not for purchase, was transferred to Switzerland without the Bank's prior knowledge and without the issuance of the requisite permit. The Swiss National Bank nevertheless accepted the illegal delivery and allowed the gold to enter the account of the Croatian State Bank established with the original May 31 deposit. The Croatian gold shipped to the Swiss National Bank in August 1944 would seem to have been the same 980 kilograms of gold taken in 1941 by the Croatian authorities from the Sarajevo branch of the central bank of the dismembered Kingdom of Yugoslavia. There is reason to believe that this segment of Yugoslavia's prewar gold reserve was somehow gotten out of wartime Croatia without the knowledge or consent of the Ustasha regime. The Croatian gold shipped to Switzerland in August 1944 accompanied 25 tons of silver bought by the Swiss National Bank to mint coins. In October 1944 representatives of the Croatian puppet government sought unsuccessfully to persuade the Swiss National Bank to allow the transfer of gold in the Croatian account to Germany. In December 1944 the Swiss National Bank refused the Croatian request for the return of the gold to Zagreb, and the Swiss Federal Council froze all Croatian assets in Switzerland. [14.]

U. S. intelligence became aware that transfers of some sort were going on by the end of 1944. The OSS Mission in Bern reported that 500 kilograms of gold bars (\$ 562,500) with German markings had been brought to Switzerland from Zagreb, and the Croat State Bank had deposited 2. 5 million Swiss francs (\$ 580,000) in another account in Switzerland. [15.] An OSS report in July 1945 concluded that Croat-owned commercial accounts in Bern totaled more than 400,000 Swiss francs (\$93,000), and other Croat accounts contained deposits of Croatian and Austrian currency. [16.] A U. S. intelligence report commenting on the arrival in Argentina in 1949 of Franjo Cvijic, the wartime head of the Croat State Bank who had been in Switzerland at the end of the War negotiating commercial agreements, indicated that the Ustasha regime assets in 1945 included 2.5 million Swiss francs in currency (about \$580,000), 1,700 kilograms of gold in bars (about \$1.9 million), and about 40,000 kilograms of silver (about \$915,000). [17.] According to a postwar Belgrade press report, the Croat State Bank deposited 1,000 kilograms of gold (\$1.1 million) in Switzerland during the War. [18] Other U. S. intelligence reports noted that the Swiss Government froze Croatian Government accounts in Swiss banks at the end of the War worth a total of 15-16 million Swiss francs (\$ 3. 5-3. 7 million)

in part as compensation for outstanding Croatian debts. [19.] U.S. intelligence officers were of the view that all the puppet Croatian government funds moved to Switzerland had been controlled by Dr. Josip Cabas, an official of the Croatian Ministry of National Economy and later the Chief of the Croatian Commercial delegation in Switzerland. After the War Cabas reportedly sought to use the Ustasha funds, amounting to 12-16 million Swiss francs, to purchase arms for the Communist Yugoslav Government, but the Swiss resisted, preferring to use the funds to pay old debts. [20.]

C. The Ustasha Gold in British-Occupied Austria

The final military collapse of the German army in Croatia and its puppet Ustasha forces began in April 1945 as Tito's Partisan forces launched their final offensive and quickly seized Zagreb. While the general German surrender occurred on May 9, the beleaguered German forces and their Ustasha and Chetnik allies battled on until a final capitulation on May 15. In the midst of these final military actions, leaders of the puppet Croatian regime, carrying with them some portion of the Ustasha treasury, sought to escape through Austria to Italy. U. S. intelligence reports indicate that the fleeing Ustasha leaders carried at least part of the treasury with them into the British zone of occupation of Austria where it was seized by the British authorities. According to these sketchy reports, Ustasha leader Ante Pavelic entered Austria with a party of up to 1,500 Ustashi and \$5-6 million in gold. Other reports show that Pavelic was released after being held in British custody for two weeks, his gold trove was seized by the British, and his companions were turned over to the Yugoslav authorities. [21.]

According to still other reports, up to as much as 500 kilograms of gold (more than \$560,000) were carried to Austria at the end of the War, with Pavelic's knowledge. The gold was hidden there until it was recovered and used in part to finance anti-Communist activities aimed at Yugoslavia, in part to maintain Pavelic in exile in Argentina, while other portions were used to maintain the Ustashi in Italy. Postwar intelligence reports also suggest that Ustasha funds in Austria helped to finance the Ustashi anti-Tito partisans based in Austria after the War. [22]

The terms of the Inter-Allied Reparations Agreement, concluded in Paris in January 1946, required that monetary gold found in Germany by Allied forces or recovered from a third country to which it had been transferred by Germany was to be pooled for restitution among the participant nations, and non-monetary gold found in Germany was to be used for resettlement and rehabilitation of non-repatriable victims of German action. The British occupation authorities in Austria did not acknowledge recovery of any monetary

gold or non-monetary gold originating with the puppet Croatian Ustasha regime. No gold attributed to the Croatian regime was transferred to the Tripartite Gold Commission. [23.]

D. The Ustasha Underground in Rome and Ustasha Gold

According to information gathered at various times by U. S. intelligence, the College of San Girolamo degli Illirici in Rome, which provided living quarters for Croatian priests studying at the Vatican during and after World War II, was a center of Ustasha covert activity and a Croatian "underground" that helped Ustasha refugees and war criminals to escape Europe after the War. [24.] British intelligence information of March 1946 also identified San Girolamo as the church for the Ustashi managed by a brotherhood of Croatian priests, the "confraternita di San Girolamo." This brotherhood issued identity cards with false names to the fugitive Ustashi, allowing them to evade arrest or detention by the Allies. [25.]

Monsignor Juraj Madjerec, identified in intelligence reports as an Ustasha supporter, was head of the College, but the prime mover behind this Ustasha activity in Rome was the secretary of the College, Father Dr. **Krunoslav Stefano Dragonovic**, who was also an Ustasha colonel and former official of the Croat "Ministry for Internal Colonization," the agency responsible for the confiscation of Serb property in Bosnia and Hercegovina. [26.]

Regarded by U. S. intelligence officers as Ante Pavelic's "alter ego," the Croatian-born Father Dragonovic had been a Professor of Theology at Zagreb University. In 1943 he went to Rome allegedly as the representative of the Croatian Red Cross, but probably to coordinate Ustasha affairs in Italy. Taking advantage of contacts inside the International Red Cross and other refugee and relief organizations, Dragonovic helped Ustasha fugitives emigrate illegally to South America by providing temporary shelter and false identity documents, and by arranging onward transport, primarily to Argentina. [27.] U. S. intelligence reports make much of Father Dragonovic's role in helping the Ustashi who sought protection in Rome after the War. He was also reportedly entrusted with the safeguarding of the archives of the Ustasha Legation in Rome, which he hid somewhere in the Vatican, as well as with all the valuables brought out of Croatia by the fleeing Ustashi. [28]

Under Dragonovic's leadership, the Croat underground in San Girolamo built up an effective covert organization which operated an escape service for Croatian nationalists fleeing from the Yugoslav regime. Dragonovic's organization also worked with the "rat line" set up and operated by the U. S. Army's Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) to help Soviet and East European defectors, informants, and

activists escape from Communist-controlled territory. [29.] In 1951 Dragonovic worked with the CIC to organize the escape of anti-Communist informant and Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie to South America. [30.] In mid-October 1958, a few days after the death of Pope Pius XII on October 9, Dragonovic was ordered to leave the College of San Girolamo by the Vatican Secretary of State. [31.] In 1962 the CIC dropped him as an agent "with prejudice, for security reasons and lack of control." [32.]

Over the next few years, relations between the Vatican and Communist Yugoslavia improved and were finally normalized in June 1966. Dragonovic, who had broken with Ante Pavelic in 1955, benefited from an amnesty granted by the Tito regime in the early 1960s. In 1967 he traveled to Trieste and walked across the border to Yugoslavia. A few days later he made a speech over Yugoslav radio denouncing the Ustashi and praising the progress made since the end of the War by the Tito regime. The indications are that Dragonovic lived quietly in Yugoslavia where he died in July 1983. [33.]

From early 1946 to late 1947, the Ustashi in Rome harbored Ante Pavelic, as well as other Ustasha leaders. Pavelic arrived in Rome in 1946 disguised as a priest with a Spanish passport. For the next two years he reportedly lived at San Girolamo and other quarters in Rome. The support of the Croat underground in Rome was critical for Pavelic's escape from Europe to Argentina. In November 1948 he emigrated to Argentina on the Italian motorship Sestriere. In 1957, after an assassination attempt, he moved to Spain, where he died in 1959. [34.]

The CIC, which had responsibility for tracking down war criminals, knew of Pavelic's presence in Italy and monitored his activities for nearly two years, attempting to learn his exact whereabouts. In late July 1947, after CIC reported that Pavelic was living in a particular Vatican-owned building in Rome, and after consultations in Washington, the State Department instructed the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Italy that "the United States should cooperate with the Italian authorities to the extent necessary in this particular case." The British Government concurred in this action four days later. The CIC agents assigned to monitor Pavelic's activities in preparation for his arrest reported that he was enjoying the protection of the British as well as of the Vatican and advised against unilateral U. S. action to extradite Pavelic to Yugoslavia in order not to lose support among Catholic and anti-Communist emigres. U. S. military intelligence concurred on the grounds that Pavelic's arrest would alienate the Croatians loyal to the Ustasha cause who were being increasingly employed as informants by U.S. intelligence agencies. In the end, U.S. forces withdrew from Italy without acting decisively to apprehend Pavelic. [35.] However, CIC's interest apparently was sufficient to compel Pavelic to leave Rome for a monastery near the Pope's summer residence at Castel Gandolfo,

where he remained for several months prior to his departure from Europe. [36.]

The figure of 350 million Swiss francs (over \$80 million) of Ustasha gold that U. S. intelligence reported in 1946 remains the only attempt to estimate the total financial resources available to the Ustashi at the end of World War II. This figure refers to sums in Italy and Austria and probably does not include those funds sequestered by the Ustasha regime in Switzerland. Moreover, it remains unsubstantiated and may not include some or all of the sums reported elsewhere. Although the amount of the total financial resources available to the Ustasha leadership at the end of World War II cannot be determined, it seems clear from the available information that there was some quantity of gold at their disposal in Rome, Austria, and Switzerland. From the character of the Ustasha regime and the nature of its wartime activities, this sum almost certainly included some quantity of victim gold.

U. S. intelligence reports⁶ many of them uncorroborated and speculative⁶ portray the Croat underground in Rome as making use of a considerable quantity of gold, probably including victim gold, that the Ustashi sent or brought out of Croatia between 1943 and 1945. Sources available to U. S. intelligence authorities varied widely, even wildly, in their estimates of the total value of the gold available to the Croat underground in Rome. The largest estimate of Ustashi treasury reaching Rome was made in the October 1946 U. S. intelligence (SSU) report to the Treasury Department, which estimated that 200 million Swiss francs (about \$47 million) "was originally held in the Vatican" before being moved to Spain and Argentina. [37.] Another October 1946 intelligence report summarizing information on the whereabouts of former Ustasha officials identified an "Ustashi Financial Committee" living in Rome with a large amount of gold at its disposal. [38.] On the other hand, a report derived from an alleged January 1947 interview with Ante Pavelic at his quarters in the monastery in Rome, claimed the Ustashi had only 3,900 gold Napoleons (some \$25,000) in all of Italy. [39.]

Ante Pavelic, Father Dragonovic, and other Ustasha leaders in Rome also derived moral and financial aid from many other countries, including from Ustasha sympathizers in the United States. [40] U. S. intelligence was also informed that the Ustashi in Italy were active on the black market. [41.] Dragonovic may also have personally profited from his illegal activities, charging refugees as much as \$1,500 for false documents and realizing \$625 from each refugee he helped transport to Argentina. [42.]

E. Postwar Changes in U. S. Policy Toward Croatian Ustasha War Criminals and Escapees

In response to a number of Yugoslav Government requests in the latter half of 1945 to British and U.S. authorities for the return of various Yugoslav nationals, including Croatians, for trial as war criminals, traitors, and collaborators, the U. S. Government in October 1945 took the official position that it would comply with such Yugoslav Government requests provided that it made a "prima facie case of collaboration with the enemy of war criminality" and provided that the individuals were not desired by the Allied governments for trial as major criminals. [43.] During the succeeding months, U. S. and British authorities handed back to Yugoslavia those Yugoslav nationals in their custody whose cases had been individually examined and whose return by force had been duly authorized. [44.]

The United States recognized the new Communist Government of Yugoslavia in December 1945, and in the following months sought to develop friendly and supportive relations with the Tito regime. By the latter half of 1946 and early 1947, U. S. policy toward the Yugoslav Government grew increasingly cool as a result of the Yugoslav regime's hostile actions, including harassment of U. S. Embassy personnel and accusations of espionage, the arrest and trial of Yugoslav employees of the Embassy on charges of espionage, attacks on unarmed U. S. aircraft over Yugoslavia, Yugoslav efforts to annex Trieste, and Yugoslav unwillingness to settle outstanding claims of American citizens for confiscated property. The brutality of the Yugoslav police and the manifest disregard of human rights violations also contributed to the hardening of the U. S. attitude in other aspects of its relations with Yugoslavia. [45.]

The U. S. Government also began to revise its policy on turning over Croatian Ustasha members to the Yugoslav Government. In June 1946 the British Foreign Office proposed that all proved Ustashi found in camps in Italy be surrendered to the Yugoslav authorities, whether or not their surrender had been requested. The British felt that the Ustashi deserved no sympathy and that their surrender to Yugoslavia would give the Communists less ground for complaining that the Chetniks in U. S.-British custody were not being surrendered. Such action would also prevent the Ustashi in Allied detention from becoming a source of embarrassment for the Italian Government once the Allies completed their imminent withdrawal from Italy. The British proposed that Ustashi in displaced persons camps in Italy be removed to prisoner-of-war camps, where they would be screened carefully, after which those whose membership in Ustasha organizations was established beyond doubt would be surrendered to the Yugoslav authorities. [46]

The State Department approved the British proposal to surrender all proven members of the Ustasha organization in Allied camps in Italy in June 1946, but no screening of Ustashi took place under this policy before it was abandoned by the United States in favor of a

more limited policy of return of Ustashi. [47.] In response to Yugoslav Government complaints in September 1946 that U. S. and British authorities in Germany were failing to turn over suspected war criminals, the United States informed Belgrade in November 1946 that it continued to hold to its policy of returning individuals for whom prima facie evidence had been provided, but found that Yugoslav Government requests increasingly were not accompanied by sufficient means of identification or did not provide adequate details of the crimes committed. [48.]

A new U. S. policy regarding the return to Yugoslavia of war criminals, collaborators, and others, including Ustashi, was further defined in guidelines sent to American officials in Berlin, Vienna, Rome, and Belgrade in January 1947. In the future Yugoslav requests for the return of collaborators would be referred to Washington for screening and no persons would be surrendered who appeared wanted for primarily political reasons. No persons would be turned over to Yugoslavia for war crimes prosecution if they were to be tried in U. S. courts or if they were listed on the UN War Crimes Commission lists of war criminals and unless the request for them was accompanied by a clear statement of the charge and sufficient evidence. [49.]

The changing policy of the United States on the return of war criminals and collaborators to Yugoslavia was further elucidated with respect to the Ustashi in April 1947 when U. S. and British diplomats presented to the Yugoslav Government notes explaining U.S.-British policy regarding the surrender of Yugoslav "quislings" from Allied camps in Italy. The notes stated that the two governments were "determined to apprehend and surrender to the Yugoslav Government all quislings requested by the Yugoslav Government to whose surrender the two first named governments agree and who can be found in camps under Allied control." An additional phrase, "and proved members of Ustashi," was deleted by agreement of the State Department and British Foreign Office. [50.] The Department believed that the Yugoslav Government was meting out unduly harsh treatment to its political opponents and using charges of collaboration as a weapon in an increasingly severe campaign of repression against opposition elements. The Department of State felt that commitments to surrender proven members of the Ustashi were no longer necessarily applicable and withdrew its concurrence in the surrender of Ustashi as a group. The Department told the British Embassy in May 1947:

It is our belief that, in a matter involving so basic a humanitarian principle as the protection of persons under our jurisdiction from victimization through the perversion of justice, we cannot, in the light of our subsequent experience, be bound by earlier expressions of intention. [51.]

The situation of the Yugoslav prisoners of war in Allied camps in Italy

caused increasing concern for Britain and the United States by early 1947. Allied troops left in Italy were insufficient to control the Yugoslav prisoners, who numbered 21, 000 in British camps alone. The Allies feared that the Yugoslavs in these camps, including many Ustasha war criminals, would be turned over to the Italian Government when the Italian Peace Treaty was signed later in 1947. In April 1947 the British Government announced that there were still about 10,000 displaced persons in Italy under U.S.-British responsibility, of whom 7,000 were Yugoslavs, including 77 Yugoslav quislings and traitors. Of these, 22 were turned over to Communist Yugoslav authorities. Also in April 7,000 former Chetnik Yugoslav soldiers were transferred to the British zone of occupation of Germany, and by June the Yugoslav Government in Belgrade claimed that, of 950 Yugoslav nationals that it had requested the Allies to turn over, fewer than 50 had actually been delivered. [52.]

F. Tracking the Fate of the Wartime Ustasha Treasury

U. S. official historical records have thus far yielded only an imperfect understanding of the fate of the wartime Ustasha treasury, including the gold and valuables stolen from the Jewish, Serb, and Sinti-Romani victims of the Ustasha ethnic cleansing policies and the German deportations and murders of Jews and others. A full accounting of the events of the Ustasha period in Croatia and the postwar flight of its leaders, funded to some extent by the remains of the Ustasha treasury, has to be found in the archives of other nations and possibly the Vatican. [53.]

At the London Conference on Nazi Gold held in December 1997, the Croatian delegation reported on the work thus far of the special commission "created to investigate historic facts about the property of Nazi victims and "to finally establish facts related to the property seized by the Nazis from States or individuals and to review measures taken so far and those to be taken in the future with an aim of returning or compensating this property." The Croatian delegation reported that the work of the special commission will be facilitated by the fact that "the 1941-1945 archives have been largely preserved." The present Croatian State Archives contains extensive materials on the Holocaust in Croatia and Jewish property in particular, including the results of pilot archival project carried out by the Croatian State Archives between 1978 and 1985 and based on 7,027 archive boxes and 67 boxes of files that established a register of 40,000 Fascist victims and anti-Fascist fighters (including 6,537 Jews) killed in concentrations camps and prisons. [54.] An estimated 1,000 to 1,200 Holocaust survivors "eligible for compensation" remained in Croatia.

The Croatian delegation also informed the London conferees that the gold reserve of the Croatian Ustasha regime consisted of 45 cases of

gold of unknown or unstated value. Thirteen cases of gold were "taken abroad on 7 May 1945," and 32 cases of gold were "hidden" in the Franciscan Monastery in Zagreb until February 1946 when it was "handed over to the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Zagreb Branch Office, Department for People's Property of the Government Presidency of the People's Republic of Croatia." The Croatian delegation stated that there were 22 lists specifying the gold, but the lists have not been found, and further documentation regarding the gold was assumed to be with the National Bank of Yugoslavia. The delegation concluded, on the basis of documents in the archive of the Jewish community of Zagreb, "as well as those kept elsewhere in Croatia," that the gold and jewelry taken from Jews in Croatia up to the end of October 1941 amounted to 1,065 kilograms (worth more than \$1.2 million). [55.]

There is some evidence that at least part of the Croat Foreign Ministry archives was sent to the Vatican at the end of the War. [56.] In his memoirs, James V. Milano, Commander of the 430th Counter Intelligence Detachment of the U. S. Army's Counter Intelligence Corps, admits to the wholesale destruction of records relating to the operation of the Army's rat-line and his dealings with the Croat underground. [57.]

There are other possible sources of historical information on the fate of the Croatian State treasury. Most if not all of the Croatian Ustasha leaders and soldiers who fled the approaching Partisan forces in April and May 1945 escaped through the British zone of occupation of Austria. British military and intelligence records may be able to describe Ustasha activities in occupied Austria, including the transport of any of the Croatian treasury. Swiss banking records may contain additional information beyond what has already been published regarding the movement of gold and other assets from the Ustasha treasury. Ustasha gold may also have been sequestered in private or commercial accounts that escaped the notice of postwar auditors. Perhaps the best documentation for the wartime activities of the Ustashi lies in the archives of the Independent State of Croatia, if the records still exist. Examination of these records would help in determining the amount of victim gold stolen by the Ustasha regime and establishing its disposition at the end of the War. The bulk of the Ustasha Croat State archives, however, apparently remain within the territory of the former State of Yugoslavia, where they are presently unavailable to Western researchers.

An examination of the documentation prepared by the Communist regime for the September-October 1946 war crimes trial in Zagreb might give an indication of what might be available, but this documentation would be incomplete and, given the highly political nature of the trials, could be used only with caution. The trial, which resulted in the conviction of Croatian priests and others, was extensively covered in the Zagreb newspaper Vjesnik, and facsimiles of hundreds of archival documents from the wartime Croatian

government were published after the trial. [58.] The extensiveness of the documentation indicates the documentary resources available to the Communist prosecutors at the Zagreb trial, but does not give confidence of the objectivity of its use. The published record included testimony alleging the existence of gold stolen from the victims of Ustasha arrest and the concealment of Croatian foreign affairs records after the War at the Zagreb bishopric.

In addition to the evidence of covert Ustasha activity inside the College of San Girolamo, there is the question of the attitude of the Papal administration. During World War II, the reigning Pope, Pius XII, maintained a studied neutrality that has been the subject of considerable historical controversy. His attitude toward the Croat Catholics inside the College of San Girolamo and elsewhere has also been the subject of much speculation. Although no evidence has been found to directly implicate the Pope or his advisers in the postwar activities of the Ustashi in Italy, it seems unlikely that they were entirely unaware of what was going on. Vatican authorities have told us they have not found any records that could shed light on the Ustasha gold question. More information on the Ustashi and any treasury they may have carried with them into exile may exist in the archives of the Argentine security services, and might emerge from ongoing research by the Argentine Historical Commission. The existence of a long-standing Croat-Ustasha community in Argentina almost certainly attracted the attention of the Argentine security services before, during, and after the War.

Footnotes

1 This chapter is based on published and unpublished Department of State and other agency records; official and unofficial records collected on behalf of the Department of the Treasury; copies of records supplied by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office as well as published official records and accounts about Britain in World War II; official published records of the wartime diplomacy of the Vatican and other commentary and advice; information about the wartime and postwar experiences of the puppet Ustasha regime; copies of records researched at the National Archives and Records Administration on behalf of the World Jewish Congress; and records supplied by the U. K. Holocaust Educational Trust. Beginning in 1964, the Vatican published 11 volumes of the official record of the diplomacy of Pope Pius XII, entitled *Secretaire d'Etat de Sa Saintete, Actes et Documents du Saint Siege relatifs a la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* [Records and Documents of the Holy See Relating to the Second World War], edited by Pierre Blet, Robert A. Graham, Angelo Martini, and Burkhardt Schneider (Vatican City, 1964-1981). The last volume, published in 1981, covers events through June 1945.

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2 The exchanges between the Yugoslav Government in Exile and the United States regarding the dismemberment of Yugoslavia and the creation of a Croat protectorate are in *Foreign Relations*, 1941, vol. II, pp. 979-984. In 1954 the U. S. Foreign Claims Settlement Commission concluded that the postwar Yugoslav Government had no responsibility for the actions of the "puppet government" or "local de facto government" that existed in Croatia during World War II. See Marjorie Whiteman, ed., *Digest of International Law*, vol. 8, pp. 835-837. By the end of 1944, the U. S. Office of War Information categorized the Ustashi as "collaborationists" who would be punished by the postwar Yugoslav Government or as "war criminals" to be punished by international action. (Department of State, *Historical Policy Research Project No. 61*, "United States Policy Toward the Ustashi," RG 59, Decimal Files, 740.00116-EW) [[back](#)]

3 U. S. Counter-Intelligence Corps Report 5228, July 23, 1947, RG 226, E174, B243, F52. [[back](#)]

4 Neal H. Petersen, *From Hitler's Doorstep: The Wartime Intelligence Reports of Allen Dulles, 1942-1946* (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 46, 63-64, 147, 177, 257, and 573. [[back](#)]

5 The Allies began receiving refugees from Yugoslavia in Italy in the final months of 1943 after the Allied landings in Italy in September 1943. Few were Jewish. The Nazis/Ustashi had exterminated the Jews. While Yugoslavs were allowed to move to British camps in Egypt, the British would not allow the Jews, who remained in Italy, to enter Egypt. See David S. W. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945* (New York, 1984), p. 227. Regarding the refusal to allow the few Jews among the Yugoslav refugees to enter Egypt in 1944, see also Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945* (London, Oxford, 1979). Croatian President Tudjman has reviewed various estimates and assertions of the number of Serb, Jewish, Sinti-Romani, and Croatian victims of the Ustasha death camps, **Jasenovac** in particular but elsewhere in wartime Croatia. He dismisses the estimates by various Yugoslav experts ranging from 500,000 to 700,000 deaths at Jasenovac as inaccurate and "mythical." His own estimate is that 30,000 to 40,000 inmates died at Jasenovac and that some 60,000 victims died at the hands of the Ustashi throughout Croatia. See Franjo Tudjman, *Horrors of War: Historical Reality and Philosophy*, rev. ed., translated by Katarina Mijatovic (New York, 1996), pp. 14-17, 67-69, 226, 231-233. [[back](#)]

6 Constantin Fotich, *The War We Lost: Yugoslavia's Tragedy and the Failure of the West* (New York, 1948), pp. 117-118. [[back](#)]

7 Ibid., pp. 128-129. [[back](#)]

8 Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History*

(New York, 1948), p. 711, and *Foreign Relations*, 1943, vol. I, p. 543. [\[back\]](#)

9 A detailed account of Vatican relations with the puppet Croatian regime and Vatican concerns about and efforts on behalf of the Jews is presented in John F. Morley, *Vatican Diplomacy and the Jews During the Holocaust* (New York, 1980), pp. 147-165. Morley's account is based largely on the first nine volumes of the Vatican's official diplomatic record, *Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Sainteté, Actes et Documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* ["Records and Documents of the Holy See Relating to the Second World War"]. Morley's account, which ends in 1943 and emphasizes the perfunctory nature of official Vatican efforts on behalf of the Croatian Jews, particularly those newly-baptized, could be confirmed or amended if the Vatican were to open completely its records of the wartime diplomacy Pope Pius XII. A summary of official Croatian Government information about the wartime Ustasha regime gold holdings and their postwar dispositions is in Section F below. [\[back\]](#)

10 An estimated 6,000 Croatian Jews survived the war, according to Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, revised and definitive edition (New York, London, 1985), vol. II, pp. 708-718. [\[back\]](#)

11 SSU Information Report, Subject: "Yugoslavia: Present Whereabouts of Former Ustashi Officials," October 11, 1946, CIA Operational Files; letter from Emerson Bigelow, Strategic Services Unit (SSU), to Harold Glasser, U. S. Treasury, October 21, 1946, RG 226, Entry 183, Box 29, 1946. The SSU was the postwar successor in the War Department to the Secret Intelligence (SI) Branch of the OSS. According to published sources, Emerson Bigelow served as a financial expert/consultant in pre-war years to the U. S. Government. During the War he was responsible for establishing and maintaining an operation to provide funds for both overt and covert OSS operations, and continued to provide financial advice to the Defense Department and the CIA for several years after the War. See in particular *The American Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 53, pp. 184-185. In 1946 Bigelow was in the SSU, and was responsible for liaison with the Treasury Department. Unevaluated information obtained by the CIA in 1951 and derived from the claims of a former wartime Croatian Government Minister indicated that 350 kilograms of gold and 1,100 karats of diamonds remained of the wartime Croatian treasury in the first months after the flight of the Ustashi at the end of the War. This remainder was hidden for a time in Austria, where a portion of it fell into the hands of the British, and the balance of 250 kilograms of gold and the diamonds was eventually turned over to Ante Pavelic who, with others, escaped to Argentina. (Information Report, Subject: "Croatian Gold Question," February 2, 1951, CIA Reference Files) Another unevaluated CIA report of April 1952 alleged that Pavelic sent to Austria at War's end 12 cases of gold and jewels which were hidden near Salzburg,

Austria. According to this report, Pavelic arranged for the recovery of this loot in 1951 and sought in 1952 to sell 200 kilograms of gold in Buenos Aires. (Information Report, Subject: "Transfer of Croatian Gold to Argentina," April 16, 1952, CIA Reference Files) [[back](#)]

12 CIG Intelligence Report, "Subject: Dr. Ante Pavelich," May 6, 1947, CIA Operational Files. [[back](#)]

13 Despatch 21,263 from London, February 26, 1945, with attachments, RG 59, Decimal Files 1940-45, 740.00116/ 2-2645, and telegrams 7987 from Bern, December 27, 1944, and 10467 and 10468 from London, November 27, 1944, RG 131, Box 457, File 1942-1950. [[back](#)]

14 According to the report of the Swiss Independent Commission of Experts, "Gold Transactions in the Second World War," December 1997, p. 14, Switzerland neither purchased gold from or sold gold to the Croatian Ustasha regime. The transfer of 358 kilograms of gold from Croatia to Switzerland on May 31, 1944, and the transfer of 980 kilograms of gold and the sale of 25 tons of silver to the Swiss National Bank on August 4, 1944; the refusal of the Bank to allow transfer of the Croatian gold to Germany in October 1944; and the decision of the Swiss Government to freeze Croatian assets in Switzerland, are the subject of documents published in the official record of Swiss foreign policy, *Documents Diplomatiques Suisses*, vol. 15, August 1943-August 1945, pp. 547-548, 706-707, and 782. Additional information about the movement of Croatian gold and silver to the Swiss National Bank during the War, provided by the Historical Section of the Task Force of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, indicates that the Swiss National Bank returned all 1,338 kilograms of gold in 121 ingots in the account of the wartime Croatian regime to the National Bank of Yugoslavia on July 24, 1945, in response to the request of the new Yugoslav Government. According to the 1971 Report of the Tripartite Gold Commission, vol. I, p. 64, the TGC was informed by the Yugoslav Government of the return by Switzerland in July 1945 of the 980 kilograms of "Croatian gold" that had been taken from the Sarajevo branch of the Yugoslav State Bank in 1941. But the TGC either was not informed of or did not report information regarding the return of the additional 358 kilograms of gold the Ustasha regime shipped to Switzerland during the War. It cannot be determined whether this 358 kilograms was some other prewar monetary gold or whether it was non-monetary gold gathered by the Ustashi during the Waró perhaps from victims of detention, deportation, or murder. According to the 1971 TGC Report, the 980 kilograms of gold of the former State Bank of Yugoslavia was "caused to be transferred for safekeeping to the Swiss National Bank" in August 1944 by "patriotic officials" of the so-called Croatian State Bank. [[back](#)]

15 Bern OSS Memorandum, Subject "Croatian Gold," December 7, 1944, RG 226, Entry 108, Box 2. [[back](#)]

16 Bern Safehaven Report No. 74, Subject "Supplementary Report on Funds Held for Others by the Societe General de Surveillance S. A.," July 12, 1945, *ibid.*, Entry 183, Box 6, Folder 32. [[back](#)]

17 Information Report, June 17, 1949, Subject: "Franco Cvijic (Civic)," CIA Operational Files. The report indicates that Cvijic was arrested by U. S. authorities and imprisoned before being paroled by the U. S. military authorities. His escape from Europe to Argentina was, the report further indicates, probably arranged by Father Krunoslav Dragonovic. [[back](#)]

18 Belgrade, Yugoslav Home Service, "Yugoslav Gold Reserve Put In Order," July 30, 1946, RG 226, Entry 183, Box 27, Folder 152. According to this press release, which reported that 1,000 kilograms had been returned to the Yugoslav Government, 10 tons of Yugoslav Government gold, seized by Italian troops during the occupation of Belgrade in 1941, were found in postwar Germany. This gold was handed over to the Tripartite Gold Commission. [[back](#)]

19 Memorandum from Bigelow to Glasser, July 19, 1946, *ibid.*; Official Dispatch, November 24, 1950, "Ivan Mestrovic, Branimir Jelic, General Stjepan Pericic," CIA Operational Files. As of July 1946 the Yugoslav Government was continuing to seek to secure access to these accounts, but no further intelligence reports have been found as to the result. [[back](#)]

20 Memorandum from Bigelow to Glasser, July 19, 1946, RG 226, Entry 183, Box 27, Folder 152; Official Dispatch, November 24, 1950, "Ivan Mestrovic, Branimir Jelic, General Stjepan Pericic," CIA Operational Files. [[back](#)]

21 SSU Information Report, Subject: "Jugoslavia: Present Whereabouts of Former Ustashe Officials," October 11, 1946, *ibid.*; letter from Bigelow to Glasser, October 21, 1946, RG 226, Entry 183, Box 29, 1946. The SSU report concluded that there could be little doubt that the British aided the escape of Pavelic. The Bigelow letter stated that a sum of 150 million Swiss francs, presumed to have been made up largely of gold coins, was impounded by British authorities in Austria. According to a Central Intelligence Group (CIG) Intelligence Report on Ante Pavelic, May 6, 1947 (date of information is January 1947), Pavelic and his party crossed into Austria with gold bars in two trucks, which the Croats handed over to the British, "and so saved themselves;" CIA Operational Files. [[back](#)]

22 CIG Intelligence Report, Subject: "Dr. Ante Pavelich," May 6, 1947, *ibid.* [[back](#)]

23 In its 1971 Report, the Tripartite Gold Commission did take

account of the fate of the 980 kilograms of monetary gold taken from Sarajevo branch of the National Bank of Yugoslavia by Croatian puppet government officials in 1941, made a part of the Croatian National Bank holdings, transferred to the Swiss National Bank in 1944 (see footnote 14 above), and returned to the new Communist Government of Yugoslavia in 1945. The TGC Report also accounts for the 66,400 kilograms of gold in bars and coins (about \$6 million) distributed by the Commission to Yugoslavia but without any connection to any other gold attributed to the wartime Croatian Government recovered in the British zone of occupation or elsewhere. The 980 kilograms of gold received by Yugoslavia from Switzerland was not regarded by the Tripartite Gold Commission to be part of the TGC's restitution process. According to the 1971 TGC Report (vol. I, p. 66, and vol. III, pp. 18, 19, 27), Yugoslavia established claims for monetary gold totaling 3,243 kilograms and received in distributions in 1948, 1950, and 1958 from the TGC, a total of 2,064 kilograms of gold (about \$2.3 million). In September 1948 Yugoslavia also received from Italy pursuant to the Italian Peace Treaty 8,393 kilograms of gold (about \$9.4 million). No gold found in the British zone of occupation of Austria appears to have been included in the Tripartite Gold Pool, according to this 1971 Report. [[back](#)]

24 The College of San Girolamo is located outside the walls of the Vatican and pays Italian State taxes. [[back](#)]

25 British Public Records Office, War Office Files, WO 204/ 11574. The British intelligence file identified Croatian priest Dominc Mandic as the Vatican representative to San Girolamo. [[back](#)]

26 Memorandum from AC of S, G-2 (CI) AFHQ (Allied Forces Headquarters) from AFHQ Liaison (IAI), November 26, 1947, Subject: "Dragonovic, Krunoslav Stefano; Information Report, Subject: "Dr. Krunoslav Dragonovich," July 24, 1952 (date of information is 1945-1952); memorandum from Deputy Director for Plans (CIA) to Deputy Assistant Under Secretary for Security, Department of State, "Dr. Krunoslav Stepan Dragonovich," January 9, 1968, all in CIA Operational Files. Dragonovic's background and his wartime activities, including alleged connections with the Vatican and exchanges with British diplomats, are described, with extensive references to official British and U. S. documents identified in the archives of the two nations, in Mark Aarons and John Loftus, *Unholy Trinity: How the Vatican's Nazi Networks Betrayed Western Intelligence to the Soviets* (New York, 1991), pp. 88-119 (pp. 308-314 for documentary citations). This report is not based on these authors' book nor does it seek to evaluate how they interpreted the many documentary sources they cite. [[back](#)]

27 U. S. Department of Justice, Criminal Division, *Klaus Barbie and the United States Government: A Report to the Attorney General of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1983), pp. 136-139 [hereafter

cited as *The Barbie Report*]; memorandum from Deputy Director for Plans (CIA) to Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security, Department of State, "Dr. Krunoslav Stepan Dragonovich," January 9, 1968, CIA Operational Files. U. S. Army Counter Intelligence Corps reports of 1947 on the extent of Ustasha involvement in the management of affairs at San Girolamo and aid rendered to fleeing Ustasha leaders are described in Susan Headden, Dana Hawkins, and Jason Vest, "**A Vow of Silence: Did Gold Stolen by Croatian Fascists Reach the Vatican?**," U. S. News & World Report, March 30, 1998, pp. 34-37. [\[back\]](#)

28 Information Report, Subject: "Dr. Krunoslav Dragonovich," July 24, 1952 (date of information is 1945-1952); Information Report, Subject: "Yugoslavia: Present Whereabouts of Former Ustashi Officials," October 11, 1946, both in CIA Operational Files. [\[back\]](#)

29 *The Barbie Report*, pp. 135-137. [\[back\]](#)

30 Memorandum, undated (c. April-May 1983), Subject: "DOJ/ OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie," CIA Operational Files; *The Barbie Report*, pp. 146-151; and James V. Milano, *Soldiers, Spies, and the Rat Line: America's Undeclared War Against the Soviets* (Washington, D. C., London, 1995), pp. 201-206. [\[back\]](#)

31 Information Report, Subject: "The Priest Krunoslav Dragonovic being asked to leave the College of St. Jerome of the Illirici," December 11, 1958, CIA Operational Files. [\[back\]](#)

32 Memorandum, undated (probably c. April-May 1983), Subject: "DOS/ OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie," *ibid.* [\[back\]](#)

33 What appears to be the public record regarding Dragonovic's last years in Yugoslavia, including his praise for the Tito regime and the religious freedom he found in Yugoslavia, is identified in Aarons and Loftus, *The Unholy Trinity*, pp. 77-78, 86-87, and 143-150. [\[back\]](#)

34 Information Report, Subject: "The Organization of the Ustashis Abroad," November 4, 1946 (date of information is October 1946); Information Report, Subject: "The Vatican as an Asylum for War Criminals," August 8, 1947 (date of information is July 1947); Information Report, Subject: "**Reported Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina**," December 2, 1948, all in CIA Operational Files. Aarons and Loftus, *The Unholy Trinity*, pp. 77-78, indicate that Pavelic joined most of the former Ustasha regime in Buenos Aires, including nearly every surviving Cabinet Minister. [\[back\]](#)

35 Memorandum from Bernard J. Grennan, Chief of Operations, CIC Headquarters, MTOUSA (Mediterranean Theater of Operations United States), to Supervising Agent, CIC Zone Five, July 7, 1947; memorandum from Joseph N. Greene, Jr., Acting U. S. Political

Adviser to Acting Supreme Allied Commander, July 29, 1947; memorandum from P. W. Scarlett, British Political Adviser, to Acting Supreme Allied Commander, August 2, 1947; Informal Routing Slip from Major General L. C. Jaynes, Chief of Staff, to Commanding General, MTOUSA, August 8, 1947, with marginal comment by Commanding General; memoranda from CIC Special Agents Louis S. Caniglia and William E. W. Gowen to Officer in Charge, CIC Rome Detachment, August 28 and September 12, 1947; memorandum to Officer in Charge, CIC Rome Detachment, signed by Lieutenant Colonel G. F. Blunda, Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, November 8, 1947, all in NARA, RG 319, Investigative Records Repository, CIC Dossier XE 00 11 09: Anton Pavelic. [[back](#)]

36 Information Report, Subject: "**Reported Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina**," December 2, 1948, CIA Operational Files. [[back](#)]

37 Letter from Bigelow to Glasser, October 21, 1946, RG 226, Entry 183, Box 29, 1946. [[back](#)]

38 Information Report, Subject: "Jugoslavia: Present Whereabouts of Former Ustashi Officials," October 11, 1946, CIA Operational Files. [[back](#)]

39 CIG Intelligence Report, Subject: "Dr. Ante Pavelich," May 6, 1947, *ibid.* This is the same report that described the alleged British Army seizure of two truckloads of bar gold from the fleeing Croatian leaders when they reached Austria in early 1945. [[back](#)]

40 Information Report, Subject: "The Organization of the Ustashis Abroad," November 4, 1946, *ibid.* [[back](#)]

41 Information Report, October 16, 1950, *ibid.* [[back](#)]

42 *The Barbie Report*, p. 140; Milano, pp. 52-54; Information Report, Subject: "Irregular Activity of Krunoslav Dragonovic," October 1, 1953, CIA Operational Files. According to a March 1948 report of the U. S. Military Attache in Argentina (?), quoted in *U. S. News & World Report*, March 30, 1998, p. 36, Ustasha refugees in Argentina were being assisted with funds in a Swiss bank. [[back](#)]

43 Note from the Secretary of State to the Yugoslav Charge, October 19, 1945, RG 59, Decimal Files 1945-49, 740.00116-EW/ 8-2845. [[back](#)]

44 Telegram 375 from the U. S. Political Adviser in Caserta (Anglo-American headquarters in Italy), June 8, 1946, *ibid.*, 860H. 00/ 6-846. [[back](#)]

45 Documentation on U. S. efforts to maintain friendly relations with Yugoslavia, assertion of the rights and immunities of U. S. diplomatic

personnel and American citizens in Yugoslavia, and negotiations for the mutual restoration of property and settlement of claims is presented in *Foreign Relations*, 1946, vol. VI, pp. 867 ff. and 1947, vol. IV, pp. 744 ff. [[back](#)]

46 Telegrams 575, June 8, 1946, and 607, June 13, 1946, from the U. S. Political Adviser in Caserta, RG 59, Decimal Files 1945-49, 860H. 00/6-846 and 860H. 00/6-2046. [[back](#)]

47 Telegram 171 to the U. S. Political Adviser in Caserta, June 23, 1946, *ibid.*, 860H. 00/ 6-2046, and telegram 513 from Belgrade, May 15, 1947, *ibid.*, 740.00116-EW/ 5-1547. [[back](#)]

48 Note from the Secretary of State to Yugoslav Ambassador, November 4, 1946, *ibid.*, 740.00116- EW/9-2046. [[back](#)]

49 Telegram 213 to the U. S. Political Adviser in Berlin, January 27, 1947, *ibid.*, 740. 00116-EW/1-1547. Printed in *Foreign Relations*, 1947, vol. IV, p. 753. [[back](#)]

50 Despatch 783 from Belgrade, April 9, 1947, RG 59, Decimal Files 1945-49, 740.00116-EW/4-947; telegram 17 from Belgrade, March 11, 1947, *ibid.*, 740.00116-EW/2-1447, and telegram 177 to Belgrade, March 28, 1947, *ibid.*, 860H. 00/3-2847. [[back](#)]

51 Memorandum from Walworth Barbour (Office of European Affairs) to Solly-Flood of the British Embassy, May 19, 1947, *ibid.*, 740.00116-EW/5-547. [[back](#)]

52 Telegram 1317 from Belgrade, February 14, 1947, telegram 733 from Rome, April 4, 1947, and telegram 714 from Belgrade, June 26, 1947, *Foreign Relations*, 1947, vol. IV, pp. 762 and 784; memorandum from Solly-Flood to Barbour, June 14, 1947, RG 59, Decimal Files 1945-49, 740.0011- EW/6-1447. A significant portion of the documentary record in official U. S. and British records for 1945, 1946, and 1947 is elaborated in some detail and provides the basis for a journalistic, and sometimes speculative, account of the changing U. S. and British policies toward the apprehension of Croatian Ustasha quislings and collaborators and their return to Yugoslavia in Aarons and Loftus, *Unholy Trinity*, pp. 70-87 (pp. 304-308 for documentary citations). [[back](#)]

53 At the December 1997 London Conference on Nazi Gold, Ian F. Hancock of the International Romani Union, issued a statement that noted that "scholarship on the Romani victims of the Holocaust is in its infancy." He pointed out that it is almost impossible to identify the amount of personal wealth stolen by the Nazis from the Romani people, and that even the total number of Romani victims of the Holocaust is unknown. [[back](#)]

54 The Croatian delegation explained that an agreement had been concluded with the U. S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington regarding the duplication of this material. [[back](#)]

55 Statement by the Croatian delegation to the London Conference on Nazi Gold, December 2-4, 1997. The British Government, which convened the conference, plans to publish the full record of the conference in 1998. [[back](#)]

56 Historical experts at the Vatican have pointed out that at his war crimes trial in the autumn of 1946 in Zagreb, evidence was produced that **Archbishop Stepinac** of Zagreb had received the Croatian Foreign Ministry records at the end of the War. Vladimir Dedijer, *The Yugoslav Auschwitz and the Vatican: The Croatian Massacre of the Serbs During World War II* (Buffalo, N. Y., 1992), pp. 414-416, includes a photocopy of a receipt showing that Archbishop Stepinac received eight sealed boxes from the Croatian Foreign Ministry at the end of the War. Dedijer, at one time prominently associated with the Tito-led Communist regime of Yugoslavia, asserts that these boxes were somehow transported to Rome, presumably to College of San Girolamo. Dedijer further speculates that the boxes contained gold from victims of the Ustasha murderers. [[back](#)]

57 Milano, pp. 220-221. [[back](#)]

58 Joza Horvat, ed. Djokumenti o Protunarodnom Radu i Zlocinima Jednog Dijela Katolickog Klera (Zagreb, 1946). [[back](#)]

:: filing information ::

Title: State Department Report: The Fate of the Wartime Ustasha Treasury

Source: State Department.

Date: June 2, 1998

Added: October 2002

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Catholic Origins of the Ustase Oath

Excerpt from *Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America*. Several Ustase priests - particularly those who served as military chaplains to the Ustase Army, such as Father Vilim Cecelja - took the Ustase oath as well.

Upon joining the Ustashi, the novitiate was immediately indoctrinated with its mystery and authority. The initiation rite required that one swear before a crucifix framed by a dagger and a revolver an oath promising total devotion:

"I swear before God and all that I hold sacred that I will observe the laws of this society and will execute without condition all that I am ordered to do by the Poglavnik.

"I will scrupulously preserve all secrets entrusted to me, and I will betray nothing, no matter what it might be.

"I swear to fight in the Ustashi army for a free, independent Croat state under the absolute control of the Poglavnik. Failing in my oath, I shall accept death as the penalty. God help Me, amen."

The choice of the three symbols - the crucifix, the dagger, and the revolver - was not a casual one. The Ustashi "call to blood" that Pavelic was demanding of his followers would be a religious calling. The intensity of Croatian Catholicism would now be transferred, Pavelic hoped, to a political movement. The devotion, duty and bloodletting which the Ustashi promised, would become a holy war to create a Croatian state, a state which would be both separate and Catholic...



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Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Catholic Origins of the Ustase Oath

Source: Blum, Howard. *Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America*, p. 153./span>

Date:

Added: October 2002

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The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust

Excerpt from the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* on the involvement of Catholic priests in the Ustase massacres, and the Vatican's attitude to the Ustase regime in Croatia.



related links

...Many Catholic priests, mainly of the lower rank, took an active part in the murder operations. Generally speaking, the reaction of the Catholic church was a function of military and political developments affecting Croatia; when the standing of the NDH regime was weakening and the war was drawing to an end, protests by the church against Ustasha crimes became more and more outspoken.

This was not a case in the earlier stages. A bishop's conference that met in Zagreb in November 1941 was not even prepared to denounce the **forced conversion** of Serbs that had taken place in the summer of 1941, let alone condemn the persecution and murder of Serbs and Jews. It was not until the middle of 1943 that **Aloysius Stepinac**, the archbishop of Zagreb, publicly came out against the murder of Croatian Jews (most of whom had been killed by that time), the Serbs, and other nationalities.

The Vatican followed a similar line. In the early stage, the Croatian massacres were explained in Rome as "teething troubles of a new regime" (the expression of Monsignor Domenico Tardini of the Vatican state secretariat). When the course of the war was changing, the leaders of the Catholic church began to criticize the Ustasha, but in mild terms; it was only at the end, when Allied victory was assured, that Vatican spokesmen came out with clear denunciations. In some instances, Croatian clerics did help Jews. Their main effort was to save the lives of the **Jewish partners in mixed marriages**, and most of these did in fact survive. The church also extended help to the Zagreb Jewish community in providing food, medicines, and clothing for Jews in the concentration camps.

Documents: [The Vatican](#)

Documents: [Ivan Saric](#)

Documents: [Ante Pavelic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

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Title: Encyclopedia of the Holocaust

Source: Gutman, Israel (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, p 328.

Date:

Added: October 2002

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Request for Info, SETAF Verona

On April 13, 1959, an American intelligence branch in Verona filed a request with the US Embassy in Rome and a number of US military units in Germany for any info in their files relating to a Krunoslav Draganovic. The response is located [here](#).



NR003

USA101

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P 130S20Z - PRIORITY

FM CG SETAF VERONA ITALY

TO RJFPAE/COMMANDER OSI DIST 70, WIESBADEN AB, WIESBADEN GER

UUF1-WOCR/CO 660H CIC GP, BAD CANSTATT GER

RJFPDW/CO 7000TH SUPPORT WING, RHEIN MAIN AB, FRANKFURT GER

RUFYCR/CO US ARMY COMMO UNIT, FRANKFURT GER

ZEN/ARMY ATTACHE, US EMBASSY, ROME ITALY

INFO RUFPAE/CINCHSAREUR HEIDELBERG GER

DA GRNC

BT

// C O N F I D E N T I A L // CAT AC // CITE P0393. FROM AESE-GBI.

(U) (C) 66TH CIC FOR AEUCSBCR; USARMA ROMA PASS TO
[REDACTED] USAREUR FOR INFO G2 BR SCO.

(U) REQUEST ANY INFO YOUR FILES, OR NEGATIVE REPLY, CONCERNING SUBJECT FIRST NAME KRUNOSLAV, LAST NAME DRAGANOVIC, BORN 1907 IN YUGOSLAVIA. PRESENTLY RESIDING AT COLLEGHIO S. GIROLAMO, VIA TOMACELLI 132, ROME, ITALY. OCCUPATION CATHOLIC PRIEST. NATIONALITY YUGOSLAV. END. CITE VICNOVICH.

ET

CFN: P0393/66..TH G2 1907 132

RECD 13 APR 59/21122

CIA File: [CIC Reply to SETAF Verona](#)

CIA File: [The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

CIA File: [Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records, 1959-1960](#)

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Essay: [The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Essay: [The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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scans: page 1

:: filing information ::

Title: Request for Info, SETAF Verona

Source: CIA, declassified March 12, 2001

Date: April 13, 1959

Added: March 16, 2003

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CIC Reply to SETAF Verona

On April 13, 1959, an American intelligence branch in Verona filed a request with the US Embassy in Rome and a number of US military units in Germany for any info in their files relating to a Krunoslav Draganovic. That request is located **here**, and it wasn't until the original request was released in 2001 that the following document could be placed in its proper context. This is a response to SETAF Verona's request from the 66th Counter-Intelligence Corps Group in Bad Cannstatt. The text is based largely on the CIC reports of Agents Robert Clayton Mudd and William Gowen from 1946-48, particularly **this one**. That is, in fact, the point: SETAF Verona received this report and didn't blink a jaundiced eye at Draganovic's Nazi-smuggling background or his past in the notorious "Bureau of Colonization" in the Independent State of Croatia. Within one month of receipt of the following, in fact, SETAF Verona dispatched an agent codenamed "FRANCO" to **recruit Draganovic** back into the fold of American intelligence.

FROM: CO, 66th CIC Gp, Bad Cannstatt, Germany

TO: CG, SETAF, Verona, Italy

CONF 0-1891 For AESE-GBI from AEUC-OPCR

1. (U) Ref P-0393

2. (C) Info on file this Hq dtd Oct 46 to Nov 47, indc that one Krunoslav Draganovic, a Croatian Catholic Priest in the Monastery of San Geronimo, *[sic]* 132 Via Romacelli, *[sic]* ROME, not further identified, was assoc with Ustashi (Croatian Fascist Org) elm in Italy. He was alleged to have been instrumental in aiding various unnamed WW II crim and quislings in escaping arrest and immigrating to various South American Countries, via Spain. Draganovic was a native of TRAVNIK, where he cmpl his elementary and secondary sch. After finishing secondary sch, he moved to SARAJEVO to study Theology and Philosophy. Upon grad on an undisclosed date, he was sent to ROME through the intervention of Dr. Ivan Saric, Archbishop of SARAJEVO. Draganovic cmpl his studies in ROME, where he majored in Ethnology and Balkan affairs, then rtn to SARAJEVO, where he held various unspecified polt ofc of minor importance. Draganovic later become one of the leading figures in the Bureauc of



related links

CIA File: Request for Info, SETAF Verona

CIA File: The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records, 1959-1960

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: Search

Essay: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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Colonization in the independent state of Croatia. He was involved in a disagreement over the relative merits of the younger Eugen Kvaternik, not further identified, whom he called a "madman and lunatic" and left Croatia to return to Rome. This move was alleged to have been promoted by leaders of the independent state of Croatia, who expected the prelate, through his good connection in The Vatican, to be instrumental in working the orientation of Croatia toward the West rather than toward the East. Croatia's militant Catholicism made her a "natural" in such a deal and these same leaders relied heavily on Draganovic to assist them in their aims. Draganovic's sponsorship of Croat quislings and war crimes reportedly linked him with Vatican plans to shield these ex-Ustashi nationalists until such time as they acquired proper documents to enable them to go to South America. The Vatican allegedly was attempting to infiltrate members of the Ustashi into South America, because of their strong anti-Communist feelings, to counteract the spread of Red doctrine in that area. Available records disclose no further pertinent info.

DATE: 16 Apr 1959 1015

WRITER

EDWARD E. COSTELLO, CWO cbs/bmd

PHONE: 7456

PAGE NR.: 1 NR OF PAGES: 2

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASER

SIGNATURE: [signed] Richard O. Fox

TYPED (or stamped) NAME AND TITLE:

for WILLIAM H. FRY

Major, AI (Inf)

Chief, CR Div

:: filing information ::

Title: CIC Reply to SETAF Verona

Source: CIA, declassified September 12, 1983

Date: April 16, 1959

Added: March 16, 2003

The Pavelic Papers

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The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

Despite what was known about his past - and we have proof that the agents had copies of documents alleging the subject's involvement in the sheltering of Ante Pavelic and other Ustase figures - in 1959, US Army intelligence renewed their relationship with Father Krunoslav Draganovic. The past relationship between the agents and the priest had either been allowed to lapse at some point in the mid-1950s, or these were a whole new group of agents unaware of Draganovic's pre-existing contacts. Under the new arrangement, Draganovic was **given** the code-names DYNAMO and FABIANO, and now claimed to have an entire organization inside Yugoslavia at his disposal. We suspect that the identity of FRANCO is one Bruno Francazi of CIC-Verona. The reason why FRANCO didn't find Draganovic at the Collegio San Girolamo is that he had been **fired** several months before, though from FRANCO's contact with Draganovic's former colleagues, it appears to have been a much more amicable split than we have been led to believe.

Headquarters
Detachment "B"
APO 168 US Army

XOR: 0/0214

2 May 1959

SUBJECT: DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav (U)

XOR: 0-0149

1. Circumstances of Contact:

a. Reason for meeting: To attempt to determine SUBJECT's potential and his willingness to cooperate with this unit in the collection of military intelligence information.

b. Date, time and place of meeting: 28 April 1959; 1900-2130



related links

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Documents: Vatican

Misc: Search

Essay: The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

Essay: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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hours, in FRANCO's room at the Pensione Santa Caterina, via Po 2, Rome, Italy.

c. Transportation utilized: FRANCO travelled by commercial rail to and from Rome.

d. Language spoken: Italian

e. Unusual occurrences: FRANCO met a priest [REDACTED] the details relative this meeting are reported under Operational Data of this report.

f. Additional security precautions: None

2. **Finance:** Not applicable

3. **Logistics:** Not applicable

4. **Operational Data:**

a. FRANCO departed from Verona, Italy, via commercial rail, at 2155 hours, 27 April 1959, arrived in Rome, Italy at 0730 hours, 28 April 1959. FRANCO registered under his true identity at the Pensione Santa Caterina, via Po 2, where personnel of this Pensione are under the impression that FRANCO is an American businessman from Munich, Germany. Upon completion of the mission, FRANCO departed from Rome at 2220 hours, 1 May 1959, and arrived in Verona at 0530 hours, 2 May 1959. No difficulty was experienced while at the Pensione or while in Rome.

b. During the early morning hours of 28 April 1959, FRANCO (as reported in XOR: 0-0213) had met with [REDACTED] and during this meeting ORVAL again highly recommended DRAGANOVIC and stated that FRANCO proceeded to the Collegio San Girolamo, via Tomacelli 132, Rome, which is a religious institute dedicated to processing documents pertaining to Yugoslav refugees and is also the office of Father DRAGANOVIC. FRANCO did not find DRAGANOVIC at the College but was confronted by a priest who identified himself as [REDACTED] and who asked FRANCO to identify himself. FRANCO told [REDACTED] that he desired to meet DRAGANOVIC and asked [REDACTED] if he knew where DRAGANOVIC could be located. [REDACTED] after being convinced that FRANCO was an American and not a Tito agent, stated that he would attempt to contact DRAGANOVIC telephonically. He proceeded to a wall telephone and

dialed a number but obtained no answer. It was obvious to FRANCO that [REDACTED] did not want FRANCO to observe the number he had dialed. [REDACTED] and FRANCO then engaged in a long conversation with [REDACTED] doing most of the talking. FRANCO noted that [REDACTED] began to be more cordial and finally [REDACTED] wrote an address and telephone number where DRAGANOVIC could be reached. [REDACTED] is a young looking priest of approximately 40 years of age, was very bitter at what he called the high pressure or high powered politics of the "Anglo-Saxons" concerning the country of Yugoslavia. [REDACTED] stated that the United States and England were responsible for the Tito regime in Yugoslavia and that the United States and England had betrayed the "real people" of Yugoslavia. He preached on this subject at length and finding FRANCO an attentive listener, invited FRANCO to take a short walk with him. FRANCO and [REDACTED] walked near the Tiber River for a short while and during this walk [REDACTED] stated that he greatly admired DRAGANOVIC and that he felt that FRANCO would feel the same way when he met and talked to DRAGANOVIC. [REDACTED] stated that DRAGANOVIC travelled considerably and that he was a person who "knew what he was doing". [REDACTED] then stated that he had to leave and told FRANCO that he would attempt to get in contact with DRAGANOVIC and to tell him where FRANCO was staying. By this time [REDACTED] was completely cordial and stated that he had been happy to meet FRANCO and hoped someday to meet him again.

c. At 1400 hours, DRAGANOVIC called FRANCO at the Pensione and stated he would like to meet with FRANCO that evening. FRANCO informed DRAGANOVIC that he would be pleased to meet with him anyplace he selected but DRAGANOVIC stated that he knew where the Pensione was and that he had to go by the Pensione to get to his home, therefore, he preferred to meet at the Pensione. DRAGANOVIC appeared at 1900 hours. In the room, he immediately asked to see FRANCO's identification document and when shown same stated that he was satisfied. FRANCO asked DRAGANOVIC if he knew who FRANCO was and what he was engaged in and DRAGANOVIC replied that he had talked to [REDACTED] and that [REDACTED] had told him that FRANCO was employed with United States Intelligence and that FRANCO had been known to him for 15 years. DRAGANOVIC stated that [REDACTED] had highly recommended FRANCO to him and that was the reason he was in FRANCO's room, otherwise he would not have been there.

d. DRAGANOVIC stated that he had known a **William GOWEN** (formerly with CIC in Italy) years ago and also a certain [REDACTED] (believed to have been working with a United States visa program in Italy) and that he had assisted them in their work and had always had pleasant relations with them. He spoke at length on cases of Tito brutality [*sic*] against the people of Yugoslavia and also discussed the murder of 35,000 people by an execution squad composed of Tito's partisans during World War II. He stated that these people had

all been murdered and then buried in a deep ravine not too far from Basovizza. DRAGANOVIC had personally conducted an investigation relative these atrocities and had succeeded in obtaining statements from members of the execution squads. He stated that he had conclusive proof that entire families had been exterminated. He also recounted that approximately over one year ago the port of Rijeka had been sealed off for a few days and that an entire shipload of arms and ammunition given to the country of Yugoslavia by the United States had been loaded onto a ship which had no markings but which was obviously either Soviet or of a satellite nation. He stated that he had conclusive proof of this as some of "his men" were involved in unloading and loading crates of rifles. His men wanted to smuggle out a case of rifles in order to obtain the serial numbers and therefore prove that they were of United States manufacture. DRAGANOVIC stated that he "reported" this plan and got nowhere as he could not find anybody that was even interested. DRAGANOVIC stated that he also has proof that Tito has been delivering arms to the rebel forces in Algeria.

e. DRAGANOVIC and FRANCO then discussed the reason for the meeting. FRANCO asked DRAGANOVIC if he would be willing to assist FRANCO in obtaining information relative Yugoslavia. DRAGANOVIC stated that he would be willing as long as FRANCO demonstrated sincerity with him in all of his dealings but at the first sign of insincerity, he, DRAGANOVIC, would cut off the relationship. He stated that he had too much to lose and would not tolerate anyone playing any games with him. He also added that because of [REDACTED] recommendation of FRANCO, he was sure that he would never have any trouble with FRANCO in this respect. DRAGANOVIC stated that he had many excellent sources in almost every part of Yugoslavia, some of these sources had been personally recruited by him when he was in that country, and some that had been cultivated over the years since his departure. He stated that he has been engaged in intelligence activities since 1943 and that in the past 12 years he has never lost a source. DRAGANOVIC stated that he has been written up at least 200 times in the Yugoslav press as an enemy of the State and that the UDB has arrested persons and accused them of working for him but he was emphatic in stating that all these accusations were unfounded and that the persons arrested not only had not worked for him but were unknown to him. DRAGANOVIC stated that he is in contact with persons in Yugoslavia who keep him abreast of the political, economic situation and also on opposition groups. He stated that it would not be difficult to obtain military type information.

f. DRAGANOVIC added that he had excellent channels of communication into and out of Yugoslavia, that these channels were not as "speedy" as he would probably like them to be but that they were very secure. He stated that he was satisfied with them but would be willing to work out any plan that FRANCO might suggest relative making them faster. He stressed the security of these

channels but did not go into any detail. He also kept away from the subject of identifying the level of his sources and this was obvious to FRANCO. FRANCO made no attempt to press DRAGANOVIC on these two points. DRAGANOVIC was asked about finances in the event he desired to collaborate. He stated that he expected expenses to be paid to any individual who was sent in on a mission or who was asked to come out of the country. He stated that these expenses should include hotel, food, and travel. DRAGANOVIC was asked about his expectations relative payment and he replied that he would never accept one cent for his collaboration as he did not desire any personal gain for his fight against the Tito regime. He stated however, that we could and that he would accept money which would be used by him to continue his fight against Tito. DRAGANOVIC stated that he often published anti-Tito material for distribution in Yugoslavia and that he would probably use any money given him to defray printing expenses.

g. DRAGANOVIC stated that he often changes his residence in Rome because he knows Tito is after him. He stated that Tito has attempted to infiltrate Catholic priests sympathetic to Tito into the Collegio San Girolamo but that he has always unmasked them and gotten rid of them before they could do any harm. DRAGANOVIC stated that he has dedicated his life in the fight against Tito and when asked by FRANCO how he, a priest, could spend so much of his time in the fight against a regime, DRAGANOVIC replied that he placed his country before his church. FRANCO explained to DRAGANOVIC that this meeting had been held in order to learn DRAGANOVIC's views relative collaboration with FRANCO's unit and that FRANCO was to report all details of the meeting to his superiors for a final decision. FRANCO also explained that if his superiors decided to go ahead with this collaboration, another person, an expert of Yugoslav activities, would probably be introduced to DRAGANOVIC at the next meeting for the purpose of working in the future with him. DRAGANOVIC stated that he understood this perfectly and that he was agreeable to this plan. He again stressed sincerity and added that he did not want to deal with an immature person as well. DRAGANOVIC stated that he would also like to think over FRANCO's proposition but that he was sure that he desired to work with FRANCO's unit. He stated that he would give serious consideration to what he could do and that he would do everything possible to supply the type of information desired.

h. During the meeting DRAGANOVIC asked where FRANCO was located. FRANCO told him that he resided in Verona but that he travelled considerably and gave DRAGANOVIC the impression that maybe FRANCO's office was not actually in Verona but that FRANCO merely maintained a residence in that city. DRAGANOVIC stated that he also travelled considerably to Germany and France and that these trips sometimes kept him away from Rome for 10 days at a time. He explained that there were a lot of refugees in Germany and France who needed his help and that was the reason for his travels.

DRAGANOVIC stated that he would be willing to travel anywhere in order to meet with FRANCO or with his colleague when it was decided to start working. DRAGANOVIC stated that he would like to have FRANCO write to him within 10 days indicating the decision taken by his superiors. He stated that he is presently living with a very reliable family and that FRANCO could address a letter to that address to him. This family is [REDACTED]. The telephone number of [REDACTED] is 814584. FRANCO promised to write to him as soon as a decision was made and also stated that he would probably be seeing DRAGANOVIC shortly.

5. Leads: None

6. Instructions to Agent: Not applicable at this time.

7. Agent Handler's Comments and Recommendations:

a. Comments: During the meeting, FRANCO learned that DRAGANOVIC was born on 30 October 1903. He does not smoke and when invited to dine with FRANCO, stated that he prefers to dine at home as he only eats one soft boiled egg which he really enjoys. DRAGANOVIC is approximately 72 inches tall, weighs approximately 185 pounds, has light brown hair and a sallow complexion. He speaks Italian with a Yugoslav accent and stated that he is very fluent in German. He also speaks Croat and stated that he will speak Serbian only when necessary. DRAGANOVIC impressed FRANCO as being very astute, very intelligent, sincere and straightforward. He is blunt in his speech and does not mince words. He has an immense hatred of Tito and the Communist regime in Yugoslavia. He is writing a book or series of documents which he hopes someday to publish or to turn over to a United States commission or committee charged with the decision of giving aid to Tito. He stated that these documents will convince anyone, without a doubt, that Tito is not to be trusted and that he will never fight on the side of the West. He indicated that we can expect him to ask us for favors relative to his refugee work. He gave all indications that he has excellent coverage of Yugoslav activities and that he is an able organizer. FRANCO was impressed with his knowledge of security and his security precautions. He is a mature person and realizes that he is not engaged in child's play when working against Tito. He can be rightfully called shrewd and as being experienced in intelligence work. He appears to be happy in his work as a priest.

b. FRANCO recommends that permission be given to him to write to

DRAGANOVIC as soon as a decision is reached relative him. FRANCO is of the opinion that DRAGANOVIC will prove to be of extreme value to this unit. He can give us extensive coverage in Yugoslavia. ~~There is no doubt that this operation will proceed~~ *[rest illegible]*

DRAGANOVIC gave FRANCO the impression that he hates Italian Intelligence with a passion so there is no fear that he is working for the Italian authorities. The person selected to work with DRAGANOVIC should be mature and should have a good knowledge of Yugoslavia. DRAGANOVIC will not prove difficult to work with but FRANCO would again like to point out his emphasis on sincerity. He indicated that he is willing to work with us but never once did he attempt to ask the designation of FRANCO's unit or the level of same. He appeared to be happy and satisfied when FRANCO told him that he was working for the United States Government. FRANCO feels that we have nothing to lose and a lot to gain by going ahead with the next meeting, introducing the Agent Handler selected, and working out all final arrangements.

[signed]
FRANCO

:: filing information ::

Title: The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: May 2, 1959

Added: March 4, 2003

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Report by Senior Agent "SARDI"

A few weeks after making initial contact, the American intelligence agent code-named "FRANCO" (here, "FRANKO") brought Father Krunoslav Draganovic to meet his superior, code-named "SARDI." SARDI questions Draganovic at length and concludes he is probably lying about the extent of his organization. The agent's recommendations were more or less ignored, and Draganovic became a source, and later a paid agent of American intelligence - in spite of SARDI's warning that the priest's "organization" was most likely connected with Ustase fugitive Ante Pavelic. Neither the anonymous analyst who wrote the operational comments at the end, nor SARDI himself are very much troubled that they may be brokering an alliance with a European Nazi organization. One other note: the practical demands placed on the Americans by Draganovic (items g.1 and g.2 below) as the price of his cooperation - that they notify him when their agents enter Yugoslavia, and that they advise him of all Yugoslavs who request political asylum at US embassies - is precisely the type of information Yugoslav counter-intelligence would be interested in obtaining. There is not yet convincing evidence that Draganovic was working for UDB-a at this date, but the peculiar nature of his demands might lend credence to that theory.

XOR-0-0271

29 May 1959

SUBJECT: DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav REFER:

1. Circumstances of Contact:

a. Reason for meeting: To be introduced to DRAGANOVIC and attempt to establish a controlled operation into Yugoslavia with use of SUBJECT's organization.

b. Date, time and place of meeting: 28 May 59, 1330 hours-1500 hours, Via Risorgimento 2, Verona, Italy

c. Transportation utilized: Private Vehicle

d. Language(s) spoken: Serbo-Croatian [sic]



related links

CIA File: Dottore DYNAMO

CIA File: The Re-
Recruitment of Krunoslav
Draganovic

CIA File: Krunoslav
Draganovic's Pay
Records, 1959-1960

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav
Draganovic

Misc: Search

Essay: The Return of the
Golden Priest: The
Second Recruitment of
Krunoslav Draganovic

Essay: The Lawsuit
Against the Vatican and
the CIA

Timeline: The Ustase
Movement

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e. Unusual occurrences: None

f. Additional security precautions: None

2. **Finance**:

[.....]

Other (specify): Development of Source - 10,000 Lire

3. **Logistics**:

4. **Operational Data**:

a. FRANKO, who established **initial contact** with DRAGANOVIC, had made arrangements for DRAGANOVIC to travel to Verona from Rome for the purpose of meeting SARDI. On the basis of a letter sent FRANKO by DRAGANOVIC that he would be in Verona on 28 May 59, arrangements were made for SARDI to meet SUBJECT at FRANKO's home upon DRAGANOVIC's arrival. At approximately 1315 hours, FRANKO's wife phoned and stated that DRAGANOVIC had phoned and was on his way over to FRANKO's residence. FRANKO and SARDI departed their offices and arrived at approximately 1330 hours. FRANKO introduced SARDI as Marko SOPAR. After initial exchange of pleasantries, FRANKO departed the room and SARDI decided to get to the business at hand.

b. SARDI informed DRAGANOVIC that he was informed by FRANKO that DRAGANOVIC through his organization may be able to help SARDI in obtaining information from within Yugoslavia. SARDI explained to DRAGANOVIC what he wanted was a controlled operation into target area, utilizing DRAGANOVIC and individuals who he has in place within the country. DRAGANOVIC stated that he personally does not have or control the men, but that they are members and followers of his organization. He stated that that is the method in which information was to be obtained. He asked SARDI exactly as to what type information was desired.

c. SARDI explained that he was interested primarily in OB information, then secondary economic and political. DRAGANOVIC informed SARDI that his organization and his contacts were not trained in the gathering of OB information, but that it could be done with training. SARDI agreed with him that training would have to be

conducted. SARDI began to explain in detail as to what was desired in line of OB information. He informed DRAGANOVIC that he wanted a operation set-up as such that SARDI would be able to request specific information in specific locals and that DRAGANOVIC's net or sources would be able to supply the answers to questions as given by SARDI. DRAGANOVIC interrupted and informed SARDI that he has the ways and means available in doing exactly that as SARDI outlined.

d. DRAGANOVIC continued to expound on the beliefs and ideals of he and his organization. They were anti-TITO and pro-Croatia. He continued to elaborate to SARDI that the organization was such that it was large, had contacts all through-out Yugoslavia, could cover any portion of Yugoslavia and in any field. He rambled on along this line for approximately 20 minutes and then informed SARDI that before he or the organization would be become *[sic]* involved in this type of work he had to have some agreements drawn up between his organization and the United States Government. SARDI inquired as to what these agreements were.

e. DRAGANOVIC then proceeded to inform SARDI that his organization has three objectives. He stated that these objectives may not come into reality next day, next year or perhaps ten years from now, however, the objectives were given as follows:

- (1) A free Yugoslavia from the Communist regime.
- (2) The needs of the people looked after first before anything else.
- (3) The people themselves select and determine the ruling power, party or faction when liberated or freed from Communism. His organization itself desires a plebiscite, made of the six Yugoslav Republics.

f. SARDI inquired as to how did the objectives of the organization or those of DRAGANOVIC enter into the picture in connection with the matter at hand, that is utilizing the services of DRAGANOVIC or his organization in obtaining information from within Yugoslavia. DRAGANOVIC replied that on the basis of the objectives he would have to have a agreement drawn up by the US guaranteeing that when and if the Communists are overthrown be it now or ten years from now, that America, it's political groups or other Western powers would not force upon Yugoslavia or it's people a individual selected by the aforementioned powers or forces as the governing head of the country. He continued to elaborate or rather spell out that his organization or he himself did not want at a future date to have America tell the Yugoslavs that King PETER is the selected leader, or select someother *[sic]* individual who America desires to lead the country. DRAGANOVIC stated that this agreement would not have to be a so-called pact or treaty, but if would have to be written up and signed by some high responsible American Government official in Washington.

g. SARDI explained to DRAGANOVIC that he was not a representative of the US Government for matters such as this, he merely had a job to do and that was obtaining information on a country of interest to us. DRAGANOVIC stated that he was fully aware of this, however, if he and/or his organization were to work with SARDI the agreement would have to be drawn. He stated that he had to return to Rome, contact other responsible heads of the organization, they would write a memorandum, which would contain all information as to what his organization stands for, what it can assist us in and what it demands for its services. He stated that when it was completed he would submit it to SARDI for transmittal to higher offices. In addition to this so-called pact or agreement, DRAGANOVIC brought up other stipulations which his organization would want. He stated that of course that once the agreement is signed his organization would begin to work in obtaining information as requested and that these latter stipulations would come later as work progressed. He outlined the other demands as follows:

(1) DRAGANOVIC stated that he knows we have Agents operating in Yugoslavia, travelling from and into Yugoslavia. He wants these travellers, whether legal or illegal to take mail into the country and mail it from within the country. He described an example that we may have a individual [sic] going to Belgrade, SARDI would inform DRAGANOVIC that we do have a man going, thereupon, DRAGANOVIC would give SARDI several letters to be given to this traveller to be mailed upon his arrival in Yugoslavia. SARDI questioned as to why that. DRAGANOVIC stated that he or his organization does not desire to mail anything from outside the country, explaining that although there is no censorship, spot checks are made occasionally and some receivers may be on a watch list.

(2) Another stipulation was that SARDI or his superiors would put DRAGANOVIC in contact with various American Consulates in Europe. [sic] SARDI when asking why, was informed by DRAGANOVIC that numerous Yugoslavs permitted to emigrate to the US are no good and that all the good ones have been left behind. He added that if he was in contact with all Consulates, the Consulate when having an individual (Yugoslav) reading for emmigration they would contact DRAGANOVIC and then he would inform the Consulate [sic] whether the individual was qualified to emmigrate or not. In other words he would be the one to pass judgement as to which or what Yugoslav refugee would emmigrate to the United States.

(3) Numerous contacts and/or followers of DRAGANOVIC or his organization are known or suspected as such within Yugoslavia and are not permitted to travel from outside their immediate area of residence or employment. DRAGANOVIC wants that we obtain blank Yugoslav identity and travel documents to be given him for the purpose of falsely documenting his contacts or sub-sources for travel within the country. He even outlined the fact that some of the documents would be student documents, military documents and

others utilized. He stated that he knows our intelligence facilities could obtain such documents and send them out of Yugoslavia through the use of the US diplomatic pouch.

h. Remaining portion of the meeting was spent in going over in detail of what was wanted from SUBJECT and/or his organization in line of OB information, political and economical. During the course of the meeting SARDI also brought up the fact that if we could not meet DRAGANOVIC's requests for the written agreement, and other 3 secondary requests could SARDI work just with DRAGANOVIC on a personal basis. DRAGANOVIC stated that he is only familiar with cultural and social work and would not be able to devote time and effort to the gathering of information as outlined by SARDI. He also brought up the fact that or rather hinted and gave SARDI the feeling that he would not do anything except through his organization. Likewise, SARDI felt him out as to whether he knew of individuals who he could put in contact with SARDI, these said individuals having communications with residents in Yugoslavia so that something of an operation could be initiated through these individuals. DRAGANOVIC stated that he has a few colleagues but that they are within the organization and would not work on an individual basis but rather through the organization. Now these aforementioned, DRAGANOVIC or his freinds, [sic] were not flat refusals, but sort of hinted at that if a agreement [sic] as outlined by SUBJECT was not acceptable and the services of the entire organization were not utilized, that neither he nor the friend would not want to work. His position in replying was to wait and see until he had the so-called memorandum drawn up and forwarded to Washington, then on the basis of the results on it then maybe or perhaps we could talk business. SARDI brought up the fact that DRAGANOVIC in his position in life has numerous acquaintances that have no ties with the organization, and that these individuals may have channels of communication into Yugoslavia and would be willing to work with SARDI for either idealistic reasons or financial gains. DRAGANOVIC admitted that he did know some individuals such as, however, bringing to SARDI's attention that if they were not members of his organization they were not idealists and others who could be tapped because of want for financial gain were not to be trusted, being liars, cheats etc. He left the impression that if he or his organization were not accepted on their basis then he wouldn't even bother placing SARDI into contact with the so-called liars and cheats.

j. SARDI spent some time in trying to obtain the name or official designation of the so-called organization with which DRAGANOVIC is connected. This he would not disclose, merely stating when asked as to the location of it's headquarters that it was not in Italy. He also brought out the fact that he himself was not the head of it. Informing SARDI that the so-called memorandum would have to be agreed upon by other members or parallel heads in addition to DRAGANOVIC that is in the organization.

5. Leads: NTR

6. Instructions to Agent:

a. Next contact to be made by SARDI with DRAGANOVIC will be done through FRANKO.

b. When the so-called memorandum is drawn up and prepared DRAGANOVIC will notify FRANKO and then *[sic]* arrangements will be made for its pick up by SARDI or delivery to SARDI.

7. Comments and recommendations of Agent Handler:

a. Initial contact with SUBJECT, disclosed that he is a very intelligent if not shrewd politician. He and his organization have a goal and they want to attain that goal by any means.

b. He would not disclose the name of his organization or other names of leading heads, however, he did disclose that he was recently on a trip to South America. This leads SARDI to believe that the organization with which DRAGANOVIC is connected is the **Anton PAVELIC** Croation *[sic, here and below]* Liberation Movement. PAVELIC is the ex-Ustashi quisling leader of Yugoslavia. He is wanted as a war criminal by the Yugoslav government. PAVELIC currently resides in Buenos Aires, South America and likewise the headquarters for the Croation Liberation Movement is located there.

c. Of course nothing further can be done until the memorandum reaches us and we can see what the demands are, however, the demands made verbally gives SARDI the personal belief that we would be working for DRAGANOVIC and his organization rather than they working for us. First is the guarantee they demand. Matters such as that are taken up on the State Department level. No commitments were made by SARDI, merely agreeing that he will accept it when furnished by DRAGANOVIC and turn it over to SARDI's superiors. Now the next three stipulations do not ring true for an organization claiming that they have channels of communication into the target country. First wanting us to mail letters from within the country to addressees. In other words we are to be couriers and letter drops for the organization. Probably want us to deliver propaganda material for the organization to loyal followers *[sic]* inside Yugoslavia. This way if our people would do it and they were caught then of course his organization would not lose

anybody. Next is the request for documents to document his people. This is in reverse. We have standing requirements to attempt to obtain any type of identity documents from target countries for the purpose of documenting any potential IBC's we may have. Here an organization that claims that they have many individuals in the target area requesting documents. Of course known followers of the organization are probably on a watch list and only permitted to travel in a small area, therefore for it's own purposes the organization would want documents to permit the restricted members to travel around Yugoslavia.

d. Another factor which leaves SARDI to believe that the organization does not have the so-called connections and channels of communication into Yugoslavia as claimed by DRAGANOVIC was the fact that during the course of the conversation DRAGANOVIC brought up the fact as to whether SARDI had heard about the riots in Zagreb. When SARDI replied that he had, he asked DRAGANOVIC how did he obtain the information, through the organization and how fast was it in comparison through the normal news releases. DRAGANOVIC stated that he had the news three days prior to anything being written in the local presses. SARDI attempted to draw out the fact out *[sic]* as to how it was delivered to the organization, courier, or what means to have it so rapid. DRAGANOVIC stated that through the Croatia *[sic]* Radio Station in Madrid, Spain. Now on this point SARDI could not determine whether it is a radio operated by the organization or some other broadcast from within Yugoslavia picked up by the organization in Spain.

e. Of course if nothing can be worked out with the organization then we may be able to do something with DRAGANOVIC on a personal basis. Either he directly or he could place us contact *[sic]* with prospective sources, however, from the line of replies *[sic]* to these specific questions given him, it appears that if we can't do business with the organization that we may not do business at all. Perhaps if he does come across with something, it may be members of his organizations and they will be controlled by the organization or SUBJECT. Anything we levy on the sources will be reports to the organization or DRAGANOVIC and anything readied for transmittal to us will first reach him or them and they will OK it or tell the source not to give it to us.

f. Of course all of the aforementioned are personal opinions of SARDI and only time will tell. It is recommended that SARDI continue on with DRAGANOVIC until we see the memorandum and their demands. Then on the basis of that we will see if we can work. As DRAGANOVIC stated it will be either yes or no, if yes we cooperate if no we shake hands and depart friends.

[signed]

SARDI

8. **Operational Comments**: We will wait for the memorandum promised us by DRAGANOVIC and take it up from there. A/H has given considerable thought in preparation of this XOR and has definitely pointed out the various ramifications of a possible operation involving DRAGANOVIC. Agree that on certain points DRAGANOVIC contradicted himself, however, this could be done by any of us in a lengthy discussion on some new exploitation. Also agree with A/H that we may be able to use DRAGANOVIC on an individual basis separate from his organization - if we cannot use the organization.

Concur with recommendations

:: filing information ::

Title: Report by Senior Agent "SARDI"

Source: CIA, declassified March 12, 2001

Date: May 29, 1959

Added: March 16, 2003

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an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records from US Intelligence, 1959-1960

In late May, 1959, seven months after being dismissed from his monastery post at San Girolamo, Father Krunoslav Draganovic once again entered into the employ of US intelligence. The information in the following table was culled from nine months of expense sheets for Draganovic logged under one of his codenames, DYNAMO. During this period, Draganovic collected 830,000 in Italian lire, plus \$25 in hard cash from US intelligence. On average, Draganovic received approximately 100,000 lire/month for reports and information. To put this into perspective, the mean salary for an Italian in 1960 was 47,000 lire per month. Thus from his first months on the job, Draganovic was making more than twice the average salary, just in money listed in these official reports. Clicking on the link for the first entry of each month pulls up a scan of the monthly expense sheet.



CIA File: Dottore DYNAMO

CIA File: The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

CIA File: Report by Senior Agent "SARDI"

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: Search

Essay: The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

Exhibition: Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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Month	Italian lire	US \$
May 28, 1959	10,000 [1]	0
June, 1959	0 [2]	0
July 7, 1959	35,000	15.00
July 23, 1959	100,000	10.00
August 2, 1959	0	0
August 3, 1959	75,000	0
August 13, 1959	0	0
August 14, 1959	0	0
September 1, 1959	0	0
September 2, 1959	60,000	0
September 5, 1959	0	0
September 16, 1959	0	0
September 21, 1959	0	0
September 22, 1959	40,000	0
September 26, 1959	415 830 [3]	0
October 1, 1959	0	0

October 2, 1959	95,000 <i>450</i> <i>400</i>	0
October 15, 1959	<i>1790,</i> <i>910</i>	0
October 21, 1959	60,000 <i>800</i>	0
November, 1959	N/A [4]	N/A
December 22, 1959	115,000 <i>270</i> <i>910</i> <i>270</i>	3.34 [5]
January 1960	N/A	N/A
February 1960	N/A	N/A
March 1960	N/A	N/A
April 1960	60,000 [6] <i>400</i>	0
May 1960	60,000 <i>2,289</i> <i>4,060</i> <i>100</i>	0
June 1960	30,000 30,000 <i>750</i>	0
July 1960	60,000	0

1. \$16.00 indicated on expense sheet, but the report for this meeting (published **here**) indicates that this is a conversion for accounting expenses of 10,000 lire.

2. "No contact." Draganovic was conferring with his "organization" in June and did not properly begin working with US intelligence until July 1959.

3. Items in *Italics* represent expenses in connection with the agents' meetings with Draganovic: small amounts of money listed separately from the lump sum cash payments.

4. No records are extant for months marked "N/A". One should not assume there was no contact between the agents and Draganovic for these months, as the existence of June 1959's "No Contact" expense sheet indicates.

5. "Xmas Present (Parker pen and pencil set)"

6. From April 1960, Draganovic was no longer paid for information, but as the records indicate, collected a "salary" fixed at 60,000 lire per month.

:: filing information ::

Title: Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records from US Intelligence, 1959-1960

Source: CIA, declassified September 9, 1983

Date: May 1959-July 1960

Added: March 15, 2003

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The Doctor Fabiano Statement

This statement, seemingly banal, was discovered during the furor over the Klaus Barbie case, when the US Attorney General ordered the CIA, the Army, and several other agencies to search their files and turn over all documents relating to the "Ratline" and other keywords associated with program to smuggle Nazi fugitives out of Europe at the end of World War II. It links the "Golden Priest" and operative on the Ratline, Father Krunoslav Draganovic, with the agent known as DYNAMO, who worked with US intelligence well into the 1960s. For more on the importance of this statement, see **this document** and the accompanying introductory note. The Italian text is translated below; "Luglio" is Italian for July.

8 LUGLIO 1959

Io, DOTT. KRUNOSLAV S. DRAGANOVIC, dichiaro che nel futuro firmerò tutte ricevute per soldi datomi, con il seguente nome di copertura, Dott. FABIANO.

Bruno G. Francazi

Dott. Krunoslav S. Draganovic

(date)

I, _____, hereby state that I will sign all future receipts for money received by me with the following cover name: _____.

(witness)

(signature)



related links

Documents: [The CIA Files](#)

Documents: [Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Documents: [US Army Files](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Essay: [The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic](#)

Essay: [The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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scans: [page 1](#)

:: filing information ::

Title: The Doctor Fabiano Statement

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: July 8, 1959

Added: March 5, 2003

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Dottore DYNAMO

The first page, or more, of this document detailing negotiations between a Catholic priest and an American intelligence agent is missing. Nevertheless it is a Rosetta Stone which unlocks at least one of they various code-names used by US intelligence in their relations with the Ustase after the war. In section 4, sub-section (i), the asset hereafter known as "DYNAMO" signs "a statement in his true name whereby he agrees to use the cover name DOTTORE FABIANO for all future financial transactions." We have located **that statement**, and the true name of DYNAMO and DOTTORE FABIANO is none other than Father Krunoslav Draganovic, chief operative of the Ratline which smuggled untold numbers of accused Nazi and Ustase war criminals to South America. Draganovic was now being recruited again for US intelligence to coordinate a network of spies inside Yugoslavia. The date of the "FABIANO" statement is July 8 1959; we presume this report was filed a few days after. The report describing FRANCO's first meeting with Draganovic is described **here**. Contrast FRANCO's evolving impressions of Draganovic and his motives from that document (where Draganovic is strikingly "sincere and straightforward") to this one, where he repeatedly brings up the subject of compensation (one of the main reasons he had been **fired** from the Collegio San Girolamo six months previous), and his behavior is described as appearing similar to a "man who has a product to sell".

he had a very capable organizer, a Croat, who resides in Rome and upon whom he can depend for collaboration. This individual can travel to Germany, Austria and Switzerland to maintain contact with sources in Yugoslavia. FRANCO informed DYNAMO that it was imperative to know the identity of this individual. DYNAMO objected at first but was convinced by FRANCO that his identity was necessary for the overall security of all concerned. DYNAMO stated that he would consider it in this light and would probably reveal the man's identity in the near future. At this point DYNAMO remarked that FRANCO was a difficult person to do business with but that he was convinced FRANCO was sincere.

e. FRANCO asked DYNAMO what else he could do in the way of intelligence coverage in Yugoslavia. DYNAMO replied that he would, in time, be able to furnish the following:



related links

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Documents: US Army Files

Misc: Search

Essay: The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

Essay: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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scans: page 1 - 2 - 3

- (1) Flow of arms and ammunition in Yugoslavia
- (2) Pinpoint radar sites
- (3) Pressure of KHRUSHCHEV on TITO
- (4) Dissention [*sic*]in Yugoslav government
- (5) Names and positions held by Yugoslav leaders to include pro- and anti-sentiments of each.
- (6) High powered politics in Yugoslavia
- (7) Relationship of Yugoslavia with neighbor countries
- (8) Order of Battle information
- (9) Codes presently in use in Yugoslav Army

DYNAMO also stated that he would be able to expand his coverage and that he was positive FRANCO would be pleased with the results. He stated he did not consider it difficult to obtain information out of Yugoslavia and that he would prove to FRANCO that "TITO was a toothless tiger who no longer frightens people".

f. FRANCO asked DYNAMO if he could establish a good contact in the San Sabba Refugee Camp in Trieste who could debrief newly arrived refugees, persons of interest, and act as a spotter. DYNAMO replied that he already had such an individual and that he would direct this man's efforts to serve this unit. He stated he would arrange the same setup at the Cremona Refugee Camp. FRANCO again reminded DYNAMO that identities were important; however, all dealings with these individuals would be through him. DYNAMO stated this plan was agreeable and that he would furnish identities at a later date when he could confirm what these individuals could do for us.

g. DYNAMO asked FRANCO if he desired him to make a trip to Trieste. FRANCO replied in the affirmative and DYNAMO stated he believed he could perform this trip in 7 or 8 days. He said he will visit FRANCO on his return from Triest [*sic*]on or about 18 July and that he would turn over several reports to FRANCO at that time. The question of travel and expenses arose at this time. Because of his position as a priest, it was agreed that DYNAMO could travel first class while on trips for this unit and could spend up to 4,000 lire per day for living expenses. He was instructed on the keeping of train stubs and receipts to which he agreed. He was informed that his sub-sources would be paid for information furnished and that he would be held accountable for any money given to pay them. DYNAMO stated that he realized a lot of details had to be ironed out but requested FRANCO to be patient with him as he was sure there would be complete coordination and agreement in time. DYNAMO showed FRANCO a worn pair of shoes he was wearing and asked FRANCO if he could get him a new pair for him. FRANCO told DYNAMO he would have a pair of black shoes for him when he visited Verona. FRANCO also informed DYNAMO that he would get a new outfit if he came through with his promises; however, if he did not, he would be riding second class again. DYNAMO laughed and replied that he was sure he would get the outfit and he would continue to ride first class.

h. During the course of conversation DYNAMO asked FRANCO whether or not he knew DYNAMO was working for another country. FRANCO replied, "Are you?" DYNAMO stated he was not, and asked FRANCO's opinion of him. FRANCO stated he thought DYNAMO was an individual who believed in an idea and was trying to convince himself he was doing the right thing in pursuing this belief. DYNAMO's face colored at this point and he answered that FRANCO was exact in his opinion. FRANCO then asked why he had obtained Austrian citizenship. DYNAMO replied that he could not answer this question clearly but that it had been the only thing to do at the time. He promised to elaborate on this point at a future meeting.

i. DYNAMO signed a statement in his true name whereby he agrees to use the cover name DOTTORE FABIANO for all future financial transactions. DYNAMO also suggested that FRANCO sign all correspondence to him with the common name FRANCO. This was agreed upon. DYNAMO repeated prior to FRANCO's departure that he would mail FRANCO a card from Trieste advising him when DYNAMO would arrive in Verona. FRANCO then departed and returned to the hotel via #56 bus.

5. **Leads:** None

6. **Instructions to Agent:** All instructions to DYNAMO have been reflected at some time or other in paragraph 4 of this report.

7. **Agent Handler's Comments and Recommendations:**

a. **Comments:**

DYNAMO is a shrewd individual. He is very blunt in his questions but FRANCO noted that he is impressed when he receives blunt answers. He does not like to "beat around the bush" but is emphatic in his expectations as far as treatment expected and financial remuneration. He does not act like a priest when engaged in intelligence conversations but assumes the attitude of a business man who has a product to sell and who is talking to a potential buyer. He is very business like [sic] in his approach and exudes confidence in his capabilities. He devoted little time to his dislike of TITO but seemed anxious to get right down to business and come to an agreement. FRANCO is convinced that DYNAMO is in this business not only for his conviction but also because of the personal comforts an extra income can provide him with. He will do his best to continue

this relation and to assure this income. FRANCO will sit down with him at the next meeting and obtain a complete BSD.

b. Recommendations:

That FRANCO be permitted to continue with DYNAMO working toward a controlled operation. This may take a little time but FRANCO is convinced that DYNAMO will come through.

[signed]

FRANCO

8. Operations Comments:

OK. Will coordinate with [REDACTED] as soon as possible and prior to carding. Until we coordinate [REDACTED] don't make any commitments that we can't break away from. Looks promising.

:: filing information ::

Title: Dottore DYNAMO

Source: CIA, declassified February 1998

Date: c. July 8, 1959

Added: March 5, 2003

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SETAF 41 Bona Fides for Krunoslav Draganovic

This curious document - very cloak and dagger - was found among a collection of handwriting specimens and signature samples belonging to Father Krunoslav Draganovic and kept by the CIC in Italy at the time of Draganovic's second round of employment with them in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Originally withheld for reasons of national security, this file was obtained only after a lawsuit was filed by Attorney **Jonathan Levy** against the CIA to release all documents pertaining to Draganovic and the Ratline. The **scan** of this document contains a reproduction of the halved nine of diamonds playing card the agents were to match against Draganovic's half to prove each side's legitimacy.

SETAF 41 BONA FIDES

DYNAMO is in possession of one-half of the nine-of-diamonds playing card which has been cut diagonally across. Agent Handler will present himself and say to DYNAMO "VINCIT QUI SE VINCIT" (He conquers who conquers himself). DYNAMO will answer "VERBUM SAT SAPIENTI" (A word is enough for a wise man." Agent Handler will then ask DYNAMO for his half of the bona fides which will match with the half in possession of the Agent Handler.

FRANCO

Note: Bona fides with instructions were established on 2 September 1959 while DYNAMO was in Verona.



related links

CIA File: Dottore DYNAMO

CIA File: Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records, 1959-1960

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: Search

Essay: The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

Essay: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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scans: page 1

:: filing information ::

Title: SETAF 41 Bona Fides for Krunoslav Draganovic

Source: CIA, declassified March 12, 2001

Date: ca. 1959

Added: May 25, 2003

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Termination Files of Krunoslav Draganovic

These three files - each representing one of Father Krunoslav Draganovic's three known codenames in the CIA - were composed two weeks after Draganovic's termination from US intelligence. Context makes the various numbered entries easy to discern: (1) Draganovic's date and place of birth; (2) his full name; (3) current address and phone; (4) profession and title; (5) nationality; (6) sex; (7) height; (8) weight; (9) hair color; (10) eye color; (11) distinguishing features; (12) unknown; (13) termination classification ("with prejudice") and date; (14) unknown; (15) reasons for termination - by far the most interesting part of these documents. Senior Agent "SARDI" noted after his **first meeting with Draganovic** in May 1959 that the Croat priest was venal, a liar, and demanded, essentially, that the United States back his neo-Ustase organization to the hilt. Not only was SARDI proven to be absolutely correct, but Draganovic is now "too knowledgeable of unit personnel and activity." Four years after this, in September 1967, Draganovic defected to Yugoslavia, thus ending with a *coup de grace* what may have been one of the most disastrous chapters in the history of US intelligence.

"THE PROFESSOR"

1. 30 OCT 03, BRCKO, YUGOSLAVIA
2. OF DRAGANOVIC, KRUNOSLAV STEFANO
3. VIA MORICONE 14, ROME, ITALY PHONE #814584
4. ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST /MONSIGNOR/
5. YUGOSLAV
6. M
7. 72
8. 185
9. LTBROWN
10. GREY
11. WEARS CLERICAL ROBES
12. NONE
13. WITH PREJUDICE 23 JAN 62
14. NO
15. SECURITY & LACK OF CONTROL; TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE OF UNIT PERSONNEL AND ACTIVITY; DEMANDS OUTRAGEOUS MONETARY TRIBUTE AND U.S. SUPPORT OF CROAT ORGS. AS PARTIAL PAYMENT FOR COOPERATION



related links

CIA File: Report by Senior Agent "SARDI"

CIA File: The Re-Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic, 1959

CIA File: Krunoslav Draganovic's Pay Records, 1959-1960

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: The US Army Files

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Misc: Search

Essay: The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

Essay: The Lawsuit Against the Vatican and the CIA

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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16. NO
17. NOFORN
[REDACTED] 07 FEB 62

FABIANO, /DR./

1. 30 OCT 03, BRCKO, YUGOSLAVIA
2. OF DRAGANOVIC, KRUNOSLAV STEFANO
3. VIA MORICONE 14, ROME, ITALY PHONE #814584
4. ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST /MONSIGNOR/
5. YUGOSLAV
6. M
7. 72
8. 185
9. LTBROWN
10. GREY
11. WEARS CLERICAL ROBES
12. NONE
13. WITH PREJUDICE 23 JAN 62
14. NO
15. SECURITY & LACK OF CONTROL; TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE OF
UNIT PERSONNEL AND ACTIVITY; DEMANDS OUTRAGEOUS
MONETARY TRIBUTE AND U.S. SUPPORT OF CROAT ORGS. AS
PARTIAL PAYMENT FOR COOPERATION
16. NO
17. NOFORN
[REDACTED] 07 FEB 62

"DYNAMO"

1. 30 OCT 03, BRCKO, YUGOSLAVIA
2. OF DRAGANOVIC, KRUNOSLAV STEFANO
3. VIA MORICONE 14, ROME, ITALY PHONE #814584
4. ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST /MONSIGNOR/
5. YUGOSLAV
6. M
7. 72
8. 185
9. LTBROWN
10. GREY
11. WEARS CLERICAL ROBES
12. NONE
13. WITH PREJUDICE 23 JAN 62
14. NO
15. SECURITY & LACK OF CONTROL; TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE OF
UNIT PERSONNEL AND ACTIVITY; DEMANDS OUTRAGEOUS
MONETARY TRIBUTE AND U.S. SUPPORT OF CROAT ORGS. AS
PARTIAL PAYMENT FOR COOPERATION
16. NO

:: filing information ::

Title: Termination Files of Krunoslav Draganovic

Source: CIA, declassified September 12, 1983

Date: February 7, 1962

Added: May 25, 2003

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News: Priest, Termed War Criminal, Back in Yugoslavia

On or around September 16, 1967, Father Krunoslav Draganovic - chief operative of the **Ratline** - vanished from Trieste. On November 14th, he appeared at a press conference. What follows is a report from the interim, when Draganovic was in Yugoslav custody but not yet speaking with the media. The reason for the Austrian government's concern was due to Draganovic taking Austrian citizenship after the war. The motives behind his defection - or kidnapping - have never been explained. (For more on Draganovic's post-Ratline career and defection, see **Return of the Golden Priest**.)

PRIEST, TERMED WAR CRIMINAL, BACK IN YUGOSLAVIA

By RICHARD EDER
Special to The New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Nov. 10 - The Yugoslav Government announced today that a 64-year-old priest whom it had branded as a war criminal returned voluntarily to Yugoslavia eight weeks ago to face possible trial.

The announcement, at a news conference, that the Rev. **Krunoslav Draganovic**, who was a leading member of the emigre opposition, was now in Sarajevo ended the mystery over his disappearance from Trieste on Sept. 16, while he was en route from Rome to Vienna.

Rumors that Father Draganovic had been kidnapped by Yugoslav officials have appeared recently in Austrian and Italian newspapers. The Austrian Government, deeply concerned about the case, was reported to have been awaiting a report from the Italian authorities before making formal inquiries here.

Avdo Humo, the Yugoslav spokesman, indicated that the growing international speculation about the case had led the Government to reply in detail to questions about it. The main part of his presentation was a photocopy of a seven-page handwritten letter, which he said had been written by Father Draganovic and which



related links

Documents: Krunoslav Draganovic

Documents: The CIA Files

Documents: Ante Pavelic

Misc: Search

Essay: The Return of the Golden Priest: The Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic

Exhibition: Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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describes the priest's reasons for returning.

Case Under Investigation

The federal prosecutor, Vladimir Djukic, who answered most of the questions at the news conference, said that Father Dragonovic's case was under investigation but that he was not being detained and had not been formally charged.

Tanyug, the official press agency, said that charges might not be brought.

Mr. Humo said that before his return Father Draganovic had been in touch with Yugoslav officials to ask what would be done if he were to return. Mr. Humo did not disclose the reply.

Was Professor of Theology

According to some reports, these contacts took place in Rome and there is speculation that the Vatican, which has been seeking to improve relations with Yugoslavia, may have encouraged them.

It was not possible today to reach the priest, whose whereabouts in Sarajevo has not been disclosed by the Government although it invited the press to see him.

Father Dragonovic, who is a Croat and comes from Bosnia, a region inhabited both by Croats and Serbs, was a professor of theology in Sarajevo before World War II. An ardent Croatian nationalist, he joined the Government of the German-dominated Republic of Croatia, in which extreme nationalism shaded into outright Nazism.

According to his letter, he has, in recent years, withdrawn from political activities and concentrated on historical studies. At this time, the letter says, he became increasingly aware of the dilemma of reconciling his views about Yugoslavia [*sic*] with what he learned of reforms here.

Title: News: Priest, Termed War Criminal, Back in Yugoslavia

Source: *New York Times*. Transcribed by Erica Case.

Date: November 11, 1967

Added: November 26, 2003

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Australian Police Raid Office Of the Nation's Secret Service

The following article from the *New York Times* describes the bizarre situation surrounding the Australian police raid on the nation's intelligence service, the Security Intelligence Organization, or SIO. The reason: "the police were seeking files on Croatian liberation movements operating in Australia," which the SIO refused to hand over. At the time, the Croatian Statehood Party of Nikola Stedul - an offshoot of **Odpor** - had achieved almost unprecedented respectability in Australia, at least for an organization implicated in dozens of terrorist bombings is concerned. According to the last half of the article, two bombs were found immediately thereafter, one on the route of the motorcade carrying England's Prince Philip on an official visit, ostensibly intended to kill him.

AUSTRALIAN POLICE RAID OFFICE OF THE NATION'S SECRET SERVICE

SYDNEY, Australia, March 16 [1973] (AP) - Commonwealth policemen raided the headquarters of the nation's secret service, the Security Intelligence Organization, in Melbourne today.

Government sources [*sic*] in the Federal capital, Canberra, said the police were seeking files on Croatian liberation movements operating in Australia.

The informants said that agency, which is under Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's control, had refused to hand over the files and that police acted on the orders of the Attorney General, Lionel Murphy.

A Government official in Canberra declared: "It's like the army attacking the navy."

In the United States, the equivalent would be a raid by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on Central Intelligence Agency headquarters.



related links

Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Judicial Decision: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Document: Otpor Bombing in California

Document: Otpor Bombing in New York

Documents: Otpor Leader Ante Ljubas

Documents: Odpor

Documents: Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

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Statement Was Expected

Mr. Murphy, who refused to comment, had been expected to make a statement in Parliament this week about the Croatian groups, which have been blamed for bomb attacks on Yugoslav buildings and supporters in Australia. The statement was scheduled to precede the visit to Canberra next week of Yugoslavia's Premier, Djemal Bijedic.

The Yugoslav Government has charged that Australia is being used as a training ground for Croatian secessionists, who return to Yugoslavia for terrorism against President Tito's Government. Government sources in Canberra said this was confirmed to Mr. Murphy by the F.B.I. when the Attorney General visited Washington earlier this year.

The groups operated under the banner of the Ustashi, the wartime brown shirt organization of the Nazi puppet dictator, **Ante Pavelic**.

2 Bombs Are Defused

Meanwhile, two bombs were found here today, one of them along the route Prince Philip later took into the city from the airport on his arrival here for a visit. Experts defused the bombs, and the police guarded his route.

The second bomb was found in a locker in the central railway station. A report of another bomb in a government office building opposite a club Prince Philip was opening tonight proved to be false.

So did a fourth suspicious object found in a garbage bin near the busy Taylor Square intersection, where the Prince's limousine was to pass.

Extra policemen were rushed to the airport to meet the Prince, touring the country as president of the Australian Conservation Foundation. Welcoming ceremonies were cut back to less than a minute.

The bombs were found following an anonymous call to the office of the state Premier.

Title: Australian Police Raid Office Of the Nation's Secret Service

Source: *New York Times*. Transcribed by Erica Case.

Date: March 16, 1973 (published
March 17, 1973)

Added: October 15, 2003

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Appeal of Angelo Maric (Australia)

The following appeal (in the defendant's favor) stems from an Odpor terrorist bombing in Sydney, Australia in 1972. The conviction was thrown out on a technicality due to a judge's mishandling of testimony in front of the jury, and because so much time had elapsed to where the defendant, Odpor member Angelo Maric, could not reasonably be expected to await another trial.

MARIC v R

HIGH COURT OF AUSTRALIA

20 A.L.R. 513

1 June 1978 - Brisbane 8 August 1978 - Sydney

8 August 1978 - Sydney

INTRODUCTION:

Application for Special Leave to Appeal Angelo Maric was convicted on three charges relating to two explosions which took place in George Street, Sydney in September 1972. His appeal against conviction was dismissed by the New South Wales Court of Criminal Appeal and this was an application for special leave to appeal against that dismissal. The facts sufficiently appear in the judgment of Gibbs ACJ.

COUNSEL:

H F Purnell QC and W D Hosking, for the applicant. R W Job QC and E O Pain, for the respondent.

JUDGES:

GIBBS, MASON, JACOBS, MURPHY and AICKIN JJ



related links

Judicial Decision: [The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City](#)

Judicial Decision: [The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City](#)

Documents: [Odpor](#)

Documents: [Judicial Decisions](#)

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Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

Essay: [The Poglavnik's Family Tree](#)

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JUDGMENTS:

Gibbs J.

This is an application for leave to appeal from a decision of the Court of Criminal Appeal of the Supreme Court of New South Wales which by a majority dismissed an appeal by the applicant, Angelo Maric, against his conviction on three charges, namely: -

(1) that on 16 September 1972 he did maliciously by the explosion of a substance in premises at 668 George Street, Sydney, cause grievous bodily harm to Josef Martin;

(2) that on 16 September 1972 he did maliciously put at 736 George Street, Sydney, an explosive substance with intent to do grievous bodily harm;

(3) that on 16 September 1972 he did maliciously place in a building at 736 George Street, Sydney, an explosive substance with intent to damage the building.

The second and third charges arose out of exactly the same facts but it was not suggested in argument that it was wrong for that reason to convict and sentence the applicant on both those counts and I need not consider that question.

The main ground of appeal before the Court of Criminal Appeal, and the basis of the present application, was that inadmissible evidence of a prejudicial kind was placed before the jury. Before turning to discuss the nature of that evidence and the manner of its admission, it is necessary to say something as to the circumstances of the case.

On the morning of 16 September 1972 a time bomb exploded in a shop at 668 George Street, Sydney, where Josef Martin carried on business. Martin was very seriously injured in the explosion. At about the same time a shopping bag containing another time bomb was found in premises at 736 George Street, Sydney, occupied by Risto Jadrovski. The bomb was carried into the street where it later exploded.

Martin and Jadrovski were both immigrants from Yugoslavia. Both

had, or at least were thought to have had some sort of association of a business kind with the Central Government of Yugoslavia and both had sold publications which had been printed in Yugoslavia. For this reason both had experienced hostility, or received threats, from opponents of the Yugoslavian Government, particularly from Croats. The applicant also was from Yugoslavia but he was a Croat. There was evidence that he had been an active member of a body known as the Croatian National Resistance in Australia, and that he had in his possession publications which advocated the use of violence by Croatians, including Croatians abroad, against those whom they regarded as their oppressors and those who supported those so-called oppressors. This, according to the case for the Crown, revealed the motive which the applicant had to commit the offences.

At the time of the offences the applicant was employed in Townsville. The Crown case was that it could be inferred from the evidence of a number of witnesses that the applicant was absent from Townsville from Friday, 15 September 1972 until the night of Sunday, 17 September 1972 and that he made false statements and gave false evidence in an endeavour to conceal his absence during that weekend. On 22 September 1972 the applicant left Townsville for Coober Pedy, his explanation being that he wished to obtain better paid work. He stayed in Coober Pedy for about a fortnight and then travelled to Perth where he afterwards set up house. In November 1972 in Perth explosives (namely gelignite and detonators) were found in his motor vehicle. He explained their presence by saying that he had obtained them in Coober Pedy for the purpose of engaging in opal mining. The bombs used in the offences appeared to have been made of gelignite, but the detonators used in the bombs were of a different kind from those found in the applicant's vehicle. There was evidence that the applicant was experienced in the use of explosives, having been trained as an armourer and having worked as a miner, and the Crown case was that he had the necessary skill to make a time bomb.

All this evidence did no more than create a suspicion that the applicant may have committed the offences charged. However, evidence that connected him with those offences was given by police officers who said that in March 1974 he made a number of oral admissions which, if believed, clearly showed his complicity in the offences and according to the submission of the Crown showed that he had not merely made the bombs but had placed them in the premises at Sydney. It was alleged that he had said that he had done this for Croatia. The applicant, who gave evidence, denied that he had made these admissions.

It is now possible to consider the matters upon which the applicant relies in making the present application. On the sixth day of the trial (which lasted for 19 days) the Crown called as a witness one Norman David Pratt who was asked to recount a conversation which he had had with the applicant and one Steve Brbic in the North Perth hotel

early in October 1972. There was evidence that Brbic was the Australian President of the Croatian National Resistance in Australia, and had set up in Sydney a branch of that body of which the applicant had become the Vice-Treasurer. Pratt, a Canadian, was employed by Brbic at night to work in Brbic's cleaning business. Before Pratt gave evidence of the conversation he was questioned, in the absence of the jury, not only as to the events at the North Perth hotel but also as to another conversation with Brbic at a dance at Mount Hawthorne in November 1972. He said that, although the applicant was also present on that occasion, he could not say whether the applicant had heard the relevant conversation. After the voir dire had concluded, on the seventh day of the trial, the Crown Prosecutor announced that he pressed only the evidence of the conversation at the hotel, and the learned trial judge explained to Pratt that he would not be asked to give an account of what was said at the dance. Pratt then resumed his evidence in the presence of the jury. He said that he was asked by Brbic to go to the hotel, and that he there met the applicant and Brbic and had drinks with them at a table. He was then asked what was the conversation which he had at the table but apparently misunderstood the question and gave an account of what Brbic had said when he made the arrangements for the meeting. The learned trial judge was then prompted to take over the questioning, which proceeded as follows: -

HIS HONOUR: Q. - That is how you came to be there?

A. - That is right.

Q. - You got there?

A. - Yes.

Q. - Then did you meet this Angelo?

A. - Yes.

Q. - What was then said by Brbic?

A. - Steve said he had come down from Queensland and he had done a job in Sydney on the way down and that it was a good job and that it had come off good.

Q. - Would you repeat that?

A. - Steve said that Angelo had come down from Queensland and that he had done a job in Sydney.

Q. - Did he say that was done after he left Queensland, or before, or what?

A. - After, and that it was a good job and that it had come off well.

CROWN PROSECUTOR: Q. - Yes?

A. - In the meantime Angelo was saying he was in a hurry and he would like to leave.

HIS HONOUR: Q. - Did he say where this job was?

A. - Yes, in George Street.

CROWN PROSECUTOR: A. [*sic*] - Did the accused say anything?

A. - No, just that he wanted to leave.

It later appeared that the purpose of the meeting had been to ask Pratt to go to Fremantle to witness the forthcoming marriage of the applicant.

Pratt was then cross-examined and said in response to questioning by counsel for the accused that when he gave evidence at the committal proceedings of the conversation at the North Perth hotel he had not said anything about the job being in George Street. The learned trial judge, who had the depositions before him, appeared to think that the questions being put by counsel were contrary to what had in fact occurred at the committal proceedings. In fact the witness was right and the judge was wrong for it appears that Pratt in his evidence before the magistrate had said that George Street was mentioned in the conversation at Mount Hawthorne, but had not said that it was mentioned at the North Perth hotel. Counsel for the applicant tried to explain that the witness's reference to George Street had been in relation to a different occasion, but the learned trial judge again took over the questioning as follows: -

Q. - You said you first went to work with him in July?

A. - Correct.

Q. - Then you met Angelo with Brbic at the North Perth hotel early October 1972?

A. - That is correct.

Q. - Then this conversation occurred we are talking about. Then you said later on in the evidence that in November there was a dance at the Mount Hawthorne Town Hall?

A. - Late October.

Q. - You fix that how?

A. - They usually have it the last Friday or Saturday in the month.

Q. - On this occasion you met Mrs Brbic?

A. - Correct.

Q. - And Mrs Maric?

A. - That is right.

... .

Q. - And then you said at that dance Brbic mentioned again certain things, and then you added: "Then he said again that Angelo did a good job for him in Sydney and that it had come off and that he was good at making bombs also?"

A. - Correct.

Q. - Did he mention any particular part of Sydney?

A. - George Street.

Counsel for the applicant protested at the admission of this evidence, and his Honour then gave a direction to the jury in the following words: "Members of the jury, I do not want this inquiry to range far and wide; it is only evidence which is admissible strictly against the accused which I am concerned with. The only reason this is led is as follows: there are circumstances in which an allegation may be made about you in your presence and where, if it were not true, you would be expected to say 'No, that is not correct, you have got the wrong man, it is not me' or 'I did not do it', and if in those circumstances you would expect a person to say something rather than say nothing you may, in your wisdom, and it is a matter for you, say he has

acquiesced in that fact. The Crown is inviting you to say that the first time this witness was introduced to Maric and was told 'Now, he has come from Queensland, he has done a job for me in Sydney, it is a good job, it came off well, I want you to be a witness at his wedding', that that very introduction might be interpreted by you, Maric having made no answer to it, except to have the arrangement made for the wedding so to speak, that he was acquiescing in what was said . . . What Mr Luland [counsel for the applicant] is saying is that the discussion at the dance between Brbic and this man, where it was repeated again, was the occasion on which George Street was mentioned. What I am saying is that upon that evidence the prosecutor was asking what was this occasion that it had been indicated, and the answer is it was indicated as George Street."

Counsel for the applicant then applied for the discharge of the jury but his application was refused. At the conclusion of Pratt's evidence, the learned trial judge said that he proposed to read to the jury some passages from Pratt's evidence and to leave it to them what the evidence meant. He then said to the jury: -

In the evidence given in the lower court, members of the jury, and in the evidence in chief, these questions were asked amongst others, concerning their presence together in the North Perth Hotel early in October.

'Q. - Did Brbic say anything to you in front of the accused?

A. - Yes.

Q. - What did he say, please?

A. - He said Angelo had come down from Queensland and prior to this he had done a job in Sydney, it was a good job and it had come off.

Q. - Was there any mention of marriage?

A. - Yes. He mentioned he wanted me to be a witness, for Angelo in Fremantle and I agree to this.'

Later on he said there was a discussion at a dance, and he said that Angelo did a good job for him in Sydney and then these questions followed:

'Did he mention any particular part in Sydney?

A. - George Street.

Q. - Was Queensland mentioned?

A. - Yes.

Q. - In what context?

A. - That he had a phone call from somebody in Queensland and that somebody was coming down to Sydney and he wanted me to meet him.'

He added that he had read this evidence "so that this dispute about what was said in the lower court can be interpreted by you".

The applicant gave evidence denying that he had overheard any conversation between Pratt and Brbic about doing a good job for Brbic; in cross-examination he was not asked about the mention of George Street, or of making bombs. In the course of the summing up, the learned trial judge reminded the jury of Pratt's evidence as to the conversation at the hotel, and said: "He said that the job had been identified as being in George Street although it seems clear when one studies all this transcription of the evidence that in lower court he rather indicated that the last remark had been said previously, when they were talking about arrangements to meet this man and I tell you simply to disregard it." He did not mention Pratt's evidence that the applicant was good at making bombs. He directed the jury as to the circumstances in which a statement made in the presence of an accused person may be treated as an admission. Towards the end of his summing up he gave a summary of the Crown case which began as follows: "The Crown says that its case against the accused is - if I may put it in an inverse order - admissions made to the police, an admission made to Pratt, an admission by implication."

The evidence brought out by the questions put by the learned trial judge was of the most damaging character. The statement by Brbic that the applicant had done a good job in Sydney was insignificant in itself. It had a number of possible meanings consistent with the innocence of the applicant. Even if it were understood to mean that the applicant had done a good job for the Croatian National Resistance in Australia it would not have been enough to incriminate the applicant. The further circumstance, that Brbic had said that the job was done in George Street, made the statement much more harmful, although the jury might still have regarded it as equivocal, because there was no evidence to connect Brbic with the offences. However, to add further that Brbic had said that the applicant was good at making bombs was calculated to suggest strongly to the jury that the job which the applicant had done for Brbic was in some way

connected with the bombing in George Street. It is hardly possible to conceive of evidence more likely to prejudice the jury against the applicant to his detriment.

It is unnecessary to consider whether on the state of the evidence it was open to the jury to conclude that the reference to George Street had been made in the hearing of the applicant, although on the version given by Pratt before the magistrate it had not. It is, however, clear that it was not established that the statement allegedly made by Brbic that the applicant was good at making bombs was heard by the applicant. There was no evidence on which it could have been found that he had acquiesced in the truth of that statement. It was rightly conceded by the Crown that the evidence was inadmissible, but it was nevertheless contended that special leave to appeal should be refused.

The first submission put on behalf of the Crown was that the learned trial judge had a discretion either to discharge the jury or to continue with the trial, and that the question which the Court of Criminal Appeal had to decide, and which it was submitted was rightly answered in the negative, was whether any error had been shown by the judge in exercising his discretion.

In support of this submission counsel cited the decision of the Court of Appeal in *R v Weaver* [1968] 1 QB 353; [1967] 1 All ER 277. In that case the evidence against the two accused men was overwhelming (see QB at 356) but evidence prejudicial to them was inadvertently elicited by their counsel in the course of cross-examination. The judge refused to discharge the jury, the accused were convicted and an appeal was brought. The appeal failed.

Sachs LJ said (QB at 359-60; All ER at 280): -

Cases parallel to the present one have been brought before the Court of Criminal Appeal on a considerable number of occasions in the course of the last few years and the modern practice has become well defined. In each of those cases it has, of course, been natural for counsel for the appellant or applicant to cite a trio of cases which are mentioned in Archbold's Criminal Pleadings, Evidence and Practice, 35th ed (1962) para 936; *R v Peckham* (1935) 25 Cr App R 125; ; *R v Palmer* (1935) 25 Cr App R 97, and ; *R v Firth* (1938) 26 App R 148. Those cases cannot, however, be looked at in isolation.

As already stated, the modern practice evolved in the light of these cases is that in essence, as has now

often been said (see, for instance, a passage which appears in ; R v Parsons [1962] Crim LR 631 at 632), whether or not to discharge the jury is for the discretion of the trial judge on the particular facts and the court will not lightly interfere with the exercise of that discretion.

It follows, as has been repeated time and again, that every case depends on its own facts. It also, as has been said time and again, it thus depends on the nature of what has been admitted into evidence, the circumstances in which it has been admitted and what, in the light of the circumstances of the case as a whole, is the correct course. It is very far from being the rule that in every case where something of this nature gets into evidence through inadvertence, the jury must be discharged.

This decision was followed in R v Palin [1969] 1 WLR 1544; [1969] 3 All ER 689, and ; R v Waring (No 2) [1972] Qd R 263 and somewhat similar views had earlier been expressed in ; R v Ball (1960) 77 WN (NSW) 605. It may now be accepted that the rule stated in the English authorities cited in ; R v Weaver, supra, which were followed in ; R v Hally [1962] Qd R 214 at 221, was too absolute: it is not an invariable rule that the jury must be discharged in such cases. However, in my opinion, it must be remembered that when a trial judge has refused an application to discharge a jury, and the accused has been convicted, the appeal then brought to the Court of Criminal Appeal is not against the failure to discharge the jury but against the conviction. In those circumstances, I cannot see any justification for deciding appeals in such cases on any different principle from that which applies in relation to criminal appeals generally, although of course one question will arise which will not arise in other cases, that is, whether the giving of the evidence was really the result of inadvertence, or whether it was given deliberately in an attempt to assist the accused. In practice the application of the principles stated by Sachs LJ in ; R v Weaver is not likely to lead to any different result from that which would arise if the appellate court, having decided that inadmissible and prejudicial evidence had been given, went on to consider whether a substantial miscarriage of justice had occurred. In any case, the evidence complained of on this appeal was not given inadvertently; the most prejudicial piece of evidence was given in response to a leading question asked by the judge.

It was next submitted on behalf of the Crown that the majority of the Court of Criminal Appeal were justified in holding that no substantial miscarriage of justice had occurred. The test to be applied in determining whether the wrongful admission of evidence has caused a miscarriage of justice has been stated in a variety of ways. Stirland v Director of Public Prosecutions [1944] AC 315 at 321 is authority

for the proposition that there will have been no substantial miscarriage of justice "where a reasonable jury, after being properly directed, would, on the evidence properly admissible, without doubt convict". In Archbold: Pleading, Evidence and Practice in Criminal Cases, 39th ed at para 914, the principle is stated as follows: "Where it is established that evidence has been wrongfully admitted, the court will quash the conviction unless it holds that the evidence so admitted cannot reasonably be said to have affected the minds of the jury in arriving at their verdict, and that they would or must inevitably have arrived at the same verdict if the evidence had not been admitted. In considering this question, the nature of the evidence so admitted and the direction with regard to it in the summing up are the most material matters." At basis the question is whether the Court of Criminal Appeal can be satisfied that the irregularity has not affected the verdict and that the jury would certainly have returned the same verdict if the errors had not occurred - see Driscoll v R (1977) 15 ALR 47 at 69; 51 ALJR 731 at 743.

In the present case the admissible evidence was sufficient to ground a conviction, but it was by no means overwhelming. In the end the crucial question was one of credibility - that is whether the jury believed that the applicant had made the oral confessions of guilt to which the police witnesses deposed. The case was one which needed to be approached with particular care. The jury had to guard against the danger that they might convict the applicant on mere suspicion engendered by his association with a body of Croats who were said to be bitterly hostile to other Yugoslavs such as Martin and Jadrovski, and by his possession of inflammatory literature.

It is in just such a case that inadmissible evidence of a prejudicial kind is likely to affect the verdict. I have already pointed out that the evidence wrongly admitted was highly prejudicial. It was central to the issues to be determined at the trial. The fact that the judge himself had elicited it may have given it added weight in the minds of the jury. I have, of course, not overlooked that the evidence was given on the sixth and seventh days of a trial that lasted for 19 days, but I cannot accept that it must be concluded that the jury had for that reason forgotten it. The case was a difficult one for any jury to consider, and they had spent many days listening to evidence much of which was quite inconclusive; it may be that the clear pungent statement attributed to Brbic that the applicant had done a good job for him in George Street, Sydney, and was good at making bombs may have seemed to the jurors a damning piece of independent evidence, and because of its importance and its nature it may have remained uppermost in their minds. In all the circumstances I find it quite impossible to be sure that the scales were not tipped against the accused by the wrongful admission of this evidence.

The directions given by the learned trial judge after the evidence was given and during his summing up could not have undone the damage

caused by the admission of the evidence. In fact the judge did not tell the jury to disregard the evidence. Sometimes, particularly where inadmissible evidence has slipped out by inadvertence, it is best to refrain from mentioning it again, since to do so might merely impress it on the minds of the jurors. In the present case the judge took the course of directing the jury to Pratt's evidence, without making any reference to the remark that the applicant was good at making bombs, first, almost immediately after the challenged evidence had been given, and again at the conclusion of Pratt's testimony. I cannot but think that if it had been intended to instruct the jury to confine their attention to the admissible parts of Pratt's evidence it would have been more helpful to say so directly; one cannot be sure that the jury took the hint that the judge no doubt intended to give them by his omission of any reference to the evidence wrongly admitted. In the summing up itself his Honour gave an express direction to the jury to disregard the mention of George Street, but did not instruct them to disregard the mention of the applicant's skill at making bombs. He later referred to an "admission by implication" made to Pratt. From these remarks the jury may have thought that it was proper to regard the evidence in question as an admission.

However, I do not base my conclusion simply on the fact that the directions given by the learned trial judge after the evidence had been wrongly admitted were not sufficient to undo the damage. In my opinion the evidence was so damaging that no directions could certainly have removed its detrimental effect. The only possible course open to the learned trial judge was to discharge the jury. For all these reasons it cannot be held that no substantial miscarriage of justice has occurred in this case.

Finally it was said on behalf of the Crown that this is not a case appropriate for the grant of special leave. The court has an unfettered discretion to grant or refuse special leave in every case although it is necessary for an applicant to make a *prima facie* case showing special circumstances: *Eather v R* (1915) 20 CLR 147;; *Shaw v R* (1952) 85 CLR 365 at 381, 382. The present case is one in which there was a serious irregularity at the trial which was likely to lead to a miscarriage of justice. In my opinion the case has that special character which warrants the grant of special leave to appeal.

I would grant special leave to appeal and would allow the appeal and order that the conviction be set aside and that there be a new trial.

Mason J. For the reasons given by Gibbs J I would grant special leave to appeal, allow the appeal and order that the conviction be set aside and that there be a new trial.

Jacobs J. I agree with the orders proposed by Gibbs J and with his reasons.

Murphy J. The applicant, Mr Maric, was convicted of maliciously causing grievous bodily harm by the explosion of a substance, of maliciously placing an explosive substance with intent to do grievous bodily harm and of maliciously placing an explosive substance with intent to damage a building.

His appeal to the New South Wales Court of Criminal Appeal was dismissed by a majority, and he now seeks special leave to appeal to this court.

He claims that inadmissible and prejudicial evidence was admitted on the seventh day of his trial (this was conceded by the Crown); the evidence, which was hearsay and did not come within any exception to warrant its admission, suggested that the applicant was a bomb maker who had done a good job which had "come off" in Sydney. The applicant's counsel applied for discharge of the jury. The trial judge refused. The trial continued for another 12 days but this reference to Mr Maric as a bomb maker was not mentioned again to the jury.

Section 6 of the Criminal Appeal Act 1912 (NSW) provides: -

(1) The court on any such appeal against conviction shall allow the appeal if it is of opinion that the verdict of the jury should be set aside on the ground that it is unreasonable, or cannot be supported, having regard to the evidence, or that the judgment of the court of trial should be set aside on the ground of the wrong decision of any question of law, or that on any other ground whatsoever there was a miscarriage of justice, and in any other case shall dismiss the appeal; provided that the court may, notwithstanding that it is of opinion that the point or points raised by the appeal might be decided in favour of the appellant, dismiss the appeal if it considers that no substantial miscarriage of justice has actually occurred.

(2) Subject to the special provisions of this Act, the court shall if it allows an appeal against conviction, quash the conviction and direct a judgment and verdict of acquittal to be entered.

... .

Section 8(1) provides: "On an appeal against a conviction on

indictment, the court may, either of its own motion, or on the application of the appellant, order a new trial in such manner as it thinks fit, if the court considers that a miscarriage of justice has occurred, and, that having regard to all the circumstances, such miscarriage of justice can be more adequately remedied by an order for a new trial than by any other order which the court is empowered to make."

The onus was on the applicant to satisfy the Court of Criminal Appeal that a miscarriage of justice had occurred. The majority of the court considered that if there was any miscarriage of justice, it was not a substantial miscarriage because the case against the applicant was very strong and that the prejudicial evidence would have been forgotten or submerged in the course of the lengthy trial, especially as it was not mentioned again by the trial judge or by either counsel. Mr Justice Larkins, who dissented, held that a substantial miscarriage had occurred.

It is questionable whether this is a proper case for special leave, but I would grant it.

THE APPEAL

An appeal to this court whether civil or criminal, is a true appeal and this court should do what the court below should have done. In my opinion, there was a miscarriage of justice and I am not satisfied that no substantial miscarriage of justice has actually occurred. However strong the case against him, Mr Maric was entitled to a fair trial and this means that inadmissible, highly prejudicial evidence should not be put before the jury.

As there was no direction to ignore the evidence, the jury were entitled to take it into account in arriving at their verdict. The conviction should not be allowed to stand.

This raises the question whether a new trial should be ordered. A new trial is discretionary and should not be ordered unless, "having regard to all the circumstances, such miscarriage of justice can be more adequately remedied by an order for a new trial than by any other order which the court is empowered to make".

Once the trial judge introduced (although inadvertently) the prejudicial material, there was no chance of a fair trial for Mr Maric. No direction would have cured the error. The only proper course was to discharge the jury. The trial record reveals that the prosecution was placed in a very difficult position. Despite this, the prosecution should have supported the application for discharge. From then on, Mr Maric was subjected to a trial which must be regarded as unfair

and to a verdict of guilt which, although it cannot be allowed to stand, is undoubtedly prejudicial in the event of any retrial.

A new trial should not be ordered as of course. I pointed out in *Demirok v R* (1977) 14 ALR 199 that a balance must be achieved between the interests of society in prosecuting charges and the interests of society and the individual in avoiding multiple criminal trials. A new trial should not be ordered unless the balance is clearly in favour of that course. The strong prejudice against double jeopardy is one of the best traditions of our system of criminal justice: "The . . . idea, . . . deeply ingrained in at least the Anglo-American system of jurisprudence, is that the State with all its resources and power should not be allowed to make repeated attempts to convict an individual for an alleged offense, thereby subjecting him to embarrassment, expense and ordeal and compelling him to live in a continuing state of anxiety and insecurity as well as enhancing the possibility that even though innocent he may be found guilty" (; *Green v United States* (1957) 355 US 184 at 187).

There is a sound reason why a new trial should not be ordered in circumstances such as this. The prosecution (as well as the trial judge) have a responsibility for ensuring that no miscarriage of justice occurs. If inadmissible highly prejudicial evidence is introduced, causing a miscarriage, and the trial continues over the objection of the accused, the prosecution has little to lose if on appeal the almost automatic result, even if substantial miscarriage is shown, is a new trial. The prosecution should be as concerned as the accused to see that no miscarriage occurs and, if it does, that every endeavour is made to minimize its effect, and if an incurable irregularity (as this was) occurs during the trial, it should support an application for discharge. The sanction on the prosecution for failing to discharge its responsibility is that a new trial may not be ordered in the event of a successful appeal against conviction.

I take into account also the fact that Mr Maric has been imprisoned for a long time as a consequence of the charge and conviction.

The appeal should be allowed, the conviction quashed. A new trial should not be ordered.

Aickin J. I have had the advantage of reading the reasons for judgment of my brother Gibbs. I agree with his account of the circumstances and do not repeat it here. I also agree that the evidence in question was plainly inadmissible, and indeed it was not contended before us that it was admissible. The trial judge made a serious error and one likely to be prejudicial to the applicant.

This case does not appear to me to be one where the Court of Criminal Appeal should have used the proviso to s 6(1) of the Criminal Appeal Act 1912 (NSW) and dismissed the appeal on the basis that notwithstanding the manifest error "no substantial miscarriage of justice has actually occurred".

The role of the court is, however, a different one; it is not every error, or possible error, of a Court of Criminal Appeal which constitutes a basis for special leave. Attempts to define or describe the circumstances which make a matter special have failed and have indeed been abandoned: see *White v R* (1962) 107 CLR 174 at 176, where the court said in respect of an appeal against sentence: "Efforts over a long period of years to define the effect of the word 'special' have broken down but it remains true that what we are required to look for is something that is special in the case. Prima facie we do not think a case is special unless it involves some point of law of general application and, therefore, of importance. This case involves no point of law, none whatever, and we do not think that in such a case we should intervene unless there appears to have been a gross violation of the principles which ought to guide discretion in imposing sentences."

The present case involves no point of law of general application or importance. It may without unfairness be described as involving an elementary question of admissibility.

It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty in the case of a trial lasting some 19 days what impact a particular piece of evidence may have had. However, it is at least possible, if not probable, that a fact elicited by a question from the trial judge himself may even after the balance of the trial have a significant effect on the jury's mind, especially when it was of so damning a character. Indeed, as Larkins J said in the Court of Criminal Appeal: "How could the tag of bombmaker and a good one at that, hung upon the appellant by Brbic, ever be forgotten by the jury?" It is certainly impossible to be satisfied that it would not have that effect. The evidence was highly prejudicial to the applicant and the error was not wholly corrected by a direction to the jury as my brother Gibbs points out, even if it was one capable of correction in that way.

The case seems close to the line but, notwithstanding some hesitation, I am prepared to agree that special leave should be granted. If special leave is granted, it is clear that the appeal should be allowed and a new trial ordered.

ORDER:

Order Special leave to appeal granted.

Appeal allowed. Order of the Supreme Court of New South Wales (Court of Criminal Appeal) set aside and in lieu thereof order that the conviction be set aside and that there be a new trial.

SOLICITORS:

Solicitor for the appellant, J P White, Public Solicitor. Solicitor for the respondent, Crown Solicitor for the State of New South Wales.

:: filing information ::

Title: Appeal of Angelo Maric (Australia)

Source: Public Records.

Date: August 8, 1978

Added: February 19, 2004

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News: Two Odpor Agents Convicted of Terrorism

Chicago was the North American headquarters for Odpor throughout the 1970s - "field marshal" **Ante Ljubas** lived nearby, as did **HOP leader** Ante Bonifacic. The federal prosecution outlined below was one of the first of many which would culminate in the two New York RICO trials which effectively destroyed the organization in the United States.

A federal court jury on Friday convicted two Croatian nationalists of imprisoning a foreign official during a siege at the West German consulate.

The jury found Bozo Kevala, 36, and Mile Kodzoman, 32, guilty on the imprisonment charge, but found them innocent of charges of kidnapping and conspiracy to kidnap foreign officials.

They were accused of holding six consulate employees hostage for more than 10 hours on Aug. 17 with guns and a phony bomb in an attempt to free a fellow Croatian from a West German prison.

The two men feared West Germany would extradite a fellow countryman, Stjepan Bilandzic, to Yugoslavia where they claimed he would be executed for political reasons.

Kevala and Kodzoman could be sentenced to 10 years in prison. A date for sentencing was not immediately set.

Defense attorneys contended that their clients acted out of blind concern for Bilandzic [*sic*] and never intended to hurt anyone.

During the five-day trial, three hostages testified that Kodzoman and Kelava held them at gunpoint and "threatened to detonate" two bombs if their demands for Bilandzic's release were not met.

Bilandzic later was released by the West Germans, but not as a result of the consulate takeover.

Several policemen and FBI agents also testified they heard Kodzoman warn lawmen that if he were shot, Kelava would kill the



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hostages.

Prosecutors played a tape recording of a trans-Atlantic telephone call between the defendants and Bilandzic during the siege. During the conversation, in Croatian, Kodzoman told Bilandzic: "But we still have six hostages on our hands... If you want, we are ready, like Bozo said this morning, that we throw them through the window."

The defense portrayed their clients as mild-mannered nationalists who never intended harm. During cross-examination of prosecution witnesses, they dwelled on the light-hearted and humorous aspects of the siege.

:: filing information ::

Title: News: Two Odpor Agents Convicted of Terrorism

Source: Associated Press.

Date: December 1, 1978

Added: February 6, 2004

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Otpor Bombing in California

The following intelligence report from the US Secret Service (charged with guarding the president) describes a pair of bombings in San Pedro, California. The victims were two Croatian business owners; the (at this point, suspected) assailants were members of the terrorist organization founded by Ustase concentration camp commandant **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic**, Otpor. The bombing herein was among the charges leveled in the **Second Otpor RICO Trial** two years later, and the defendants were found guilty.

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE

ORIGIN: Field

OFFICE: Los Angeles, California

CASE NO.: X-ODN-06056, 180-56,398, 180-56,399

TYPE OF CASE: Intelligence

STATUS: Closed - Los Angeles

INVESTIGATION MADE BY: Los Angeles, Calif.

PERIOD COVERED: 6/13-19/80

INVESTIGATION MADE BY: Special Agent

TITLE OR CAPTION: Bomb Incidents, San Pedro, California

SYNOPSIS

On 5/25/80, two improvised explosive devices exploded in the vicinity of two nearby businesses in San Pedro, California. Both of the stores are owned by Croatian persons and the suspects in these bombings are believed to be OTPOR (ODN-06056) members, although their actual identities remain unknown and no persons/groups have taken credit for the bombings.

(A) INTRODUCTION



related links

Judicial Decision: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Documents: Otpor Leader Ante Ljubas

Documents: Otpor

Documents: Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

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Reference is made to ID-FIB/AE TWX #495, dated 5/27/80, and to Los Angeles TWX #569, dated 6/12/80.

(B) DETAILS OF THE INCIDENTS

Reference is made to the attached Los Angeles PD reports #80-573289 and #80-573297.

(C) IDENTITIES OF PARTICIPANTS

No person(s)/group(s) have taken credit for the subject bombings; however, the placing of the two bombs in the immediate vicinity of each other and the fact that the owners of the stores are both Croatian has caused members of the Los Angeles intelligence community to strongly suspect that the persons responsible for these incidents are members of OTPOR (ODN-06056). It should be noted that the placing of the two bombs at the same time is one method of operation utilized by OTPOR in the Los Angeles district.

(D) DEVICES

The IED utilized in the first bombing at Ante's Restaurant is believed to have consisted to approximately three sticks of commercial dynamite. Possible parts of an alarm clock were found and it may have been the timing mechanism. No exterior container, e.g., a pipe, for this IED was located. The IED was placed in a planter under the front window of the restaurant. This IED caused extensive damage to Ante's Restaurant but only broke the windows of one adjacent business.

The second IED, which exploded at Homeowner's Discount Plumbing, is believed to have consisted of approximately six sticks of commercial dynamite. It was placed on the sidewalk in front of the store and caused extensive damage to the building and broke windows of numerous adjacent businesses.

(E) OTHER INVESTIGATION

OTPOR has been attempting to infiltrate the American Croatian Club in San Pedro [REDACTED] and the club has recently been ousting

suspected OTPOR members from their group. The identities of these ousted members are unknown at this time, but this action is suspected as a possible motive for the subject bombings, i.e., retaliation.

Members of the Los Angeles intelligence community who investigate Croatian terrorism have assured the writer that they will immediately notify LAFO if the bombers in these incidents are identified.

(F) DISPOSITION

Attached for Intelligence Division are the LAPD crime reports describing the two bombings.

Cases are closed in Los Angeles.

DISTRIBUTION: Intelligence Div., Los Angeles

COPIES: Oirg & 2cc 3cc DCG:afe

REPORT MADE BY: [REDACTED] 6/23/80

APPROVED: [REDACTED] 6/23/80

:: filing information ::

Title: Otpor Bombing in California

Source: US Dept of Homeland Security (Secret Service)

Date: June 23, 1980

Added: June 6, 2003

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The tracing report below corresponds to the murder weapon used to murder Anthony Cikoja, an innocent Croatian immigrant living in Scarsdale, New York. The entire echelon of the Croatian National Resistance, or **Odpor** or Otpor movement, was convicted on charges which included conspiracy to murder Cikoja. A higher resolution scan is available [here](#).



Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Document: Otpor
Bombing in California

Documents: Odpor

Misc: Search

Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

scan: high resolution

Please Call Back serial number

SEP 28 1971 REQUEST FOR RAYING FIREARMS.

FBI Headquarters Wash. D.C.
10th Penn Ave N.W. - 20535
MILITARY DIVISION
Program
QMM Paulina
FBI Headquarter Wash. D.C.
Sub Machine
2-200-1491
10/18/71
B.I.V.

Karol Investment shows acquisition of the Alere serial number from Mustang Development International. Sorry no further trace.

:: filing information ::	
Title: FBI Tracing Report on the Murder Weapon Used to Kill Anthony Cikoja	
Source: FBI. Declassified 2003.	
Date: September 28, 1981	Added: February 12, 2004

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News: Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation

The following news report was printed in Canada regarding prosecutor's opening statement laying out the charges in the Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City in 1982. All accused - representing the entire top echelon of the organization in North America - were convicted. The "post office in Asuncion, Paraguay" mentioned where the victims of the Otpor extortion racket were to mail their blackmail money was owned by **Miro Baresic**. The Appeal Court's decision affirming the convictions in this trial is available [here](#).

Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation

by John Pryor

NEW YORK - Ten Croatian nationalists were organized in a "nationwide criminal operation" to spread extortion, arson, bombing and murder across the country in the name of independence from Yugoslavia, a federal prosecutor said Thursday in his opening statement at the trial of the 10.

"They called the shots," prosecutor Paul Shechtman said of the defendants in his opening remarks to the jury at the racketeering trial in U.S. District Court in Manhattan. "They **recruited others** to take the risks."

Four of the defendants, he said, managed the national headquarters in Chicago of a group called OTPOR, which seeks a separate and independent republic of Croatia. The six others ran its field offices in **Los Angeles**, San Francisco, New York, Cleveland, and Toronto, the prosecutor said.

In what he described as a "large-scale nationwide criminal operation," Schechtman said the defendants "declared war on almost every moderate Croatian group in the country which wanted independence but not through violence."



related links

Judicial Decision: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Document: 10 Croats on Trial on Racketeering Charges

Document: Otpor Bombing in California

Document: FBI Tracing Report on the Murder Weapon Used to Kill Anthony Cikoja

Documents: Otpor Leader Ante Ljubas

Documents: Otpor

Documents: Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

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From 1975 to 1981, he said, the defendants plotted to bomb, burn, and kill, and actually carried out some of those crimes, to force the moderates to comply with their demands for financial support.

Defense lawyers told the jury of seven women and five men that much of the alleged criminal activities, including 50 acts of extortion, three of arson and two slayings, actually were committed by agents of the Yugoslav secret police.

"They were the victims," the defense said about the defendants who, their lawyers said, fled to this country from Yugoslavia to escape religious and political persecution.

Prosecutor Shechtman said the alleged extortion scheme began with letters sent from West Germany to Croatian nationalists in the United States demanding contributions to the defendants of \$5,000 to \$10,000. Payments, Shechtman said, were to be made to a post office in Asuncion, Paraguay.

"When the payments were slow," he said, "the defendants struck back."

"They **murdered Anthony Cikoja** outside his home in Scarsdale, N. Y., in September 1978, and Krizan Brkic outside his home in Glendale, Calif., in September 1978," he said. "They bombed the factory owned by Danilo Nikolic in Chicago in October 1978, and bombed the homes and trucks of three moderates in Los Angeles in April and May 1979."

Defendant Mile Markic, 57, of Chicago, Shechtman said, was the leader of the group, the "elder statesman," who used his home to conceal dynamite, plastic explosives and weapons. **Ante Ljubas**, 37, also of Chicago, was his "field general" and national recruiter.

Schechtman described defendant Drago Sudar, 50, of Etobicoke, Ont., as a "skilled bomb maker" who traveled widely in the United States and Europe to teach his skills. Many of the explosive devices used in the alleged acts came from Toronto, the prosecutor said.

Defendant Vinko Logarusic of Cleveland, Schechtman continued, developed a "neat weapon" - an explosive device concealed between book covers to be sent through the mails. Ranko Primorac of Long Beach, Calif., "sought to bomb and kill Croatians who did not share his political views," the prosecutor alleged.

The indictment also includes allegations that the defendants conspired to set off explosives at the United Nations and Grand Central Terminal in New York. They plotted to murder Yugoslav officials in San Francisco, carried explosives and guns across the country by car and bus, and plotted the murder of a Catholic priest

in Milwaukee, the indictment alleged.

If convicted on the charges of violating the Federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) law, each could face up to 20 years in prison. The trial is expected to last at least two months.

:: filling information ::

Title: News: Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation

Source: UPI

Date: February 19, 1982

Added: February 12, 2004

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10 Croatians on Trial on Racketeering Charges

A copy of this article was obtained from the Secret Service, along with other Otpor documents. No attribution is listed, but the author, Arnold H. Lubasch, was at the time of the Otpor RICO Trials (1982-83) working as a reporter for the *New York Times*. The Appeal Court's decision affirming the convictions in this trial is available [here](#).

10 CROATIANS ON TRIAL ON RACKETEERING CHARGES

by Arnold H. Lubasch

Ten men who advocate Croatian independence from Yugoslavia have been portrayed as "conspirators" by the prosecution and as "patriots" by the defense in a Manhattan trial on charges involving murder, arson, and extortion.

The 10 men, all Croatian exiles, are the defendants in the unusual trial, which opened last week in Federal District Court. Judge Constance Baker Motley told the jury that the trial was likely to take several weeks to complete.

According to the prosecutors, Stuart J. Baskin and Paul L. Shechtman, the defendants were the leaders of a "criminal enterprise" responsible for many violent acts "in the name of Croatian independence."

The basic charge in the indictment is a racketeering count that accuses the 10 defendants of forming a criminal group that participated in a pattern of criminal activities, including murder, arson and extortion. If convicted, each defendant could face up to 20 years in prison on the racketeering charge and a related conspiracy charge.

In the prosecution's opening statement, Mr. Shechtman told the jury that the group had carried out murders, bombings and arson attacks on political opponents in the United States. He said the group's headquarters were in Chicago, with offices in New York, **Los Angeles**, San Francisco and other cities.



related links

Judicial Decision: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Document: Otpor Bombing in California

Documents: Otpor Leader Ante Ljubas

Documents: Otpor

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Essay: The Poglavnik's Family Tree

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The defendants also operated an extortion scheme against Croatians in this country, demanding money to finance their cause and attacking those who refused to pay, Mr. Shechtman said. He added that "they **declared war** on almost every moderate Croatian group."

One defendant, 37-year-old **Ante Ljubas** of Chicago, was described by the prosecutor as "the field general of this organization."

In opening statements for the defense, a team of lawyers told the jury that the criminal enterprise cited by the prosecution was "a mythical organization."

The lawyers described the defendants as dedicated Croatian nationalists who were the victims of violence by "the Yugoslav secret police."

Information from 'Traitors'

Martin Light, the defense lawyer for Mr. Ljubas, told the jury that the prosecution's case was based on information from "traitors, double-agents and the secret police." The lawyer vehemently denied the charges against Mr. Ljubas, adding that "he is guilty of being anti-Communist and pro-Catholic."

Three other defendants from the Chicago area are Mile Markich, Ivan Misetic and Milan Bagaric. Federal agents have described Mr. Markich as "the de facto leader of Otpor in the United States."

Otpor, also called the **Croatian National Resistance**, was described as a legal organization with 300 members. When the defendants were indicted last June, Federal agents called them "the hierarchy of a Croatian nationalist organization named Otpor." The organization is not charged with a crime.

Three of the defendants live in California. They are Ranko Primorac of Long Beach, Mile Boban of Hillsborough and Miro Biosic of San Clemente.

The only defendant from the New York area is Andjelko Jakic of Mamaroneck, N.Y., who was accused of running an operation here that plotted murders and received weapons. The other defendants are Vinko Logarusic of Cleveland and Drago Sudar of Toronto.

From 1975 to 1981, according to the indictment, the defendants conspired to commit numerous criminal acts, including several murders, in various places across the country, including New York City. The victims were described as "persons of Croatian origin."

The defendants can listen to a simultaneous translation of the trial proceedings from English into Serbo-Croatian. Court interpreters provide the translation from a glass-enclosed booth at the front of the courtroom.

Judge Motley is conducting the trial with a jury of five men and seven women.

:: filing information ::

Title: 10 Croatians on Trial on Racketeering Charges

Source: US Dept of Homeland Security (Secret Service)

Date: 1982

Added: June 6, 2003

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Otpor Bombing in New York

On July 2, 1982, six men representing nearly the entire hierarchy of the terrorist organization founded by Ustase concentration camp commandant **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic**, were **sentenced** on racketeering charges, including plotting to kill the head of the moderate Croatian Fraternal Union and a Croatian priest in Milwaukee. Four days later, a series of bombs went off at distinctly "Yugoslav" targets in New York as retaliation, probably to intimidate and distract attention from the fact that Otpor's leaders were found guilty of extorting, intimidating, and plotting to kill, primarily, other Croats. The following report of the bombings is from the US Secret Service's intelligence bureau.

OUTGOING MESSAGE FORM

FROM: [illegible]
TO: NEW YORK
FILE: [illegible]
X-REF: I81-57646

DATE: 07-06-82
PRECEDENCE: PRIORITY
CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASS

[.....]

SUBJECT: BOMB INCIDENT

ON 07-04-82 A BOMB EXPLODED AT A CROATIAN TRAVEL AGENCY IN QUEENS, NEW YORK. HOURS BEFORE, A PIPE BOMB WAS DEFUSED AT A YUGOSLAV AIRLINE OFFICE NEAR ST. PATRICKS CATHEDRAL, IN MANHATTAN, NEW YORK. THERE WERE NO INJURIES FROM THE BOMB EXPLOSION, HOWEVER, A CAR WAS WRECKED AND WINDOWS WERE BLOWN OUT.

NO GROUP HAS CLAIMED CREDIT FOR THE INCIDENTS, HOWEVER, FOUR DAYS BEFORE, SIX CROATIAN TERRORISTS WERE **SENTENCED** TO JAIL TERMS RANGING FROM 40 TO 20 YEARS ON CONSPIRACY AND TERRORIST RELATED ACTIVITY (I81-57646).

related links

Judicial Decision: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Document: Otpor Bombing in California

Documents: Otpor Leader Ante Ljubas

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THE ABOVE INCIDENT FILE NUMBER HAS BEEN ASSIGNED.

NEW YORK IS REQUESTED TO ESTABLISH APPROPRIATE LIAISON WITH THE FBI AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AND MONITOR ANY INVESTIGATION OF THIS MATTER. IN ~~XXXX~~ YOUR REPORT, ALSO PROVIDE THE INFORMATION OUTLINED IN THE SECRET SERVICE MANUAL, SECTION 462.9-469.9.

A REPORT IS REQUESTED IN 14 DAYS.

:: filing information ::

Title: Otpor Bombing in New York

Source: US Dept of Homeland Security (Secret Service)

Date: July 6. 1982

Added: June 6, 2003

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The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

2nd Circuit Court of Appeals Summary of the Case and Denial of Appeal of Original Convictions under the RICO Act. The circumstances behind this trial are laid out in the judge's opinion; in brief, a group of Croatian extremists were engaged in a systematic attempt at extortion of politically moderate Croats, in order to pay for their terror campaign against their enemies. The group's opponents included moderate Croats as well as Yugoslav authorities; one of their prey was a Croatian Catholic priest in Milwaukee, who was mailed a bomb in a hollowed-out book. These are excerpts of this long document: a longer version is available in a plain text file [here](#). The first Otpor RICO trial, which included a number of the same defendants, is located [here](#).

**UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Appellee,
v.**

**MILAN BAGARIC, MILE MARKICH, ANTE LJUBAS, VINKO LOGARUSIC, RANKO PRIMORAC, and DRAGO SUDAR,
Defendants-Appellants**

Nos. 82-1247, 82-1249, 82-1251, 82-1253, 82-1255, 82-1257, Nos. 887, 932, 877, 876, 886 - August Term, 1982

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT
706 F.2d 42; 1983 U.S. App. LEXIS 28806

March 9, 1983, Argued
April 14, 1983, Decided

PRIOR HISTORY: Appeal from judgments of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, Constance Baker Motley, Chief Judge, convicting defendants, after a jury trial, of violations of Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act.

DISPOSITION: Affirmed.

JUDGES: Kaufman, Timbers and Kearse, Circuit Judges.
OPINION BY: KAUFMAN



related links

Article: [Call for Ante Ljubas' Release from Prison by Croatian Organization](#)

Documents: [Ante Ljubas](#)

Documents: [Otpor](#)

Documents: [Miro Baresic](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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OPINION: KAUFMAN, Circuit Judge:

Milan Bagaric, Mile Markich, Ante Ljubas, Vinko Logarusic, Ranko Primorac, and Drago Sudar appeal from judgments of conviction in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, after a trial before Chief Judge Motley and a jury. Appellants urge reversal, relying not only on a series of claimed infirmities of the usual sort, but also upon this court's recent refusal to permit prosecution of a terrorist organization pursuant to the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, where the Government failed to allege the group or its activities possessed any financial dimension or purpose. See *United States v. Ivic*, 700 F.2d 51 (2d Cir. 1983). We are asked to expand that holding to the facts of this case. We decline to do so, since the overwhelming proof at trial showed that the defendants, acting through their criminal enterprise, perpetrated an extensive international extortion scheme using the United States and foreign mails. In addition, the defendants directed numerous acts of violence against certain supporters of Yugoslavia. Because we also reject appellants' myriad other contentions, we affirm the convictions.

I.

The massive, complex and convoluted record of this thirteen-week trial established that appellants were members of a Croatian terrorist group operating principally in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, with participants in Cleveland, San Francisco, Toronto, South America, and Europe. Acting through their criminal enterprise, they perpetrated an international extortion scheme against "moderate Croats" and persons they believed to be supporters of the government of Yugoslavia, resorting to multiple acts of violence against those not sufficiently sympathetic to their cause. We chronicle the history of their activities in some detail.

Operating from his home base in Chicago, Ante Ljubas began in late 1974 to recruit and hire persons to commit murders and bombings. In each case, the intended victim was to be an individual considered unsympathetic to the cause of Croatian independence from Yugoslavia. In time, Ljubas approached a long-time acquaintance, Frank Korenic, inquiring whether Korenic could obtain explosives, and requesting that Korenic introduce Ljubas to one Joe Neary. Neary, a notorious Chicago gangster, was a frequent customer at a restaurant where Korenic's ex-wife was a waitress, and the two men had known one another since 1973. Korenic took Ljubas to Neary's home, where Ljubas was introduced to Neary and another local gangster, **Louis Almeida**. Ljubas told these two men he "was working with other people," and would be willing to pay well for a

series of contract killings. He offered \$20,000 for the first murder, and \$10,000 for each of approximately ten additional assassinations. Neary and Almeida agreed to perform the killings. Accordingly, Ljubas gave them a photograph and the address of the first intended victim, **John Badovinac**. At that time, Badovinac was president of the Croatian Fraternal Union in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, an organization Ljubas regarded as pro-Yugoslavian.

In February, 1975, Neary and Almeida travelled to Pittsburgh, and went to Badovinac's office. Uncertain whether that was the best locale at which to carry out the murder, they drove to Badovinac's home address and "look[ed] the place over[,] trying to figure out how . . . to assassinate him there." Still undecided, they telephoned Badovinac's office, only to discover, from his secretary, that Badovinac was out of town attending a meeting. Neary and Almeida returned to Chicago to tell Ljubas of their frustration. The three men met at a restaurant near Ljubas's home, where Ljubas expressed his unhappiness that Neary and Almeida had not "[gotten] the job done."

In March, Neary and Almeida set off to Pittsburgh a second time. En route, they were stopped by Ohio police for speeding. A search of their car turned up a .38 Colt firearm with a four-inch barrel, a .380 automatic Barretta, a .380 Walther PPKS with silencer, and a photograph of Badovinac. Shortly after his arrest on firearms charges, Almeida told Illinois state police that Ante Ljubas had approached Neary and Almeida and hired them to murder a man in Pittsburgh.

Undeterred by the intervention of fate which spared Badovinac, Ljubas sought out co-appellant Milan Bagaric, and had Bagaric introduce him to Ante Caran.[1.] Bagaric and Ljubas demonstrated to Caran the nature and seriousness of their endeavor. Bagaric showed him explosives the two men were storing in Bagaric's basement, and Ljubas instructed Caran on techniques of bomb construction. Shortly thereafter, apparently convinced of Caran's bona fides, Ljubas asked Caran if he would be willing to recruit two men to bomb the Pittsburgh home of Milan Vranes, an officer of the Croatian Fraternal Union. Ljubas provided Caran with the address of Vranes's home in Pittsburgh and told Caran to pick up the bomb at Bagaric's apartment. Caran acquired the services of two friends, Andrija Skrabo and Vjelbo Jaksic. [2.] The three men went to Bagaric's home, where they were shown a bomb and timer device built by Bagaric. Skrabo and Jaksic drove to Pittsburgh with the bomb.

In Pittsburgh, the two men had difficulty locating Vranes's home. After consulting a local telephone directory, they drove to an address other than that provided by Ljubas. They set the timer on the bomb and left it in a snowbank near the sidewalk of that house, later learning from a radio broadcast [*48] that the bomb had exploded.

Soon after, Bagaric informed them they had bombed the wrong house.

This series of misadventures in Pittsburgh seems reminiscent of Inspector Clouseau-style bumbling. Unfortunately, tragedy soon replaced what had appeared to be a comedy of errors. Ljubas and Bagaric, undaunted, continued their private war, taking on new soldiers along the way. Beginning in early 1977, the members of the criminal enterprise began an operation to stockpile dynamite in the United States and to transport it for use in various cities. [3.] Ljubas asked Caran to arrange for the use of an automobile "to go to Canada to bring some explosive[s]." Caran secured the assistance of Mico Jaksic, brother of Vjelko. [4.] Ljubas, Caran, and Mico Jaksic drove to Canada in Jaksic's car. Their destination was a small rural town, Elliott Lake, Ontario, site of the huge Dennison uranium mines, the ex-employer of appellant Mile Markich.

Upon arrival in Elliott Lake, Ljubas departed alone in the car. He rejoined Caran and Mico Jaksic twenty minutes later, with a bag containing approximately twenty sticks of dynamite which he showed the two men. The dynamite was manufactured by CIL Inc., a Canadian company, bore the coded manufacturing date D7 (signifying April, 1977 manufacture), and had been shipped in April and May of 1977 to Dennison Mines. Ljubas, Caran, and Jaksic then drove to the Toronto area, where they stopped at the home of Milan Rukavina, a Croatian acquaintance of Caran. To ensure they would not be observed, they drove into Rukavina's garage, where Jaksic packed the dynamite into the door panels of the car. Blasting caps, also obtained by Ljubas, were separated from the dynamite and were stored "underneath the dashboard so they

* * * [omission - one or more pages appear to be missing]

fashion that the two naked wire ends would join as the book was opened, setting off a powerful explosion designed, in the words of Richard M. Rogers, a special agent examiner in the FBI Explosives Unit, simply "to kill a human being."

On February 19, 1979, two of these book bombs were mailed, from Akron, Ohio, to Joseph Badurina, a Queens, New York journalist, and Father Timothy Majic, a Catholic priest in Milwaukee. Both men were Croatian nationalists, of significant influence in their home communities, who had taken explicit and adamant editorial positions against the use of violence. Remarkably, Father Majic was being interviewed by an FBI agent on the morning of February 26, when his mail arrived. The agent, seeing the priest about to open the cover of a black book and observing what appeared to be wires inside, seized the book instantly and threw it into a snowbank in the church courtyard. A police officer from the Milwaukee bomb squad separated the blasting cap from the dynamite, losing part of his hand in the process.

One week later, Badurina received a similar package. Aware of the unsuccessful attempt to kill Majic, Badurina alerted the FBI. The New York City bomb squad removed the package and disarmed the book.

On April 4, detectives of the Cleveland Police Department obtained a warrant and searched the residence of appellant Vinko Logarusic. The search turned up a metal toolbox containing more than eight hundred rounds of ammunition and batteries, as well as a hollowed out book containing wires, a battery and a light bulb. This book, described by an FBI expert as the "prototype, or perhaps test book, which was manufactured prior to the other two book bombs," was the same size as the ones mailed to Badurina and Father Majic, with a depth of exactly one and one-half inches, permitting a stick of dynamite to be placed flat inside. The glue in all three books was of the same chemical composition, the wire was the same gauge, the wires in all three were twisted into loops and L-shaped hooks, and, finally, all three books employed solder, rather than standard battery connectors, to hook the wire to the power source. Laboratory tests showed the same pair of pliers had been used to cut a wire in the bomb sent to Badurina and the one found in Logarusic's home.

In August, 1979, Caran moved his family to Bridgeport, Connecticut. That autumn, he was approached by Ljubas in the Croatian Center in Manhattan. Ljubas asked whether Caran would be interested in learning to make bombs and teaching others, apparently primarily for use in Europe but in this country as well. Caran assented. Several months later, Caran was telephoned at work by appellant Drago Sudar, who informed Caran he had been sent by Ljubas. After Caran picked up Sudar at the Croatian Center, the two men drove to Fairfield, Connecticut to purchase wires, a clock, a soldering iron, and gloves. From there they went to the apartment of a friend of Caran's in Bridgeport, where Sudar taught Caran how to put together a time bomb.

Caran's lesson could not be completed, however, because the two men had been unable to purchase blasting caps in Fairfield. Several weeks later, Ljubas, who had come to the East Coast, offered to have blasting caps delivered to Caran (as well as arranging for Caran to be paid \$2,000 to travel to Europe to pass on the skills he had acquired from Sudar). On July 5, 1980, Bagaric's wife delivered to Caran, at the latter's Bridgeport home, two blasting caps.

In September, 1980, Sudar returned to Bridgeport to resume the bomb construction lessons. After detailing his recent trip to California to teach bombmaking to other Croatians (including the brother of Marijan Rudela), Sudar described to Caran "how to make bombs in the drawer, in the door, in the car, and in the book. In the book . . . is most dangerous, you got to be very, very careful to make a bomb," Sudar demonstrated to Caran the preparation of time bombs.

On June 25, 1981, Sudar was arrested at his home in Toronto, Canada, on an extradition warrant. Detectives of the Peel Regional Police Department searched his home, discovering and seizing a watch, batteries, lightbulbs for automobile directional signals, tape, and coiled and color coded wires. One of the nine-volt batteries seized had its terminals filled with solder, in a manner similar to that used in the book bombs from the United Nations, Grand Central Terminal, and Logarusic's home.

The Indictment, Racketeering Counts and Trial

By indictment S 81 Cr. 402, superseding and consolidating two earlier instruments and filed on June 30, 1981, Bagaric, Markich, Ljubas, Logarusic, Primorac, and Sudar were charged with violations of the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act ("RICO"). [8.] Count One charged conspiracy to violate the racketeering statute, 18 U.S.C. §§ 1961, 1962(d), and Count Two alleged a substantive violation, id. §§ 1961, 1962(c). [footnote omitted: excerpt from RICO Act.] On July 8, the United States Government filed with Canadian authorities an application for the extradition of Sudar, and on September 11, a warrant of committal was entered by a Canadian court, ordering Sudar's extradition on Count One of S 81 Cr. 402 only. On July 28, a second superseding indictment, SS 81 Cr. 402, had named all appellants in the same two counts as S 81 Cr. 402. But, as Sudar had been formally extradited on S 81 Cr. 402, he could not be tried on SS 81 Cr. 402. Accordingly, on January 21, 1982, the district court ordered consolidation of the two indictments, Fed. R. Crim. P. 13; see *United States v. Halper*, 590 F.2d 422, 428-29 (2d Cir. 1978). [10.]

Trial commenced on February 16, 1982, and continued for thirteen weeks. On May 15, after approximately six days of deliberations, the jury returned guilty verdicts on both counts against Ljubas, Markich, Primorac, and Bagaric. Sudar was convicted of the single conspiracy count on which he was tried. Logarusic was convicted of conspiracy and acquitted on the substantive offense. The district court sentenced Ljubas and Primorac to terms of imprisonment of twenty years on each count, to run consecutively. Markich and Bagaric received prison terms of twenty years under Count One and ten years under Count Two, such terms also to be served consecutively. Logarusic and Sudar were both sentenced to terms of imprisonment of twenty years on the conspiracy count. All convicted defendants have appealed, raising a multitude of contentions.

The difficult threshold question posed for consideration is whether, in light of our recent decision in *United States v. Ivic*, supra, the conduct charged in the indictment and proved at trial constituted an offense under RICO... In this case the charges and proof all relate to a terrorist organization, "motivated" [11.] by political as well as economic goals, and claimed to have engaged in economic crimes "to obtain money to further [its] activities," id. 700 F.2d at 61 n.6 (reserving issue of applicability of RICO to such cases). We are called upon to decide whether this case, falling somewhere between the complete absence of financial purpose or activity, on the one hand, and an enterprise engaged solely in siphoning monies from, and infiltrating, legitimate businesses, e.g., *United States v. Scotto*, 641 F.2d 47 (2d Cir. 1980), cert. denied, 452 U.S. 961, 69 L. Ed. 2d 971, 101 S. Ct. 3109 (1981), on the other, is within the purview of RICO. For several reasons, we conclude it is.

A.

....Whether appellants extorted money for the long-term political purpose of effecting the separation of Croatia from Yugoslavia, whether this formed part, but not all, of their "motivation," or whether the freedom of their former province is an issue they care about not at all, the effect of their activities on the national economy is identical. The *Ivic* court described RICO as a device to prevent (and reverse) "the drain[ing of] billions of dollars from America's economy by unlawful conduct," *United States v. Ivic*, supra, slip op. at 1432. This effect is accomplished whatever considerations compel the creation and execution of an extortion scheme...

...Further, investigation into motive would serve only to politicize, and otherwise inflame, RICO prosecutions. As discussed in greater detail infra, defense counsel sought to inject peripheral political and religious considerations into the trial of this case, implying that appellants' anti-Communism or Catholicism, or their persecution by American and Yugoslavian officials acting in concert, justifiably drove them to commit the acts of extortion and violence charged in the indictment. These suggestions - which ultimately formed no part of the defense case of appellants who testified or presented witnesses - were, viewed charitably, misguided. They can only have served to patronize the jury and to add a distracting element of emotionalism to the proceedings. [12.] An interpretation of RICO requiring proof of long-term pecuniary objectives which in some sense can be said to supersede accompanying political or religious ones would invite a repetition of this conduct. It would authorize the admission of evidence of political beliefs, racial animosities, and family and blood feuds as justifications for criminal acts. Because we believe Congress, and the traditions of our criminal law, contemplate trials free of consideration of such issues, we reject appellants' argument that economic motive must surmount all others.

B.

Appellants appear to argue also that the enterprise itself, rather than the predicate acts of racketeering, must be shown to yield financial gain. This contention is supported neither by a careful reading to the Ivic opinion nor by reference to the underlying purposes of RICO...

C.

This case fits well within the principles we have enunciated. The core of the enterprise was the commission of more than fifty acts of the classic economic crime of extortion, and many of the violent crimes perpetrated were in aid of the extortion scheme. They were carried out either to compel payment or in retaliation for refusal to meet appellants' extortionate demands. Indeed, the Assistant United States Attorney said in his opening statement to the jury that appellants sought to extort money from "moderate Croatians [to] help finance [their] criminal enterprise," and emphasized that "this extortion scheme . . . is one of the centerpieces of this criminal case." The first ten Government witnesses were extortion victims or widows of murdered extortion victims and proof of economic crimes continued throughout the lengthy trial.

The indictment and proof in this prosecution were consistent with the language and purposes of RICO. We decline to impose upon the Government an obligation to show pure or ultimate economic motive in any of the various formulations urged by appellants. Although we have previously noted, *United States v. Huber*, supra, 603 F.2d at 395-96, and we repeat the admonition here, "that the potentially broad reach of RICO poses a danger of abuse [when the statute is] appl[ied] . . . to situations for which it was not primarily intended," our obligation is "to rule on actual, as opposed to hypothetical, applications of the statute," *United States v. Weisman*, 624 F.2d 1118, 1123 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 449 U.S. 871, 66 L. Ed. 2d 91, 101 S. Ct. 209 (1980), and it is clear to us that the present one was appropriate.

III.

Numerous claims unrelated to the Ivic issue have been advanced. We shall first consider those applicable to all appellants.

Prosecutorial Misconduct

Alleging repeated and persistent instances of improper prosecutorial comment, appellants claim they were deprived of a fair trial. They challenge a number of statements as derogatory of defendants or their counsel, as injecting into the trial the prosecutor's personal belief the defendants were lying, or as exceeding the appropriate bounds of cross-examination. Although appellants have fashioned a superficially impressive compilation of alleged misconduct, and although some remarks by the Government were perhaps ill-advised, [14.] when read in the context of the entire record of this thirteen-week trial, *United States v. Socony Vacuum Oil Co.*, 310 U.S. 150, 242, 60 S. Ct. 811, 84 L. Ed. 1129 (1940); *United States v. Bivona*, 487 F.2d 443, 446-47 (2d Cir. 1973); see *United States v. White*, supra, 486 F.2d at 206 (prejudice less likely in "long and hotly contested trial"), the Government's statements did not prejudice appellants' right to a fair trial.

The Assistant's opening remarks to the jury were concise and free of rhetoric. Apart from a single remark that this case "is important . . . because the office [the prosecutors] represent is responsible for enforcing . . . federal laws," into which appellants manage to read an appeal to the jury's patriotism, the prosecutor adhered closely to the facts and indictment. He ended by asking the jury to

approach your responsibilities as jurors in this case in the spirit of the utmost seriousness and fairness. . . . I urge you to listen carefully as the proof is presented in this case. Again, I remind you to be patient, that only one witness can testify at a time. I am confident that you are going to do that and I am equally confident that you are going to see that the defendants on trial here have a fair trial.

In marked contrast, appellants' counsel began, before a single witness had testified, to interject extraneous and potentially inflammatory considerations into the proceedings. Ljubas's trial attorney, for example, told the jury that Ljubas was the victim of "the Communists and the Secret Police of Yugoslavia, which was trained by the Russian Secret Police;" "that attempts [on Ljubas's life] were made by the Communist Secret Police known as UDBA, which is the Communist Secret Police of Yugoslavia that has agents throughout this country and in various Yugoslavian embassies throughout this country;" "that [Ljubas] was [in Rome in 1970] as a devout Catholic;" and that "the first Croatian Saint was canonized by the Catholic Church in 1970 and there were many Croatians that went to Rome." The Government's witnesses, yet to testify, were characterized as "traitors, double agents, or Communist Secret Police, trying to infiltrate and destroy people in good standing." This collection of statements reflects the substance of the entire opening, which takes up only five pages in the transcript.

The second defense counsel, representing Markich, continued this approach. Markich was labelled a victim of the "Yugoslavian Police." Counsel then implied the Government's case served only to advance goals of the Yugoslavian Secret Police force:

. . . You are going to hear how [Markich] is victimized. You are going to hear about the entire story, why he is here.

Now, [Ljubas's trial counsel] has told you about the Secret Police. That's going to be part of this entire trial. It's going to be part of it from the beginning to the end. You are going to hear it from the government's own witnesses, about the Yugoslavian Police, and what they do and how they do it and how they get their goals, and the object of those individuals who are here or over there are to suppress the people who speak out for freedom. That is the greatest crime of Mr. Markic [sic].

Counsel for Primorac ended his, also brief, opening with the following:

I submit to you that [Primorac] wasn't part of any conspiracy or criminal enterprise of worldwide or local or of any import, but rather that he is himself a victim of political persecution, and unfortunately the evidence will show that the United States Government through the offices of [the two prosecutors] is being used to persecute this man, and this is being done by a foreign country, a communist country, if you will.

Each of the remaining defense attorneys engaged in similar conduct, including references to political or religious persecution in Yugoslavia and the alleged victimization of their clients in this country. More than oblique hints were given that the United States Government was acting at the behest of officials in Belgrade:

Somehow [Logarusic] has been put into the [prosecution], either by the government informant or by the government itself or God knows, and somebody said, by the secret police. And if you think that was made up, listen carefully to the evidence in this case, because more things go on in this heaven and earth than you would suspect, especially in a case that involves foreign countries and American foreign policy and our relationships with European countries and communist countries in 1982, in 1981, in 1980.

Thus, from the first, defense counsel sought to put in question the legitimacy of this prosecution and the Government's reasons for pursuing it, as well as presenting irrelevant and potentially prejudicial political and religious matters. We have repeatedly held that the Government is ordinarily permitted to respond to arguments impugning the integrity of its case, e.g., *United States v. Miller*, 478

F.2d 1315, 1318 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 414 U.S. 851, 38 L. Ed. 2d 100, 94 S. Ct. 144 (1973), and to "reply with rebutting language suitable to the occasion." *United States v. Praetorius*, 622 F.2d 1054, 1061 (2d Cir. 1979) (citations omitted), cert. denied, 449 U.S. 860, 101 S. Ct. 162, 66 L. Ed. 2d 76 (1980). We thus consider the specific categories of alleged prosecutorial conduct, mentioned above, as having occurred in the unfortunate context of appellants' own making. *United States v. LaSorsa*, 480 F.2d 522, 526 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 414 U.S. 855, 94 S. Ct. 157, 38 L. Ed. 2d 105 (1973). [15.]

The instances where the prosecutor is alleged unfairly to have engaged in name-calling or disparagement of defendants all constitute fair comment. For example, references to appellant Ljubas as a "man of peace" or "the Croatian Albert Schweitzer" were direct responses to defense counsel's effort, on direct examination, to portray Ljubas as a religious figure whose sole diversions were participation in the affairs of his church and religious pilgrimages. The Government had a right to rebut this defense tactic, cf. *United States v. Marrale*, supra, 695 F.2d at 667 ("permissible desire to dispute defense histrionics"), and the use of rhetorical devices such as sarcasm was permissible, *United States v. Modica*, 663 F.2d 1173, 1181 (2d Cir. 1981), cert. denied, 456 U.S. 989, 102 S. Ct. 2269, 73 L. Ed. 2d 1284 (1982); *DiCarlo v. United States*, 6 F.2d 364, 369 (2d Cir.) (L. Hand, J.) ("To shear [the prosecutors] of all oratorical emphasis, while leaving wide latitude to the defense, is to load the scales of justice; it is to deny what has always been an accepted incident of jury trials, except in those jurisdictions where any serious execution of the criminal law has yielded to a ghostly phantom of the innocent man falsely convicted."), cert. denied, 268 U.S. 706, 45 S. Ct. 640, 69 L. Ed. 1168 (1925). [16.]...

...The cross-examination techniques employed by the Assistant were also proper. Characterizations of Ljubas as "a man of peace" already have been discussed. And supposed attempts to compel defendants to rebut the veracity of the Government's witnesses in fact amount to no more than requests that they characterize testimony already in evidence, concerning events in which they were alleged to have participated, as accurate or inaccurate. Indeed, on direct examination, the same or similar questions were asked.

In sum, although we believe the Government would have been better advised to avoid entirely the use of words and phrases such as "lie," "preposterous," "sham," and "insulting to [the jury's] intelligence," but see *United States v. Hysohion*, 439 F.2d 274, 277-79 (2d Cir. 1971), its conduct here was largely responsive to the prosecutor-baiting tactics chosen by appellants, and involved almost exclusively characterizations of record testimony rather than appeals to Government expertise or extrinsic, unutilized evidence. Viewed in context, the Government's remarks constituted fair argument, and if errors were committed, they were neither significant nor did they prejudice appellants. *United States v. Socony Vacuum Oil Co.*, supra,

310 U.S. at 239-40. The jury's discriminating acquittal of four defendants (and partial acquittal of Logarusic) demonstrates it was able to rely on the evidence adduced. *United States v. White*, *supra*, 486 F.2d at 207.

The Indictment

Appellants contend the indictment was defective. They argue the pattern of racketeering failed to particularize the predicate acts in which each defendant was alleged to have been involved. This lack of specificity is claimed to have deprived appellants of notice of the charges against them and thereby to have thwarted effective trial preparation. This argument is without merit. An indictment need only track the language of the statute and, if necessary to apprise the defendant "of the nature of the accusation against him," *Russell v. United States*, 369 U.S. 749, 765, 8 L. Ed. 2d 240, 82 S. Ct. 1038 (1962), state time and place in approximate terms. *United States v. Salazar*, 485 F.2d 1272, 1277 (2d Cir. 1973), cert. denied, 415 U.S. 985, 39 L. Ed. 2d 882, 94 S. Ct. 1579 (1974). The indictment in this case clearly met this requirement. So, for example, subparagraphs 13.B. and C. allege "[the following] acts [or] threats . . . : B. Arson with explosives of the home of Milan Vranes, in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on and [sic] about January 4, 1977. C. Transportation of dynamite from Canada to the vicinity of Chicago, Illinois, in and [sic] around the spring, 1977." The remaining paragraphs are similarly sufficient. See Joint App. at A-56 to -59.

The claim that preparation for trial could not be undertaken without knowledge of which defendants were to be tied to the individual racketeering acts is more appropriately addressed to a bill of particulars, Fed. R. Crim. P. 7(f); *United States v. Murray*, 297 F.2d 812, 819 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 369 U.S. 828, 7 L. Ed. 2d 794, 82 S. Ct. 845 (1962), and in any event precisely this information was provided by the Government six months before trial. A letter was sent listing each of the subparagraphs of paragraph 13 of the indictment and attributing each racketeering act to one or more defendants.

The Jury Charge

Several elements of the jury charge are said to have been in error. First, appellants contend the jury was led to believe that conspiracy to commit the predicate acts constituted conspiracy to violate § 1962 (c). We think Chief Judge Motley's instruction on conspiracy to violate RICO, which appears in large part to have followed the Supreme Court's recent elucidation of the statutory elements, see

generally *United States v. Turkette*, supra, 452 U.S. at 578-83, was correct...

...Turning to the conspiracy element here under attack, the judge stated that this necessitated the defendant "unlawfully, knowingly and willfully conspired with others to conduct the enterprise's affairs through a pattern of racketeering activity," language derived directly from 18 U.S.C. § 1962(d), and further distinguished from conspiracy merely to commit predicate acts of racketeering by the language which immediately followed: "that is, that the defendant conspired to commit at least two acts or threats . . . in aid of racketeering in the course of the activities of the enterprise." This instruction was well within the meaning of our cases. See *United States v. Scotto*, supra, 641 F.2d at 54 (one conducts activities of enterprise through pattern of racketeering when predicate offenses are simply related to activities of enterprise); *United States v. Weisman*, supra, 624 F.2d at 1122 (pattern of racketeering activity must be done "in the conduct of the affairs of an 'enterprise'"). [17.]...

We turn to an examination of the claims raised by individual appellants.

Bagaric

Bagaric advances two contentions. Initially, he challenges the sufficiency of the evidence. Viewing the evidence most favorably to the prosecution, and crediting every inference in its favor as we must at this stage of the case, *United States v. Singh*, 628 F.2d 758, 765-766 (2d Cir.), cert denied, 449 U.S. 1034, 66 L. Ed. 2d 496, 101 S. Ct. 609 (1980), we conclude the evidence elicited from four accomplice witnesses (Caran, Skrabo, Vjelko Jaksic, and Mico Jaksic), see *United States v. Bermudez*, 526 F.2d 89, 99 (2d Cir. 1975), cert. denied, 425 U.S. 970, 96 S. Ct. 2166, 48 L. Ed. 2d 793 (1976), was more than sufficient to support the jury's verdict on both counts.

Bagaric's participation in the enterprise commenced as early as 1975. That year, he showed Caran weapons and explosives he and Ljubas were storing in Bagaric's basement. Caran testified Bagaric concealed the explosives in a mound of coal. Efforts were made on cross-examination to ridicule this testimony (by, for example, suggesting Bagaric did not heat his home with coal, Caran had not seen a shovel or furnace, and the pile of coal never became smaller), but a former manager of Bagaric's building testified that in 1977, when he assumed responsibility for the building, he too saw a pile of coal in the corner of the basement. This certainly served to strengthen Caran's credibility.

Further accomplice testimony showed Bagaric was the bomb-maker in two of the bombing incidents charged in the indictment as acts of racketeering. In 1976, Bagaric gave Skrabo and Vjelko Jaksic a time-bomb to carry to Pittsburgh to use at the home of Milan Vranes. In 1977, Bagaric travelled to San Francisco to wire bombs in Mile Boban's home. Later that year, Caran used one of the bombs in his unsuccessful attempt to bomb the Yugoslavian consulate in that city.

This evidence, standing alone, was sufficient to support the jury's guilty verdict. When combined with other testimony implicating Bagaric, along with [Miro] **Baresic** and Mico Jaksic, in an aborted attempt on the life of Father Majic; tying him to the transportation of guns and ammunition from California to New York, via Chicago, and to the delivery of blasting caps to Caran; and otherwise demonstrating his allegiance to and knowledge of the operations of the enterprise, the evidence of Bagaric's guilt was more than ample.

Bagaric's other claim is that the district court erred by admitting evidence of an act not alleged in the indictment as one of the predicate acts of racketeering. Specifically, he objects to the testimony of Mico Jaksic, that Jaksic met with Bagaric and **Baresic** in 1978, and the latter two men indicated they planned to bomb the church of Father Majic, only to be dissuaded by Jaksic. Bagaric contends this testimony was prejudicial, not significantly probative, and he was denied an opportunity to rebut it.

It is clear the Government may offer proof of acts not included within the indictment, as long as they are within the scope of the conspiracy. *United States v. Cohen*, 518 F.2d 727, 733 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 423 U.S. 926, 96 S. Ct. 271, 46 L Ed. 2d 252 (1975). Here, the testimony was properly admitted as proof of Bagaric's membership in the racketeering enterprise, and was clearly relevant to the alleged acts of racketeering. Father Majic was a critic of the extortion scheme and, in 1979, was a target of one of the book bombs, mailed to him at the same church Bagaric and Baresic told Jaksic they intended to bomb in the summer of 1978. See *United States v. Tramunti*, supra, 513 F.2d at 1118; *United States v. Persico*, 425 F.2d 1375, 1384 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 400 U.S. 869, 91 S. Ct. 102, 27 L. Ed. 2d 108 (1970). Nor was Bagaric denied an opportunity to rebut this evidence. The proffered testimony of Father Svetozar Kraljevic, to the effect that Bagaric had always expressed love for Father Majic, was Bagaric's "own prior statement [offered] for the truth of the matter asserted, [and therefore] hearsay, and . . . not admissible." *United States v. Marin*, 669 F.2d 73, 84 (2d Cir. 1982).

Markich

As we have discussed, the proof showed that in May, 1977, Caran,

Ljubas, and Mico Jaksic travelled to Elliott Lake, Ontario, Canada, and there obtained dynamite from Dennison Mines for later delivery to Markich in Skokie, Illinois. The Government was permitted to introduce documentary evidence showing Markich had lived in Elliott Lake in 1967 and was employed, at that time, by Dennison Mines. Markich objects to the introduction of this evidence on the ground it fell outside the scope of the conspiracy.

This claim is entirely without merit. There is no requirement that all the Government's evidence fall within the time period of the indictment, providing it is relevant to the charges. See *United States v. Del Purgatorio*, 411 F.2d 84, 86-87 (2d Cir. 1969). Here, the evidence admitted was plainly relevant to show a relationship between Markich and the source of the dynamite in Elliott Lake, and to corroborate Caran's testimony that Markich received the dynamite after its importation from Canada.

Primorac

Appellant Primorac testified at trial. In the course of direct examination, he stated he had sought and been denied political asylum in the United States. On cross-examination, the prosecutor followed up on this issue, and Primorac admitted he had testified under oath at a deportation proceeding in 1979, at which time he had submitted the political asylum application. Over defense objection, the Government was permitted to inquire whether the Immigration Judge had "found [Primorac's] testimony and evidence . . . not to be credible." (In fact, the Immigration Judge had stated that "his evidence regarding agents of Yugoslav Secret Police lurking around him for the last six years because of his pro-Croatian activities [was] not credible.") Primorac denied knowledge of the Immigration Judge's findings. He now contends this line of questioning was improper.

Pursuant to Fed. R. Evid. 608(b), the trial judge may permit cross-examination into specific acts of misconduct if "probative of truthfulness or untruthfulness." Although in this case the previous "misconduct" may have involved something less than a judicial finding of perjury, see *Walker v. Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.*, 412 F.2d 60, 63-64 (2d Cir. 1969), it is clear that the prior misconduct need not have created criminal liability or resulted in a conviction, and in any event we have recently observed that "proof that a judge . . . before whom [the witness] had testified . . . had found that [the witness] had 'guessed under oath' was probative of the weight to be accorded his testimony," *United States v. Terry*, 702 F.2d 299 at 316 (2d Cir. 1983). Accordingly, we reject Primorac's claim.

Logarusic

Logarusic raises a number of claims, beginning with the argument that the evidence was insufficient to establish his participation in the conspiracy. This contention is refuted by the record. The single most damaging evidence introduced against Logarusic was the hollowed-out book found in the search of his Cleveland home on April 4, 1979. According to expert testimony for the Government, Logarusic's book, which had wires, a battery, and a light bulb inside, was the "prototype or perhaps test book" for the book bombs mailed to Joseph Badurina and Father Timothy Majic. As noted above, the similarities were more than striking. The cavities in all three were of identical size, just large enough to accommodate a stick of dynamite; the glue was the same chemical composition; the wires were the same gauge and were arranged in the same fashion; and the wires were soldered to the battery rather than fastened with a standard battery connector. This tangible evidence was overwhelming proof of Logarusic's involvement in the crimes.

The Government also offered telephone toll records suggesting Logarusic had communicated with other appellants, and tool mark testimony showing the same pair of pliers had been used to cut a wire in Logarusic's book and to cut a wire in a time-bomb found in a search of the home of Franjo Ivic, one of the New York-based co-racketeers, convicted in the earlier trial before Judge Pollack. The jury also had before it Logarusic's explanation for the presence of the hollowed-out book in his home. Appellant claimed it had been left there by a man he had never before seen and has not seen since, and Logarusic did not regard as suspicious the cavity or wiring. The jury had a right to consider the credibility of this story, *United States v. Callabress*, 607 F.2d 559, 565 (2d Cir. 1979), cert. denied, 446 U.S. 940, 64 L. Ed. 2d 794, 100 S. Ct. 2163 (1980), and we consider it hardly surprising it preferred, based on the evidentiary materials just summarized, the tale told by the Government.

Appellant's next argument, obviously critical in light of the significance we have attributed to the items seized in the Cleveland search, is that the trial judge should have suppressed them. With regard to the affidavit submitted in support of the search warrant, which principally detailed facts providing a basis for believing Logarusic had bombed a pro-Yugoslav bookstore, Logarusic states first that it fell short of satisfying the standards of *Aguilar v. Texas*, 378 U.S. 108, 12 L. Ed. 2d 723, 84 S. Ct. 1509 (1964), and *Spinelli v. United States*, 393 U.S. 410, 21 L. Ed. 2d 637, 89 S. Ct. 584 (1969), which together establish that the "supporting affidavits in an application for a search warrant must attest to the credibility of an informant and reliability of his information." *United States v. Burke*, 517 F.2d 377, 380 n.2 (2d Cir. 1975). Here, both criteria were met. The confidential police informant had provided information in the

past that, on at least one occasion, had led to an arrest and indictment, see *United States v. Gizard Colon*, 419 F.2d 120, 122 (2d Cir. 1969) (per curiam), and his reliability was further buttressed by independent corroborative accounts provided the police, and also included in the affidavit. The affidavit also satisfied the credibility prong of the test; it described as the basis for the informant's information his personal observations of Logarusic's activities at the scene of the bombing. See *United States v. Zucco*, 694 F.2d 44, 47 (2d Cir. 1982).

The affidavit is next challenged on the ground it failed to justify a finding of probable cause. Viewing the affidavit in a common sense fashion, *United States v. Ventresca*, 380 U.S. 102, 108, 13 L. Ed. 2d 684, 85 S. Ct. 741 (1965), and paying substantial deference to the authorizing and reviewing judge, *United States v. Zucco*, supra, 694 F.2d at 46, 50, we believe the affidavit was sufficient to establish probable cause. It placed Logarusic at the scene of a pre-dawn bombing just before it took place; showed him inspecting the damage shortly after the explosion; demonstrated he had prepared, and placed in the window of the bookstore, a sign expressing contempt for the political and business affiliations of the store's owner with the present government of Yugoslavia; linked Logarusic to a Croatian nationalist group which had engaged in a series of similar terrorist acts against persons sympathetic to the Yugoslav regime; and noted Logarusic was a named suspect in two other bombings. Under the circumstances, we consider it entirely reasonable for the magistrate to have determined the explosives, used at 5:18 A.M., had been brought from Logarusic's home, and therefore that his residence was the likely location at which would be found the traces of bomb-making activity sought. [19.] *Haala*, 532 F.2d 1324, 1326-28 (10th Cir. 1976).

Appellant challenges several evidentiary rulings of the district court. Initially, he objects to the introduction of a pistol, registered to one Razov, who lived in the same two-family dwelling as Logarusic. The pistol had been discovered in Razov's car. Logarusic argues that the fact that the gun had been purchased by an **official of the Paraguayan embassy** at the time Baresic was employed there is insufficient to link Logarusic to Baresic. This claim is not insubstantial, as it points up the Government's dependence upon a chain of inferential reasoning perhaps too weak to support a determination of relevancy. See *United States v. Ravich*, 421 F.2d 1196, 1204-05 & n.10 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 400 U.S. 834, 27 L. Ed. 2d 66, 91 S. Ct. 69 (1970). That is, Baresic did not buy the gun, but is tied to its purchase by virtue of his and the buyer's common employer; and Logarusic is not found to have been in possession of the gun, but is instead joined with its owner, Razov, by their common place of residence. These inferred relationships, together, are offered as proof of the association of Logarusic and Baresic. But, while the better course might have been to exclude the gun as prejudicial, see *Fed. R. Evid.* 403, we will not overturn the trial

judge's decision to admit it absent a clear abuse of discretion, see *United States v. Robinson*, 560 F.2d 507, 512-16 (2d Cir. 1977) (en banc), cert. denied, 435 U.S. 905, 55 L. Ed. 2d 496, 98 S. Ct. 1451 (1978). In any event, any prejudice to Logarusic was minimal, in light of the virtual arsenal of weapons and ammunition seized from his home during the above described search, the relevancy of which is not challenged, and any error was therefore harmless beyond a reasonable doubt.

Logarusic challenges the admission of additional evidence linking him to Baresic. We refer to a letter discovered during a consent search of Logarusic's home on April 3, 1981, after his arrest. Appellant claims the letter was not properly authenticated. Fed. R. Evid. 901(a). We disagree. The requirement of authentication "is satisfied by evidence sufficient to support a finding that the matter is what its proponent claims," *id.* This finding may be based entirely on circumstantial evidence, including "appearance, contents, substance . . . and other distinctive characteristics" of the writing, *id.* 901(b)(4). Here, the letter was addressed to Logarusic and postmarked Asuncion, Paraguay, where Baresic resided. It began with the salutation "Dear Vinko" and ended "your Miro Baresic . . . your Miro Toni." "Toni Saric" was the alias Baresic had used in gaining entry into the United States. The letter referred to "our people in Chicago," where four of the defendants lived, and it asked Logarusic to contact "Crni," which the proof showed was Ljubas's sobriquet among his confederates. It also contained references to "Mercedes," a friend of Logarusic who testified on his behalf and admitted knowing Baresic, and to "the Razov family," Logarusic's landlord. Finally, the letter stated that "the Swedes, Americans, and Yugoslavs are requesting expulsion because I am a terrorist and dangerous," a fact confirmed by testimony that Baresic was a fugitive from Sweden where he was sought for the murder of the Yugoslavian ambassador. In sum, as Chief Judge Motley found, there was ample demonstration "that the letter was in fact what the Government claimed, i.e., a letter from Miro Baresic to Vinko Logarusic."

Logarusic's remaining contentions can be dealt with briefly. His acquittal on the substantive RICO count, even assuming it is in some sense "inconsistent" with conviction on the conspiracy count, a proposition we dispute, does not require the latter be set aside. *E.G.*, *Harris v. Rivera*, 454 U.S. 339, 345-46, 70 L. Ed. 2d 530, 102 S. Ct. 460 (1981); *United States v. Zane*, 495 F.2d 683, 690 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 419 U.S. 895, 42 L. Ed. 2d 139, 95 S. Ct. 174 (1974). Permitting cross-examination of Logarusic's wife concerning her possible antipathy toward the Government, based upon its prosecution of her brother for air piracy, was entirely proper. Mrs. Logarusic was a key witness in her husband's defense, and the potential for bias was self-evident. See *United States v. Harvey*, 547 F.2d 720, 722-23 (2d Cir. 1976). And, the district court informed the jury of the limited nature of the inquiry. See *United States v. DeLillo*, 620 F.2d 939, 947 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 449 U.S. 835, 101 S. Ct.

107, 66 L. Ed. 2d 41 (1980). Finally, Logarusic had no right to production of Mrs. Logarusic's grand jury testimony. See *United States v. Percevault*, 490 F.2d 126, 128-31 & n.4 (2d Cir. 1974); *United States v. Ostrer*, 481 F. Supp. 407, 417 (S.D.N.Y. 1978).

Sudar

Of Sudar's claims, only four require discussion.

Appellant argues the evidence was insufficient to sustain his conviction on the Count One conspiracy charge, claiming the proof demonstrated only "that he contacted Caron [sic]" and was shown to be, at most, a "'casual facilitator' whose conduct is ancillary to that of the principles [sic]." He ignores substantial record evidence.

For example, Sudar admitted to Caran that he had previously travelled to a motel in San Diego where he taught bomb-making to Croatians, including the brother of Marijan Rudela, who was proved to have been one of those responsible for the series of extortion-related bombings in the Los Angeles area. Sudar also taught Caran the technique for bomb construction, making two trips to Connecticut in this connection. Independent evidence showed telephone calls which the jury was entitled to conclude were between Sudar and Logarusic, at the time of the mailing of book bombs to Badurina and Majic, to which Logarusic was connected. Moreover, in a search of Sudar's residence, Toronto police discovered various items, including wires, batteries, and a pipe end, which resembled various bomb paraphernalia linked to the enterprise at trial. An FBI expert witness specifically testified that a nine-volt battery discovered in Sudar's home was soldered in an unusual manner unique to the Croatian bombings proved at trial. This matrix of circumstantial evidence linking Sudar to the enterprise and its activities was sufficient to support the conspiracy conviction... [20.]

IV.

The judgments of conviction are affirmed.

Footnotes

1. As will be seen, Caran, a key witness for the Government in this case, was a major participant in the affairs of appellants' criminal enterprise. He was convicted in an earlier trial of the principal New York based members of the group, and began cooperating with the

United States Attorney's Office and the Joint Terrorism Task Force, which brings together agents and detectives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the New York City Arson Squad. During debriefing by the Government, Caran confessed to the murder of Krizan Brzic in Los Angeles, see *infra*. Because Caran had not been promised immunity for murder, the United States Attorney informed California authorities of Caran's admission. In exchange for a promise of nonprosecution by the Los Angeles District Attorney, Caran waived venue and pleaded guilty to an information before Judge Motley charging Caran with having conspired to deprive Brzic of his civil rights, resulting in the latter's death, 18 U.S.C. § 241. At the trial of this case, Caran testified for the Government pursuant to a standard cooperation agreement, and faced a possible maximum sentence of life, *id.*, plus thirty-five years, the maximum aggregate prison term for the violations in the previous trial.

On July 9, 1982, Judge Pollack, before whom the sentencings of Caran were consolidated, sentenced him to fifteen years imprisonment.

2. Skrabo and Vjelko Jaksic testified for the Government pursuant to promises of nonprosecution and under orders of use immunity.

3. Simultaneously, appellants conceived and began the execution of an extortion scheme, alleged to have involved "in excess of fifty individual acts of extortion of victims residing in Manhattan, Westchester, Queens, the vicinity of Chicago, the vicinity of Los Angeles and elsewhere, through letters posted in West Germany, in June, 1978." Indictment SS 81 Cr. 402 para.5 E., reprinted in Joint App. at A-57.

4. Mico Jaksic testified at trial under the same terms and conditions as Vjelko Jaksic and Andrija Skrabo, note 2 *supra*.

8. Also named, and eventually acquitted, were Andjelko Jakic, Ivan Misetic, Miro Biosic, and Mile Boban.

10. Sudar's claim that Judge Motley erred in consolidating the two indictments is discussed *infra*.

11. We purposely highlight our use of the word "motivated." As the text makes clear, we are troubled by the notion, advanced by appellants, that the Government will be required to prove the animating or long-run objective of a RICO enterprise was economic, apparently to the exclusion of other, collateral "motives."...

12. 12. In response to appellants' opening statements, the Government's chief prosecutor drafted, and asked the court to issue, an order which would have precluded reference to (1) religious beliefs and convictions, see Fed. R. Evid. 610; *Virgin Islands v.*

Petersen, 553 F.2d 324, 329 (3d Cir. 1977); (2) foreign policy issues; (3) activities of foreign sovereigns not related to specific proof that "a foreign government had some involvement in the performance of an act of racketeering in this country that is charged in [the] indictment, or unless the defense counsel has competent proof that a foreign government has some involvement with one of [the government's] witnesses," Tr. 189; and (4) hearsay newspaper or magazine articles. Judge Motley declined to issue such a "blanket" preclusion order, preferring to rule on the admissibility of individual items of evidence as they were offered. This course was proper. Although much of what appellants' counsel had to say bore no relation to any theory of defense or the crimes charged, there was at least a question whether some remarks would prove relevant. For example, Ljubas's trial attorney stated:

We will show that Mr. Ljubas did do a lot of traveling, he made a lot of speeches throughout the world on behalf of an independent Croatian [sic] to get away from Communist Yugoslavia. You will hear testimony that there are millions and millions of Croatians throughout the world. You will hear testimony that there were over a million that came to this country to escape the Communist regime in Yugoslavia.

Tr. 43.

There will be testimony that Mr. Ljubas did a lot of traveling on behalf of Croatia, to free Croatia from the Communists. The testimony will be that he went to Sweden . . . he wasn't even in Germany, in West Germany in '78, '79, or '80.

Tr. 44.

This could have been intended to indicate Ljubas would present evidence to rebut the Government's theory he travelled, in 1977, to West Germany, where he met with other Croatians and devised the extortion scheme. See Tr. 3306-07 (testimony of Government witness Andrija Skrabo). And Ljubas's testimony appears to amount to a denial he was even permitted to enter West Germany in 1977. See Tr. 8014-15 (direct testimony of Ljubas):

*Q Did you ever have any problems while traveling in West Germany?
A Only one time I had a problem with the West Germany and the border.*

Q When was that, what year?

A 1977.

Q What happened?

A Well, on - I was in France, in Lourdes, and after I was in Spain and Lourdes, France, so I was stopped on the border. And so they - they look in the book and they find my name and they said that they going to - that we stop from the train, in the train station.

** * **

A . . .

After all this . . . they return me back to France and that's it.

But see Tr. 8086-87 (cross-examination of Ljubas):

Q Tell me, sir: When was the first time you visited with Mr. [Stipe] Bilandzic [A Croatian nationalist extradited by the German government to Yugoslavia] in West Germany?

A It could be ten years ago.

Q When was the second time you visited Mr. Bilandzic in West Germany?

A I don't remember.

Q Did you visit him in 1977, Mr. Ljubas?

A Yes, sir.

Q And I think on direct examination you described your trip to Europe when asked about it by [Ljuba's trial counsel]; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And you explained how the West German authorities questioned you late at night one night?

A Yes, sir.

Q Was that on August 24, 1977, Mr. Ljubas?

A Yes, sometime in August, right.

Q Does that date appear to be correct to you, Mr. Ljubas, August 24, 1977?

A Could be correct, yes. Sometime in August.

Q And did you inform the German authorities - by the way, what town was this, Mr. Ljubas, do you remember?

A Oh, -

Q Was it at the town of Forbach in West Germany?

A No, it was different. It was on French and German border, small town.

14. For example, we have disapproved the use of the terms "preposterous" and "lie" to characterize the testimony of defense witnesses, also used by the Assistant United States Attorney in this case. *United States v. Drummond*, 481 F.2d 62 (2d Cir. 1973). In *Drummond*, however, we were compelled to reverse the conviction only because of the cumulative effect of a series of flagrant abuses. The prosecutor had been warned by the district judge in the first trial of the same case that his conduct approached impropriety, and he repeatedly vouched for the credibility of the Government's witnesses and indicated his disbelief of defendant's witnesses during cross-examination "with such statements as 'were you lying then or now?', - 'Were you lying at that time?' - 'Was that the truth or is this the truth?' - 'Have you now changed your story three times?'" *id.* at 63. The Assistant attempted to inform the jury that mere association with the Government guaranteed the credibility of one of its witnesses, and he misrepresented testimony and evidence adduced at trial (alone creating a presumption of prejudice, *id.* at 64 (citation omitted)). "The combination of [these factors left] us no other course [but to reverse]." *Id.*...

15. Defense counsel did not, during the course of trial, waver from a willingness to employ improper tactics. We will not catalogue

examples. We confine ourselves to noting that 1) the Government several times suggested techniques which might prevent the proceedings from degenerating completely, including the proposed protective order, see note 12 *supra*, and to avoid strident attorney colloquies in front of the jury, a practice of writing out objections for presentation to the judge rather than arguing in open court; and 2) while the Government did not hesitate to use strong language in characterizing the credibility of the testimony presented by the defense, it never resorted to the use of such terms as "dangerous, sick, vicious people," "pathological liar," "garbage," and "raving maniac," to choose several especially colorful examples employed by defense counsel to describe Government witnesses. See *United States v. Fernandez*, 480 F.2d 726, 741-42 n.23 (2d Cir. 1973).

16. To the extent the prosecutor on rare occasions expressed his frustration, he was responding to the atmosphere created by appellants. For example, we are directed to an instance when the Assistant referred to cross-examination of a Government witness as "McCarthyism translated to 1980." Appellants neglect to inform us, however, that this outburst occurred only after the witness had been asked, or counsel had tried to ask, whether he was "pro-Russian" or "pro-Communist," whether he had edited a Socialist newspaper, whether he had written a book which had a red cover, whether he had written for a magazine which displayed - along with pictures of Gerald Ford - pictures of Lenin and a hammer and sickle, and whether he had written for a publication which used red colors. The Assistant repeatedly objected to this line of questioning. Ultimately, Judge Motley agreed the witness and prosecutor had been provoked by defense counsel, and denied an application for a mistrial based upon the "McCarthyism" comment. We will not overrule this decision, absent a demonstration the district court was not "in a better position than we to evaluate subtle behavioral defense tactics," *United States v. Marrale*, *supra*, 695 F.2d at 667.

17. Similarly without merit is appellants' related argument. They note the Government charged, as part of the alleged conspiracy, but not in the substantive RICO allegations, acts agreed to in the course of the enterprise's activities but never completed. Based upon this difference, they claim the Government's theory under § 1962(d) was a conspiracy merely to perform the individual acts. But, in charging only completed racketeering acts in the substantive RICO count, the Government was simply following the dictum in *United States v. Weisman*, *supra*, 624 F.2d at 1123-24, that a § 1962(c) conviction must include proof of consummated acts of racketeering and not conspiracies or attempts, unless conspiracies or attempts to commit the substantive crimes included within § 1961(1)(D).

19. Logarusic's challenge to the scope of the search is clearly without merit, as all the items seized were in plain view. *Harris v. United States*, 390 U.S. 234, 236, 19 L. Ed. 2d 1067, 88 S. Ct. 992 (1968); *United States v. Ochs*, 595 F.2d 1247, 1256 (2d Cir.), cert. denied,

444 U.S. 955, 62 L. Ed. 2d 328, 100 S. Ct. 435 (1979). Also without merit is the argument that the nighttime search of Logarusic's premises requires suppression. Even assuming there was no "reasonable cause" for the nighttime entry, see Fed. R. Crim. P. 41(c) (1), we will not exclude the seized items unless "(1) there was 'prejudice' in the sense that the search might not have occurred or would not have been so abrasive if [nonconstitutional rule 41] had been followed, or (2) there is evidence of intentional and deliberate disregard [of the rule]," United States v. Burke, supra, 517 F.2d at 386-87. Here, Logarusic has failed even to allege prejudice or misconduct.

20. Appellant's related argument, that the evidence of his participation was slim enough to require an instruction on what he contends is the "lesser-included" 18 U.S.C. § 371 conspiracy, is misplaced. Section 371 is not a lesser-included offense of § 1962(d). United States v. Barton, supra, 647 F.2d at 236-37

:: filing information ::

Title: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Source: Lexis/Nexis

Date: April 14, 1983

Added: October 2002

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The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City (Excerpt)

Miro Baresic named as "unindicted co-racketeer" with six Croatian terrorists found guilty of more than fifty counts of extortion, racketeering, and attempted murder against their Croatian opponents in the United States, during the time he worked for the Paraguayan Embassy in the United States. See the 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals **Summary of the Case** and Denial of Appeals of original convictions under the RICO Act.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Appellee,
v.

MILAN BAGARIC, MILE MARKICH, ANTE LJUBAS, VINKO LOGARUSIC, RANKO PRIMORAC, and DRAGO SUDAR,
Defendants-Appellants

Nos. 82-1247, 82-1249, 82-1251, 82-1253, 82-1255, 82-1257, Nos. 887, 932, 877, 876, 886 - August Term, 1982

OPINION: KAUFMAN, Circuit Judge:

...Further accomplice testimony showed [conspirator Milan] Bagaric was the bomb-maker in two of the bombing incidents charged in the indictment as acts of racketeering. In 1976, Bagaric gave Skrabo and Vjelko Jaksic a time-bomb to carry to Pittsburgh to use at the home of Milan Vranes. In 1977, Bagaric travelled to San Francisco to wire bombs in Mile Boban's home. Later that year, Caran used one of the bombs in his unsuccessful attempt to bomb the Yugoslavian consulate in that city.

This evidence, standing alone, was sufficient to support the jury's guilty verdict. When combined with other testimony implicating Bagaric, along with [Miro] **Baresic** and Mico Jaksic, in an aborted attempt on the life of Father Majic; tying him to the transportation of guns and ammunition from California to New York, via Chicago, and to the delivery of blasting caps to Caran; and otherwise demonstrating his allegiance to and knowledge of the operations of the enterprise, the evidence of Bagaric's guilt was more than ample.

Bagaric's other claim is that the district court erred by admitting evidence of an act not alleged in the indictment as one of the



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predicate acts of racketeering. Specifically, he objects to the testimony of Mico Jaksic, that Jaksic met with Bagaric and **Baresic** in 1978, and the latter two men indicated they planned to bomb the church of Father Majic, only to be dissuaded by Jaksic. Bagaric contends this testimony was prejudicial, not significantly probative, and he was denied an opportunity to rebut it.

It is clear the Government may offer proof of acts not included within the indictment, as long as they are within the scope of the conspiracy. *United States v. Cohen*, 518 F.2d 727, 733 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 423 U.S. 926, 96 S. Ct. 271, 46 L. Ed. 2d 252 (1975). Here, the testimony was properly admitted as proof of Bagaric's membership in the racketeering enterprise, and was clearly relevant to the alleged acts of racketeering. Father Majic was a critic of the extortion scheme and, in 1979, was a target of one of the book bombs, mailed to him at the same church Bagaric and Baresic told Jaksic they intended to bomb in the summer of 1978...

Initially, [co-conspirator Vinko Logarusic] objects to the introduction of a pistol, registered to one Razov, who lived in the same two-family dwelling as Logarusic. The pistol had been discovered in Razov's car. Logarusic argues that the fact that the gun had been purchased by an **official of the Paraguayan embassy** at the time Baresic was employed there is insufficient to link Logarusic to Baresic. This claim is not insubstantial, as it points up the Government's dependence upon a chain of inferential reasoning perhaps too weak to support a determination of relevancy... That is, Baresic did not buy the gun, but is tied to its purchase by virtue of his and the buyer's common employer; and Logarusic is not found to have been in possession of the gun, but is instead joined with its owner, Razov, by their common place of residence. These inferred relationships, together, are offered as proof of the association of Logarusic and Baresic. But, while the better course might have been to exclude the gun as prejudicial, see *Fed. R. Evid.* 403, we will not overturn the trial judge's decision to admit it absent a clear abuse of discretion, see *United States v. Robinson*, 560 F.2d 507, 512-16 (2d Cir. 1977) (en banc), cert. denied, 435 U.S. 905, 55 L. Ed. 2d 496, 98 S. Ct. 1451 (1978). In any event, any prejudice to Logarusic was minimal, in light of the virtual arsenal of weapons and ammunition seized from his home during the above described search, the relevancy of which is not challenged, and any error was therefore harmless beyond a reasonable doubt.

Logarusic challenges the admission of additional evidence linking him to Baresic. We refer to a letter discovered during a consent search of Logarusic's home on April 3, 1981, after his arrest. Appellant claims the letter was not properly authenticated. *Fed. R. Evid.* 901(a). We disagree. The requirement of authentication "is satisfied by evidence sufficient to support a finding that the matter is what its proponent claims," *id.* This finding may be based entirely on circumstantial evidence, including "appearance, contents, substance . . . and other

distinctive characteristics" of the writing, id. 901(b)(4). Here, the letter was addressed to Logarusic and postmarked Asuncion, Paraguay, where Baresic resided. It began with the salutation "Dear Vinko" and ended "your Miro Baresic . . . your Miro Toni." "Toni Saric" was the alias Baresic had used in gaining entry into the United States. The letter referred to "our people in Chicago," where four of the defendants lived, and it asked Logarusic to contact "Crni," which the proof showed was **Ljubas's** sobriquet among his confederates. It also contained references to "Mercedes," a friend of Logarusic who testified on his behalf and admitted knowing Baresic, and to "the Razov family," Logarusic's landlord. Finally, the letter stated that "the Swedes, Americans, and Yugoslavs are requesting expulsion because I am a terrorist and dangerous," a fact confirmed by testimony that Baresic was a fugitive from Sweden where he was sought for the murder of the Yugoslavian ambassador. In sum, as Chief Judge Motley found, there was ample demonstration "that the letter was in fact what the Government claimed, i.e., a letter from Miro Baresic to Vinko Logarusic."

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Title: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City (Excerpt)

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FBI File: Croatian Terrorism Investigation

The following document is heavily redacted, but appears to refer to a bomb threat presumably sent by **Odpor** activists in the United States, as well as new recruiting efforts after FBI prosecutions **totally destroyed** the **Odpor organization** in North America.

Date: 4/19/83

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: ID/LFS)

FROM: ADIC, NEW YORK (174A-3129) (P) (JTF-2)

SUBJECT: UNSUB

██████████
CROATIAN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES
EID (A)
(OO: NY)



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Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of a three page handwritten letter signed by ██████████

██████████

██████████

The NYO [New York Office] has recently opened a 174A investigation on ██████████ based on information received that ██████████ has an action planned and has been making efforts to find people who want to learn how to make bombs.

██████████

██████████

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

The ID/LFS is requested to process the enclosed document for latent fingerprints and make a comparison with available prints of [REDACTED].

:: filing information ::

Title: FBI File: Croatian Terrorism Investigation

Source: Declassified May 24, 2002.

Date: April 19, 1983

Added: May 18, 2004

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FBI File: Rumored Arrests in Germany

In early 1984, FBI headquarters sent out a notice to all field offices to canvas their sources for any information about plans by Croatian terrorist groups to bomb the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo. The following was reported by the San Francisco office.

[stamp: Received, Teletype Unit, 7 Feb 84]

S E C R E T

CROATIAN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES; IT-YUGOSLAVIA

SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE [REDACTED] ADVISED BY TELETYPE
FEBRUARY 7, 1984, AS FOLLOWS:

Sources of the San Francisco Office who have furnished reliable information in the past have advised this date that the West German authorities last week arrested twelve (12) Croatians, according to current rumor. In addition, stories imply that these Croatians were in possession of arms and/or explosives.

Of interest is the fact that sources, who often blame Western governments for complicity with the Yugoslav Intelligence Services (YIS), do not fault German authorities. However, sources do believe that the YIS furnished information which led to arrests, and that this information was withheld until it could be fortuitously timed to coincide with the opening of the Olympics in Sarajevo. Sources therefore believe in Yugoslav complicity and/or "agents provocateur" *[sic]* in this instance.

As it is also reported that Yugoslav troops and armor are in Sarajevo, sources observe this is a convenient way to justify excessive force in that city and to cause Western governments to blame nationalist movements for this situation.



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:: filing information ::

Title: FBI File: Rumored Arrests in Germany

Source: FBI file, declassified.

Date: February 7, 1984

Added: May 18, 2004

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News Excerpt: Escaped Terrorist Captured

An **Odpor** activist in New York, Zvonko Busic was sentenced to life in prison for planting a bomb in New York's Grand Central Station (which killed one police officer and injured another) and the hijacking of a TWA flight from New York to Chicago. Busic **escaped from prison** in 1987, but was captured a month later.

A Yugoslav terrorist who escaped federal prison by using a stuffed dummy trick was caught sleeping behind a building and captured without a fight Saturday on his second day on the lam, authorities said.

Zvonko Busic, 41, was arrested at 6:32 a.m. by police who responded to a report of a vagrant asleep behind a building in Milford, 40 miles northwest of the federal prison in Otisville, N.Y., where he escaped Thursday.

Busic was serving a life term for hijacking a plane in 1976 and murdering a New York City police officer who died while trying to defuse a bomb planted by Busic and others seeking independence for the province of Croatia in Yugoslavia.

Milford police notified U.S. marshals of Busic's arrest. The muscular convict shaved off his beard but identification "wasn't too difficult" because he has a glass left eye, said Flavio Lorenzoni, chief deputy of the U.S. marshal's office in New York City.

Busic was arraigned Saturday in Scranton and charged with escape. Lorenzoni said Busic would be kept at the Lewisburg federal prison through the weekend, then be returned to New York.

He faces an additional five years in prison for the escape, officials said.

Busic was reported missing Friday from the Otisville Federal Correctional Facility after prison guards found a dummy in inmate's clothing in his bed, prison spokesman Greg Bogdan said.

Busic broke through a plaster-board ceiling in the prison gymnasium Thursday night. He then dug a hole under a fence in the recreation



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yard and worked his way through security wire and ran into woods next to the prison.

Busic escape was not discovered until Friday because a head count Thursday night turned up nothing unusual.

Bogdan said the dummy apparently had been counted in the inmate's cell. An investigation of the escape, the first ever from the 770-inmate prison, was under way, he said.

Busic was serving a life sentence for a 1976 hijacking by Croatian separatists of a TWA flight en route from LaGuardia Airport to Chicago.

The terrorists demanded that leaflets promoting Croatian independence be distributed. After the demand was met, the five surrendered in Paris. The plane had made stops in Montreal and London but no passengers were injured.

The hijackers also planted a bomb in a locker at Grand Central Terminal in Manhattan. A 26-year-old police officer was killed while trying to defuse the bomb.

Busic was convicted by a state court of kidnapping and murder.

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Title: News Excerpt: Escaped Terrorist Captured

Source: United Press International, April 18, 1987.

Date: April 18, 1987

Added: May 19, 2004

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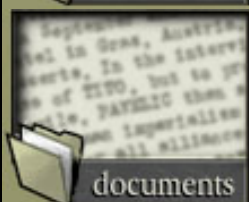
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News Excerpt: Hijacker Recaptured After Prison Escape

In 1976, several **Odpor** activists based in the United States planted a bomb in New York's Grand Central Station and hijacked a TWA jetliner. A New York City policeman died while attempting to diffuse the bomb; another, Terence McTigue, was permanently blinded in one eye. More than a decade later, one of the chief conspirators, Zvonko Busic, escaped from prison and led police on a brief nationwide manhunt. Recently, the Croatian government has asked for Busic to be transferred to a Croatian jail to serve out the remainder of his sentence - a proposal which the Fraternal Order of Police as well as the New York district attorney's office have rejected outright.

News: Hijacker Recaptured After Prison Escape

Associated Press

MILFORD, Pa., April 18 - A Croatian nationalist convicted in a 1976 transatlantic hijacking was recaptured today as he sat on a porch outside a store a day after he escaped prison, authorities said.

Zvonko Busic was discovered missing Friday when a dummy was found in his cell at the Otisville Correctional Facility in Otisville, N.Y., north of New York City, prison spokesman Greg Bogdan said. A nationwide search was begun.

Milford police found Busic, 41, sitting on the back porch of the Village News Stand about 6:30 a.m. today.

Busic was serving a life sentence for air piracy resulting in a police officer's death. In September 1976, five people hijacked a TWA flight that left New York City for Chicago. The plane, commandeered over Buffalo, went to Montreal and then to Europe, finally landing in Paris, where the five surrendered.

The group demanded that leaflets for Croatian independence be distributed in four countries. The demand was met. No passengers were injured, but Busic and his wife were held responsible for the death of New York City policeman Brian Murray as he tried to diffuse a bomb planted as part of the plot at Grand Central Station.



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Title: News Excerpt: Hijacker Recaptured After Prison Escape

Source: Washington Post, April 19, 1987.

Date: April 19, 1987

Added: May 19, 2004

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Miro Baresic's Release from Prison

Unclassified telegram from the US Embassy, Stockholm, to the State Department on the release of Miro Baresic from prison and the Yugoslav reactions.



related links

Department of State - Telegram
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7207
[Date:] JUN 87

SUBJECT: SWEDISH DECISION TO RELEASE CONVICTED YUGOSLAV
TERRORIST FROM PRISON
UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 04419
REF: STOCKHOLM 4252

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Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

1. The Swedish press has reported that on June 15 the Yugoslav government formally protested Sweden's decision to parole Croatian **Miro Baresic**, who in 1971 murdered Yugoslav Ambassador Rolovic in Stockholm (reftel). Yugoslavia's Ambassador to Sweden, Marjan Osolnik, called on FM Sten Andersson to express his government's dismay over the decision. At the same time, Sweden's Ambassador in Belgrade, Jan af Sillen, was reportedly summoned to the Yugoslav MFA to hear Yugoslavia's complaints about the parole. Both protests were said to have been made orally.

2. According to the press, FM Andersson told Ambassador Osolnik that the Swedish legal system "independently" made its ruling in accordance with Swedish laws and principles, and that the decision is one which the "government cannot review." Andersson added that Sweden shares Yugoslavia's interest in fighting terrorism in all its forms, and he told Osolnik that the Swedish government is "very anxious to strengthen and further develop good relations with Yugoslavia." Andersson reportedly expressed understanding for "the strong sentiments" which the murder of the Yugoslav Ambassador had aroused, and he expressed his sympathy to Ambassador Rolovic's *[sic]* family.

3. Press reports here have emphasized the negative reaction to the Swedish decision expressed by Yugoslavian media, and also focused on Yugoslavian outrage at Swedish TV for allowing Baresic to go on the air June 12 to present his own version of his situation altogether

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uncontradicted. Swedish TV, in an attempt to defend itself from charges of bias, has claimed that it requested comments from the Yugoslav Embassy and from Belgrade, but had received no response. Newell.

:: filing information ::

Title: Miro Baresic's Release from Prison

Source: State Department, Unclassified

Date: June 1987

Added: November, 2002

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Miro Baresic's Deportation from Sweden

Unclassified telegram from the US Embassy, Stockholm, to the State Department on the release of Miro Baresic from prison and his deportation to Paraguay.

Department of State - Telegram
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7207
[Date:] DEC 87

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV TERRORIST BAREVIC DEPORTED TO PARAGUAY
UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 09310
REF: (A) **STOCKHOLM 4252**, (B) STOCKHOLM 4419 (NOTAL)

1. Summary and Comment: The Swedish government on December 9 deported Croatian terrorist, Miro Baresic, to Paraguay. Baresic had spent nine years in Swedish prisons for the murder of the Yugoslav Ambassador to Sweden in 1971. Swedish authorities refused to send Baresic to Yugoslavia since Swedish law prohibits deportation that risks a death penalty, but were unwilling to permit him to remain in Sweden. Baresic had lived from 1974-79 in Paraguay after having been released from prison in connection with a 1972 plane hijacking. Yugoslav authorities can be expected to again protest Baresic's parole and the fact that he was not returned to Yugoslavia. This decision shifts the Baresic problem elsewhere but is likely to raise criticism from several quarters about Swedish policy in dealing with terrorists. End summary and comment.

2. The Swedish media reported December 9 that the government in a special cabinet meeting on December 8 decided to deport Croatian nationalist, Miro Baresic, to Paraguay together with his wife and two small children. The GoS had earlier decided to parole Baresic on December 10, after he served half of his eighteen year sentence for the murder of the Yugoslav Ambassador in Stockholm in 1971. Strict security measures were exercised in connection with the deportation since authorities reportedly feared that attempts could be made to either kill Baresic, or "rescue" him from deportation.

3. The GoS issued a press release on December 9 stating that it is common practice in Sweden to deport foreign criminals, in most



related links

Diplomatic Cable: [Miro Baresic's Arrival in Paraguay](#)

Documents: [Miro Baresic](#)

Documents: [Odpot](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

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instances, upon completion of their sentence. However, the GoS has been unusually tightlipped about this decision and has avoided direct contact with media representatives. The news agency "TT" reports that Sweden's charge d'affaires in Uruguay, Christer Persson, has gone to Asuncion, but there is no direct confirmation this is in connection with the Baresic case.

4. The deportation of Baresic marks the end for Sweden of a lengthy drama. Baresic, together with two other members of the Croatian terrorist organization, Ustasja, forced their way into the Yugoslav Embassy in April 1971 and shot the ambassador. In the Fall of 1972, a Swedish passenger plane was hi-jacked by a group of Croatians who demanded the release of Baresic and five other croatians from Swedish prisons. They were released and, after a short stay in Spain, Baresic went to Paraguay. He was later arrested while working as a bodyguard at the Paraguayan embassy in Washington. The U.S. extradited Baresic, after he was charged with violation of immigration laws, to Sweden in 1980, and he has since been held in Swedish prisons.

5. On several occasions, Baresic sought a pardon and stated that he wanted to get a residence permit in Sweden for himself and his family. Swedish authorities regularly turned down his requests. Baresic has for the last months been kept in an isolation cell, reportedly for his own protection. Swedish authorities said earlier that they could not guarantee his safety, suggesting that Yugoslav intelligence might attempt to kill him. The Swedish press has reported that he is one of the top names on a Yugoslav "death list." Yugoslavia has been highly critical of Sweden's handling of the Baresic case (ref b). For the GoS, the deportation of Baresic to a country willing to grant him asylum shifts the onus for this problem elsewhere. Newell.

:: filing information ::

Title: Miro Baresic's Deportation from Sweden

Source: State Department, Unclassified

Date: December 1987

Added: October, 2002

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Miro Baresic's Arrival in Paraguay

"Limited use" telegram from the US Embassy, Asuncion, to the State Department on the arrival of Miro Baresic from Sweden.



Department of State - Telegram
FM AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8909
[Date:] DEC 87

SUBJECT: PARAGUAY WELCOMES CROATIAN TERRORIST
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ASUNCION 05130
REF: **STOCKHOLM 9310**

Diplomatic Cable: [Miro Baresic's Deportation from Sweden](#)

Documents: [Miro Baresic](#)

Documents: [Odpur](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Ustase Movement](#)

1. All Asuncion dailies reported the arrival from Sweden aboard a Swedish Air Force plane of paroled Croatian terrorist/murderer **Miro Baresic** at Stroessner International Airport, Thursday morning, December 10. The arrival was marked by strict security precautions which prevented the press from interviewing or even approaching Baresic. An unnamed Swedish diplomat with residence in Montevideo reportedly observed the arrival and will remain in Asuncion until Baresic's travel plans are finalized.

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2. A highly placed government official indicated that Paraguay had accepted Baresic and his family "for absolutely humanitarian reasons". "Our nation is open and hospitable and he can stay here so long as he observes the Constitution and the laws." Baresic and his family are reportedly planning to visit in the Itapua Department, south of Asuncion along Paraguay's southern frontier with Argentina, before returning to reside permanently in Asuncion.

3. All papers carried limited background stories on Baresic and on the history of the Croation [*sic*] controversy. "El Diario" interviewed former Paraguayan Ambassador to the U.S., Mario Lopez Escobar, who noted that Baresic, a martial arts expert, was employed at the Paraguayan Embassy in Washington as a security officer, because "he knew my anticommunist leanings and he was a fervent anticommunist. He received a salary that was complemented by (donations from) the Croatian community in Chicago." Baresic was previously made a captain in the Paraguayan army. Ambassador Lopez also stated, "I can assure you that he didn't kill any ambassador."

4. The press has reported that Baresic escaped Sweden, where he was sentenced for the assassination of the Yugoslav Ambassador, to Spain, following the hijacking by fellow Croatian terrorists of a Swedish airline. The local press has not addressed the question of why Paraguay received Baresic and his companions in 1972. Whether the story relates to then or now, it is said that Stroessner approved their entry when told the fugitives were Catholics and anti-communist. Taylor.

:: filing information ::

Title: Miro Baresic's Arrival in Paraguay

Source: State Department, "Limited use"

Date: December 1987

Added: October, 2002

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FBI File: An Interview with Miro Baresic

In 1971, **Odpor** activist Miro Baresic took part in the execution of the Yugoslav Ambassador to Sweden, Vladimir Rolovic. He was sentenced to 18 years in prison, but was freed when several other Odpor members hijacked a plane and threatened to blow it up unless Baresic was released. He fled to Paraguay, where he was employed training the death squads of Paraguayan dictator Alfredo Stroessner, and took part in the scheme by Odpor colleagues in North America to **systematically extort and threaten** moderate, pro-independence Croats in the United States to fund future bombings. Baresic was arrested in Washington, DC when he was discovered to be employed as the chief of security for the Paraguayan Ambassador to the United States. He served his sentence in Sweden, then was exiled once again to Paraguay in 1987. The following interview was recorded and translated by the FBI.

Date: 2/17/88

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: CID/██████████)

FROM: ACTING SAC, CHICAGO ██████████

██████████ 00: NEW YORK

CROATIAN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES;
IT-YUGOSLAVIA;
00: BUREAU
██████████

This communication is classified "SECRET" in its entirety.

Re San Francisco airtel to the Bureau dated 1/4/88.

Enclosed for the Bureau are seven copies of an LHM entitled ██████████ with two copies designated for Legat, London. Enclosed for receiving offices are two copies of each of the LHM.



related links

Judicial Decision: The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City

Judicial Decision: The Second Otpor RICO Trial in New York City (Full Text)

Documents: Miro Baresic

Documents: Otpor

Misc: Search

Timeline: The Ustase Movement

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[.....]

The enclosed LHM pertains to a telephone conversation between VLADO GLAVAS in Chicago and MIRO BARESIC in Paraguay which was broadcast on GLAVAS' radio program "FREE CROATIA" on January 23, 1988. The conversation was recorded and translated by Language Specialist [REDACTED] of [REDACTED]

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU:

The Bureau is requested to disseminate this communication to Legat, London.

Chicago, Illinois 60640
February 17, 1988

[REDACTED]

On Saturday, January 23, 1988, a previously recorded telephone conversation between VLADO GLAVAS in Chicago and MIRO BARESIC in Paraguay was broadcast during GLAVAS' weekly radio program, "FREE CROATIA". "FREE CROATIA" is in the Serbo-Croatian language and is broadcast every Saturday between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. on WCEV RADIO, 1450 AM, in Chicago, Illinois.

Before playing the conversation, GLAVOS *[sic]* apologized for the poor quality of the recording. GLAVAS did not say when the conversation had taken place.

The following is a translation of the latter part of the conversation.

BARESIC (B): ... the Swedish authorities justified that by claiming that Belgrade sent over its killers to kill me. The killers, DRAGON

PEJOVIC (phonetic) and RATKO DJUKIC (phonetic) were supposed to make an attempt on me between August 10-12 --- the day when I was supposed to be free. All those threats and blackmailing by Belgrade, that certain things will come to surface when the Swedish and the Yugoslav governments have been dealing in the last ten years with arms sales and other things --- to be made public. Thus, of course, the Swedes were compelled to give in some way in order to stop terrorism on their territory. Thus, in order to keep order and peace, the Swedes did everything possible to have me disappear from Europe. In this case, to ship me to Paraguay.

GLAVAS (G): Since you mentioned those UDBA's hitmen. Could you tell us where, in which city, were they supposed to carry out the crime? Was that supposed to take place in front of the jail? Did the Swedes...

B: The Swedish police, their information service, came to me. I can only be thankful to them. They came to me, told me about that and gave me pictures and names of those men. They were supposed to carry out the killing either on Saturday or Sunday - the days that I had free lately in order to visit with my family. Or, if they were unable to do it at that time, then to carry out the attempt the day when I was freed from the jail.

Therefore, I must say that Sweden is different from other European countries. The Swedish police are quite positive. I, in particular, owe them a lot and I am very grateful to them. I am sure there are many Croatians who believe in God and Croatia [*bog i hrvati* - an Ustase slogan which was replaced, and then replaced in turn, *bog i poglavnik*, or "God and the Fuehrer" --Ed.], my fellow followers. They can believe that the Swedish police are better and more capable than any other in the world. I must say that they saved my life.

G: When the Swedish police told you or, better to say, when they informed you, that they caught the UDBA-men, did they tell you where they caught them? What task were they performing? Did they arrest them?

B: Yes, PEJOVIC was sentenced to three years while the other guy had a diplomatic passport later and weapons [*sic*]. They only accused him of carrying weapons illegally. He has been ordered to leave the country until '91, to go to Yugoslavia. However, since he has family in Sweden, he will be able to come back again to Sweden. That means he still has ---

G: MIRO, tell us, how did PARAGUAY accept you? Was it a friendly or a covered-up welcome?

B: Upon a very lengthy flight aboard the Swedish military plane,

HERCULES - my feet and hands were cuffed all the time - forty policemen, armed to the teeth, accompanied me. We flew over Spain to Brazil, then to Paraguay. The Swedish diplomats in Paraguay, headed by the Swedish Ambassador there, and some local officers of the Paraguayan authorities were at the airport to carry out the procedure of my transfer. They simply turned me over to them, as per agreement. There they handed the Swedish passports to me and to my family. The second part of the ceremony, I can say, was very, very nice. The general and his family with other friends welcomed me. The fact alone that the very same day the Paraguayan Minister of Foreign and Internal Services spoke on the radio and TV very highly and positively about me and the Croatian cause, is enough to say that my welcome there was more than friendly.

G: When did you learn by which airplane you were going to travel, where you were headed? Describe to us, how did that whole drama unfold from Sweden all the way to Paraguay?

B: When they led me away from the prison --- There were policemen armed to teeth, just as if they were ready for war. They tied my feet and hands. I was somewhat trembling, felt tense... but I reasoned properly when I saw that there was no other way out... As I told you before, this was not the first time that they were throwing me from one continent to another. I accepted this, how to tell you, as humiliation not only to me but to Croatia also. But that evoked even a greater desire in my heart, more responsibility and love, to continue one day again the struggle for Croatia... Because, as I said before, people without their own homeland are at the mercy of everyone to push them, kill them, persecute... therefore... they simply transferred me to an army base the last night and put me aboard that HERCULES plane. I had no possibility of talking to my wife or my children. The trip lasted 28 hours and it was very strenuous, especially considering the fact the *[sic]* I was tied all the time - my hands and feet were cuffed. That was over-exaggerated on the part of Sweden.

I can't understand that attitude on the part of the Swedes.

G: The people that accompanied you, were they Swedes only or was that an international group? Were they soldiers or Police personnel? How many of them accompanied you?

B: There were some 30 to 40 persons. Among them was a Croatian, whose name is TOMISLAV PUSIC (phonetic), who was supervising everything. Among them were also a physician and three nurses whose task was to assist my wife and my children. They were also aboard that military plane, in that "little house", to call it like that, --- Germans call it ---

That TOMISLAV PUSIC (phonetic) is known to Croatians; he is a very honest man who worked as a translator at the court in '71. Yugoslav

authorities barred his entry into Yugoslavia. He was very correct to me and I have nothing against him. I think there were people from various offices, not only from the political service. There were military men, men from the secret service... so, they were supervising each other in order so that no issues would come out in the future. But which will not come out... In other words, everything was done under strict control so that no negative things would occur.

G: The escorting people, were they armed?

B: They carried all kinds of weapons. They all were armed to teeth.

G: As far as we known, Paraguay had refused at first to accept you. But, after the visit of the Yugo-ruling gang of RATISLAV (phonetic) DIZDAREVIC and LAZAR MOJSIEV, the decision was changed. Is that a matter of an agreement or of a purely official international talk?

B: Personally, I don't know what to say on that subject... I think that the main role... yes, Yugoslavia was trying to put its finger in, but that was more of an official threat from the Yugoslav Government, but they don't have much influence here. I do, however, believe that in all this the Swedish people and the Swedish Government played the main role, and that there was an agreement between the governments of Sweden and Paraguay - They were the main factors to have the Paraguay government take me and my family. I don't think that Yugoslavia has any influence, at least not in this case. That's as much as I know.

G: As we touched upon those miserable Yugos, tell us: were there any arrests of Croatians in Paraguay during their visit? When? By whom and for how long?

B: Yes, that is true. It's very sad that such things can happen, but one has to take into consideration that Croatians in this country identify themselves just like Swedes or Poles do. A few days ago I talked with the people from the government here and I came to the conclusion that our Croatian people here are nobody, so to speak: They have very little influence and they do not impose themselves. Yugoslavia, however, requested through its diplomatic channels that those Croatians be detained for security reasons. And that was done from April 4 to April 14 - they were all arrested indeed. But they were treated very well. They ate with the Police officers. That's what I was told. Also, a few days ago I visited with BLAGO (or VLADO) MIKULIC and others who confirmed to me what had happened.

G: Do you know how many were arrested?

B: All of them. All, with the exception of wives and there was a "capital" of itself, about which I don't wish to talk.

G: Upon your deportation from Sweden, Swedes wrote negatively about you. What is the reason for that?

B: It's my opinion... and that is entirely normal that Swedes wrote strongly negatively about me in order to cover up all that crime and the criminal attitude toward myself and my family. Because, there has been also a transgression of the Swedish law in order to please Belgrade. Their negative writing about me is damaging to me and to Croatia, but, taking into consideration the situation, we cannot... Nevertheless, we shall find out in the future what was done and how things unfolded. That negative writing of theirs... we can still say that for many years and in the later time a lot was written in a positive way. But, when it concerns government matters, when it concerns the Croatian nation that has no freedom today, it is normal that both, Swedes and Yugoslavia, did everything to minimize the effect. Because, my permanence in Europe and in Sweden would have been a great catastrophe *[sic]* for Yugoslavia. Thus, obviously, Sweden had to find a way to please Yugoslavia. We can consider that like having lost the war. We Croats can lose the field battle; they can even write negatively about us in their interest to minimize the criminal effect, like the transgression of the Swedish law in this case. But, even though we may still lose some field battles, I believe that we will win the war.

G: How are you and your family doing there, especially now in that hot weather?

B: My wife and children have difficulty with the heat. The little IVAN VICTOR became ill - has ear (hearing) problems caused by the noise aboard that HERCULES plane and we keep running from one doctor to another and to the hospital. We have no insurance coverage and that is a big problem for us, especially because no one should know us or our address. So far, we have no help from anyone. That does not mean that we are forgotten. I am confident that Croats will, like they did before, help us. But, what is most important - the morale is high and we believe in a better tomorrow and return to our homeland. That is most important for the time being.

G: What is your message to Croats?

B: I'll try to be short. To tell you the truth, we all should unite in a strong movement and, with united forces, we should destroy that artificial creation and establish a free state of Croatia in which justice and freedom will reign for all the citizens of Croatia. This is my only message for today. I should also add that we stop with pettiness and that we go on to do the big work, because that is what our homeland is expecting from us. Therefore, I call upon all of my fellow soldiers, I call on all of you to be prepared and responsible and to get on to work with full responsibility and that, once and for all, we destroy that dungeon, that prison that is called Yugoslavia, that is a prison for the Croatian people. Let us establish a free Croatian state,

because, without a free Croatia things like this will continue to happen. That is normal. Therefore, let us not allow Croatians to be treated in this way. Let us destroy that artificial creation and let us finally be free forever so that we, too, can live like other cultured people of Europe in our free state of Croatia. That is my message to all of you. To the fighters who are **lingering in prison in America**, Europe, and our homeland, I tell them to hold strong - every beginning has an end.

G: Thank you, MIRO, for this pleasant conversation. Be greeted together with your wife and little children. Continue to be proud like you have been so far. We wish you every success!

B: Thanks also to all of you and I hope that one day we will see ourselves again in Croatia!

GLAVAS' COMMENT:

MIRO is living in Paraguay presently with his wife SLAVICA, whom he married three years ago. They have two children: VERA VICTORIA and IVAN VICTOR. How he got there is known to all of us. Life in that poor country is hard. With his sacrifice up until now MIRO has deserved that Croatians don't play a deaf ear toward him and his family. I appeal to all of you who call yourselves Croatians to help that great hero. All of you who wish to help, please send your monetary donations to the FREE CROATIA radio program, P.O. Box 14322, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

I repeat the address: Radio Free Croatia for MIRO BAREVIC, P.O. Box 14322, Chicago, Illinois 60614. Or you can send or give it to me personally and we will forward it properly. Those who don't wish to have their name published openly, should notify us in time. Our warm fraternal thanks to all in advance.

:: filing information ::

Title: FBI File: An Interview with Miro Baresic

Source: FBI, declassified.

Date: February 17, 1988

Added: May 19, 2004

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The Ustase Croatian Liberation Movement

The following is taken from the introduction of a book published recently in Zagreb by the **Croatian Liberation Movement**. This represents, generally, how the successors of Ante Pavelic think of themselves and their movement; the HOP was founded by Pavelic and forms a rather miniscule political fringe movement in Croatia today.

THE USTASE CROATIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

When streams of tears soaked the faces of millions of Croatian men and women, and the peace-loving politicians were hiding to save their necks, the voice of Starcevic's follower was heard: a parliament deputy for the city of Zagreb, **Dr. Ante Pavelic**, who rose in defense of his people, accepted the challenge of the glove thrown in the face of the dictator-king and went on the offensive for Croatian national and state rights. The king stood the Croats on 6 January *[1929]* before an open tomb, but Dr. Ante Pavelic on 7 January - only a day later - created in Zagreb the Ustase Croatian Liberational Movement. After assigning tasks and giving instructions to his Ustase, he went abroad and proclaimed a war against the mortal enemy.

The life and struggle of the Ustase Poglavnik were extremely difficult. All politicians, both foreign and Croatian, considered him an adventurer, a fanatic, too young, inexperienced, pretentious, and even insane for getting into such an unpromising struggle, facing mortal danger every day rather than sitting in Zagreb as a famous lawyer and deputy, living as many others did at the people's expense. Dr. Ante Pavelic rather embraced his life, like a persecuted wolf. He was sentenced to death three times by Belgrade, and several attempts on his life were prevented only at the last moment. In spite of it all, the Ustase Poglavnik created the Principles of the Ustase, according to which the Croatian liberation struggle would be waged and according to which the Independent State of Croatia must be organized; he looked for patriots and comrades all over Croatia and abroad, sent instructions and orders, created more organizations, published several papers, every now and then leaflets and pamphlets, and thus in both Croatian and foreign languages propagated Starcevic's idea of Croatian State Rights and looked for friends and allies in demolishing Serbian Yugoslavia and establishing



related links

Documents: [Croatian Liberation Movement \(HOP\)](#)

Documents: [The NDH Archive](#)

Documents: [NDH Decrees](#)

Misc: [Search](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

[text-only version](#)

the Independent State of Croatia. He put his enemies on notice with the **Principles of the Croatian Revolutionary Movement**, Article 8 of which reads:

8. The Croatian nation has the right to revive its sovereign authority in its own Croatian State in its entire national and historical area, that is to say to reconstitute a complete, sovereign and independent Croatian state. This reconstitution may be accomplished by any means, including force of arms.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was the result of the great French Revolution a hundred years before *[sic]*, justifies resistance against tyrants in its second article, and all constitutions of freedom-loving nations justify the use of force against every foreign occupation and violent rule as the only way possible for deprived nations to liberate themselves from slavery and achieve their rights.

Therefore, there is no justified criticism of the Ustase Liberation Movement, because it grew out of hearts and wishes of all nationally conscious Croats, and because it performed the most exalted duty: it destroyed the dictator and dictatorship, and with them the foreign occupier that was just about to pronounce a death sentence over the Croatian people. Moreover, the Ustase Liberation Movement also accomplished the greatest achievement in history: it established Independent State of Croatia in the entirety of the Croatian ethnic and historical area, even greater than the kingdom of Tomislav - even greater than the kingdom of Petar IV the Great.

When the Ustase Movement achieved its goal on the legendary date of 10 April 1941, the Croatian people hailed the achievement in a plebiscite, and aligned themselves with the ranks of Ustase fighters with an enthusiasm never seen before, with courage and heroism defending the Independent State of Croatia, thousands dying in the battlefields with the war cry: For Poglavnik and for Home! *[Za Poglavnika i za Dom]*

Being happy and satisfied with the Ustase's achievements, every conscious Croat invested all his powers in saving the Independent State of Croatia. Four years of daily assaults and the countless numbers of victims, granted by Croats in defense of their self-determination, testify to their sacrifice.

It is an honor to the Croatian people and their Ustase Liberation Movement that their young State, assaulted by international

Marxism, Serbian imperialism, and plutocratic and naive statesmen, resisted millions of assaults and remained the last state in Eastern Europe built upon the principles of the defense of HUMAN RIGHTS.

Knowing what is already written in history, then, criticism of the Croatian Liberation Movement by a Croatian intelligentsia mutilated by Socialism are ridiculous and completely hostile to the Croatian people, not least of all because Socialists or Marxists themselves were the main enemies of Freedom and the Croatian State.

Today, when Croatia is again in a similar situation as it was during dictatorship of King Alexander, it is the most cherished duty of all pro-statehood Croats to align themselves in the ranks of the Croatian Liberation Movement, and united just as we were on the Tenth of April of 1941, destroy the Serbian occupation and restore the Independent State of Croatia in the entire ethnic and historical area of Croats.

To Ustase Poglavnik Dr. Ante Pavelic, as well as to his honorable legion of Ustase heroes and knights, we pay our filial respect and make the promise that we will continue their uncompromising struggle for restoration of FREEDOM AND CROATIAN STATE RIGHTS.

:: filing information ::

Title: The Ustase Croatian Liberation Movement

Source: *Ustasa Hrvatski Oslobodilacki Pokret, 1 January 1929-1979.*
Translated by Sinisa Djuric

Date: 1997

Added: November 26, 2003

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Article: Protest Sent to The Hague

To some, violence against fellow Croatians is forgivable if one does it in the name of Croatia. This conference called for the release of two men who are in jail for a litany of crimes, including the attempted murder of a priest and a journalist (both Croats), as well as more than fifty counts of extortion against other Croats to pay for their crime spree.

The first Croatian Victimology Congress held in Zagreb with over 500 participants and 120 reports and essays concluded that they must pursue, by means of detailed investigations, the truth about victims and the suffering in Croatia. Instead of trying the Genocide against Vukovar, they have decided to administer justice for crimes committed in **Jasenovac** 50 years ago. At the congress, proof was presented that Jasenovac "was in business" until 1948 as a communist execution location, especially for those from the "ways of the cross".

The congress sent a strong protest to the ICTY for their trials unbecoming of Croats and the severe conditions of the detainees. The US Government was asked to drop the charges against Zvonko Busic and **Ante Ljubas**, as well as the freeing of Croatians being held in Serb jails. The congress passed a special decision which honours the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, for his protection of human life and for the peaceful reintegration of Vukovar and the Croatian Danube Region without a single new victim.



related links

Judicial Decision: [The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City](#)

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:: filing information ::

Title: Article: Protest Sent to The Hague

Source: "Protest Sent to the Hague," *Vecernji List*

Date: June 23, 1998

Added: October 2002



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More on Louis Almeida

Excerpt from the Court of Appeals decision re: State of Illinois vs Harry Aleman, March 21, 2000. Louis Almeida was hired with Joe Neri to kill the president of the Croatian Fraternal Union, the oldest Croatian emigre group in the United States. Arrested in transit, Almeida subsequently turned states' evidence against his erstwhile boss, Chicago mafia enforcer Harry Aleman.

...In the case sub judice, the 23-volume record reflects that on retrial, the State presented evidence from several witnesses regarding [William] Logan [Sr.]'s murder. Logan lived with his sister, Betty Romo, and another sister. On September 27, 1972, Logan left for work at 11 p.m. Shortly after, Romo heard three loud noises or shots. Running outside, she discovered Logan, bleeding from two fatal shotgun wounds. Logan had been divorced from defendant's second cousin, Phyllis Napoles. They were engaged in a custody battle. Previously, he had been arrested for her assault and battery.

Bobby Lowe, Logan's neighbor, testified that on September 27, while walking his dog, he observed a vehicle parked across the street with its engine running and Logan walking to his parked automobile. As Lowe approached Logan to speak with him, the other vehicle pulled up. Lowe heard two loud noises and saw Logan fly backwards. Defendant exited the passenger side of the vehicle, approached Logan with a gun-like object in his hand, which he pointed at the fallen Logan. Lowe stared at defendant for four or five seconds, standing three or four feet away, then turned and ran. While running, he heard another loud noise and heard the vehicle drive away. In 1972, he picked out defendant's photograph and again, in 1976, he identified defendant as Logan's shooter for police. As a result of witnessing the shooting, Lowe was forced to quit his job and was relocated. He received money from the State during both trials. Lowe had incurred many debts, which he paid in part with money received from the State.

Louis Almeida, a career criminal who had grown up in the same neighborhood as defendant, testified for the State. In March of 1975, while driving through Ohio on their way to "**kill somebody**" for \$10,000 in Pennsylvania, he and Joe Neri were stopped by Ohio police and arrested for possession of weapons and a silencer. Almeida provided police with information about his various criminal



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activities, including armed robberies, vehicle thefts, and bombings. Later, he reported details of Logan's murder identifying himself as the driver and defendant as the shooter. In exchange, Almeida was given immunity from prosecution for Logan's murder.

According to Almeida, in August of 1972, defendant discussed his plan to kill Logan and gave him two license plate numbers and Logan's home and work addresses, writing "Death to Billy" on the same piece of paper. Almeida then trailed Logan to learn his habits and schedule.

On the evening of September 27, 1972, defendant, armed with a shotgun and a .45 caliber handgun, was driven by Almeida to Logan's block, where he parked. Almeida observed a man walking a dog. At 11:15 p.m., he saw Logan. Almeida drove the automobile near Logan. Defendant called to Logan. Logan walked toward them. Defendant shot him twice with a 12-gauge shotgun. Logan "flew back" and began crawling and yelling for a doctor. Defendant stepped half-way out of the car, but "shut the door on the car and [said], let's go, he's gone"...

:: filing information ::

Title: More on Louis Almeida

Source: 1st District Appellate Court, 5th Div. (IL) Decision re: State of Illinois vs. Harry Aleman.

Date: April 31, 2000

Added: October 2002

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Ustase Attacks on the Croatian Fraternal Union

Ustase terrorism against the Croatian Fraternal Union, excerpted from "Unofficial Diplomat," *Pittsburg Post-Gazette*, May 14, 2000.



related links

Tito stood up to Stalin, but he gave in to Bernard Luketich.

During one meeting with the Yugoslav premier, Luketich complained that only a dirt road linked his father's old village with the Croatian capital, Zagreb.

"Within a year, they asphalted the road," recalled Luketich, mayor of Cokeburg and president of the Croatian Fraternal Union with 80,000 members in the United States and Canada.

Once, a Croatian immigrant living in Ohio returned to his homeland and was jailed for criticizing Tito's communist regime. At 3 a.m., his frantic wife sought help from Luketich, who picked up the telephone and won the man's release in days...

...Luketich has a photograph of himself with Tito, Tito's wife, Jovanka, and then-CFU President John Badovinac. The 1973 photo was taken at a reception, and Luketich recalled Tito ridiculing the local wine, saying it tasted like vinegar and should be served on lettuce. "He liked to joke around," Luketich said. "I mean, he was down to earth. In fact, you could even criticize and he would listen."

...Their families yoked by Communism, Croatian emigrants disagreed on how to approach Yugoslavia. Some wanted nothing to do with Tito; others, including Luketich and fellow CFU leaders, advocated a policy of engagement at the **risk of their lives**.

In 1975, police foiled a plot to assassinate Badovinac. The scheme unraveled after **two ex-convicts** were stopped for speeding in Ohio. In the car, police found weapons and newspaper clippings with Badovinac's name underlined in red. Police concluded the hit men had been hired by **Croatian extremists** upset about the CFU's relations with Tito.

Also that year, Badovinac, Luketich and other CFU officials received

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letters warning they would be killed if they won re-election at the CFU convention.

In June 1977, Badovinac's home was bombed. Two weeks later, Luketich went to the restroom during a Croatian picnic in Milwaukee.

"Are you Luketich?" a voice said. Three men attacked him, using a piece of pipe. Luketich went to a hospital for treatment.

When Luketich took over the CFU in 1978, the group's ties with Tito remained intact.

As a result, Luketich said, he was able to help the jailed Ohio man, and the Tamburitizens made the trips Rukavina called so important to Croatia. He said he also was able to secure visas for outspoken immigrants who wanted to visit relatives in Croatia...

:: filing information ::

Title: Ustase Attacks on the Croatian Fraternal Union

Source: "Unofficial diplomat: Cokeburg's Mayor Bernard Luketich..."
by Joe Smydo, *Pittsburg Post-Gazette*

Date: May 14, 2000

Added: October 2002

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Announcement Dissolving the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood

The following communique appeared on page 15 of the Croatian paper *Hrvatski Vjesnik* on September 15, 2000. Its veracity has never been proven, though CRB terrorist "actions" had fallen off dramatically beginning in the mid-1980s. The group is believed to have been made up of a significant number of members of **Odpor**, and was certainly financially supported by the mother organization.

CROATIAN REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERHOOD MAIN REVOLUTIONARY HEADQUARTERS

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CROATIAN REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERHOOD

After the difficult defensive war of liberation that was imposed on the Croatian people by the Greater Serbian occupiers, with pride we can say that Croatia today is a free, independent and democratic state. The centuries-long dream of all Croats, especially Croatian patriots, has been fulfilled by the unselfish sacrifice of the whole Croatian nation, both in the homeland and abroad, regardless of ideology or party affiliation and beliefs.

However, though the entire Croatian national consensus participated in this liberation struggle, we must not and cannot forget those organized factors in emigration, who for decades expressed the desires of the Croatian people for freedom and independence in the countries they settled, and with their devoted patriotic work made a great contribution to the struggle for Croatian freedom. Among the different Croatian organizations, political and cultural, athletic and other types of organizations and associations, the secret CROATIAN REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERHOOD (CRB), was organized as a revolutionary organization in 1961, with one explicit goal: "the uncompromising destruction of Yugoslavia and establishment of the independent, democratic Croatian state."

In that long, painstaking and exhausting activity, the CRB didn't limit itself to activities abroad, but carried the struggle to Croatia itself, firmly believing this was the key to success. That is why out of the



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series of operations carried out in the homeland, the climax of the military activity of the CRB in history will remain the "Bugojno Rebellion," whether that enterprise is understood, respected or condemned by people today. This operation was planned by the operations section of the CRB under the code name "MF," executed by a unit named "MOUNTAIN FOX," and in planning and execution no other organization participated.

The activity of the CRB shouldn't be reduced to Bugojno. Revolutionary activists from the CRB lost their lives all over Europe, and also fought in units of the Croatian army during the Homeland War. They fought with honor, devotion and heroism. Some were killed, and some remained handicapped. They never bragged about their CRB membership, living by the principle "actions, not words."

Croatia today is a reality. Croatia is free, democratic and independent. There is a place in it for everyone who wants Croatia as his homeland. Croatia is an internationally-recognized state with internationally-recognized borders guarded by Croatian soldiers. The goal maintained in the Basic Principles of CRB has been achieved, and on that basis, the Main Revolutionary Headquarters makes a

DECISION

disbanding the secret revolutionary organization
CROATIAN REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERHOOD

Explanation:

In the democratic and independent Republic of Croatia, freedom of association by political parties and their competition through free and democratic elections is guaranteed by the constitution. Respect for human rights is also guaranteed by the constitution, as in all other democratic states. Therefore, there is no longer any need nor justification for secret associations and revolutionary organizations in the Homeland and abroad. The goal of the CRB has been achieved, as the goals proclaimed in the Basic Principles of CRB have become a reality. Therefore, we consider it completely justified, desirable and noble to disband the CRB. We inform all members of the following:

1. All CRB members obligated by the oath per the Basic Principles (Article 3) of the Basic Instructions are hereby released of that oath. The law of the Republic of Croatia obligates all citizens to be loyal and to defend the freedom and independence of the Croatian State, so living by the oath of the CRB is therefore unnecessary.

2. All commanders of the CRB are released from duty, and all materials and documentation belonging to the organization must be sent by the usual channels to the Main Revolutionary Headquarters of the CRB.

3. Most of the archives will be destroyed. Especially documents containing names of members, associates and information about marked enemies working against the idea of an independent state for Croats.

4. Every member, personally and with his own mind, may decide whether or not to declare his CRB membership in public. For every such decision, everyone carries personal responsibility. Even though released of the oath, no member has the right to give away the names of other members and associates he cooperated with, in order to avoid potential arguments and inconveniences.

5. Various activities and enterprises performed within the CRB, and performed by members of the CRB under the clandestine oath, must remain secret.

6. Members of the CRB will be awarded as a souvenir a specially designed badge in honor of the organization's jubilee and the completion of the CRB's mission. Only members will receive a badge.

7. The Information Bureau of the Main Revolutionary Headquarters will continue sending information to and performing services for members until 30 April 1997. On that day, the work of the Information Bureau will cease at the same time the CRB will cease to exist.

Officials from the Main Headquarters and the regional commanders thank all members for many years of devoted and self-sacrificing loyalty in work for the sacred goal: a democratic, independent CROATIAN STATE.

We are grateful for all the help provided to the CRB from many people all over Australia, Europe, Canada and other countries where Croats reside. We especially wish to thank the Croatian Youth-Hope Alliance of Australia because of the willingness of their best associates to give material and moral support, particularly in propaganda, aimed at attracting as many middle age and young generations of Croats in a modern and radical way toward the struggle for freedom... Their work now focuses on the Homeland, and we wish them much success in their future endeavors.

To our late members, wherever they are buried, and to those who disappeared without leaving a grave - we pay our respect and honor. They distinguished themselves as combatants in the Homeland War, the foundation of our eternal Republic of Croatia.

Our lives for Croatia!

In the name of the Main Rev. Headquarters of the Brotherhood

secretary: Ivan Krsan

:: filing information ::

Title: Announcement Dissolving the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood

Source: *Hrvatski Vjesnik*, September 15, 2000. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: September 15, 2000

Added: February 19, 2004

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Where Are They Now?

Neo-Ustase Terrorists "Odpor's" Jailed Alumni

by Cali Ruchala

from Archive: the journal of the pavelic papers

volume 1, issue 1 - january 28, 2004

contents - download as pdf

THE HRVATSKI NARODNI Odpor, (**Croatian National Resistance**, HNO, or simply "Odpor" and "Otpor") was founded by **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic**, the first commandant of the Jasenovac concentration camp. As with **Pavelic's HOP**, this neo-Ustase splinter movement managed to outlive its founder. Luburic was assassinated (most likely by the Yugoslav secret police) in 1969, but Odpor lived on - long enough for a new generation to come of age and fall afoul of the authorities on their own.

Headquartered in Chicago, the American branch of Odpor enjoyed a renaissance through the 1970s, carrying out bombings, murders and arson attacks throughout the country. They also extorted money from Croatian immigrants to finance their terror campaign and had, **in the words of the prosecutor** who eventually broke the back of the organization, "declared war on almost every moderate Croatian group" in the United States.

In response to Odpor's reign of terror, the FBI opened two cases in the late 1970s to deal with an organization which appeared to function with impunity. The investigations (codenamed "CROMUR," for "Croatian Murders," and "CROCTER," of uncertain origin) soon bore results: the indictment of nearly the entire top echelon of Odpor in the United States. Two trials (judicial documents **here** and **here**) commenced in which the defendants were charged under the Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) for a variety of crimes, including a score of counts of extortion, hiring a professional killer to murder a Croatian-American journalist and assembling and mailing out pipe bombs concealed within hollowed-out books (among other targets was a Croatian-American Catholic priest in Milwaukee).

The government's prosecutors succeeded in obtaining convictions against all of the indicted conspirators on a variety of charges.

Odpor fired off **a series of bombs in New York City** in retaliation for the imprisonment of their leaders, but the



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organization vanished into obscurity a few years later.

So what ever happened to Odpor's convicted bombers, murderers, extortionists and arsonists? According to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, all but the chief conspirators have served out their sentences at a variety of correctional facilities in the United States and have since been released. The following information is current as of January 1, 2004:

Franjo Ivic: Inmate #02535-054, Franjo Ivic stalked Croatian-American journalist and activist Joseph Badurina with a white van and a sniper rifle, waiting for a chance to assassinate him as Badurina walked his young daughter to school. He was released on October 10, 1995.

Ivan Cale: Inmate #02558-054, Ivan Cale was charged with planning the bombing by dynamite of the Yugoslav Consulate, a travel agency, and a dance studio in New York. Cale was released on April 24, 1998.

Stipe Ivkovic: Inmate #02557-054, Stipe Ivkovic had loaned his van to Ivic for the assassination of Badurina, and also took part in the three bombings mentioned above. He was released on September 28, 1987.

Milan Bagaric: Inmate #02650-016, Milan Bagaric was Odpor's "explosives engineer," creating dozens of pipe bombs and other explosives in his basement. One bomb Bagaric created was intended to kill Milan Vranes, an officer with the Croatian Fraternal Union, but two of Odpor's dimwitted "activists" left the explosive device at the wrong address. He was released on October 18, 1999.

Mile Markich: Inmate #89328-024, Mile Markich had been charged with obtaining the dynamite that went into Bagaric's bombs from a former employer that ran a mining company in Canada. He was released on March 11, 1988. Drago Sudar: Inmate #02651-016, Drago Sudar was another Odpor mad bomber, lending his expertise in disguising explosives to the conspirators. From his home in Toronto, the government claimed he had taught Odpor the skills necessary to properly conceal a bomb inside a hollowed-out book, copies of which were later mailed to Father Timothy Majic in Milwaukee and Odpor's perennial target, Joseph Badurina. Extradited from Canada, he was convicted and released on March 9, 1992.

Vinko Logarusic: Inmate #30928-060, Vinko Logarusic manufactured many of the "book bombs" mailed to prominent Odpor opponents in the Croatian-American community. He was also a confidant of Odpor terrorist **Miro Baresic**, convicted of the

assassination of Yugoslav diplomat Vladimir Rolovic in Sweden. A search of Logarusic's home turned up a hollowed-out book stuffed with wires, a battery and a light bulb, described by an FBI explosives expert as a "test book." He also had some eight hundred rounds of ammunition locked in a metal toolbox. Logarusic was released on September 8, 1993.

Ante Ljubas: Inmate #89329-024, Ante Ljubas was **described by the prosecutor** as the "field general" of Odpor in the United States. Ljubas began Odpor's American renaissance in 1974 when he contracted Joe Neri ("**a notorious Chicago gangster**") and Louis Almeida ("another local gangster" and the **driver for Chicago mafia enforcer Harry Aleman**) for the purpose of assassinating John Badovinac, leader of the Croatian Fraternal Union. He agreed to pay Neri and Aleman \$20,000 for killing Badovinac, and \$10,000 for each of ten or so additional killings of Odpor's Croatian opponents. Neri and Almeida traveled to Pittsburgh in February 1975 to kill Badovinac, but couldn't find him. They tried again in March, but were pulled over by Ohio police en route to Pennsylvania with a ".38 Colt firearm with a four-inch barrel, a .380 automatic Barretta, a .380 Walther PPKS with silencer, and a photograph of Badovinac."

After this disastrous misadventure, Ljubas recruited the other conspirators mentioned herein and began an unprecedented ring of bombings, extortion and intimidation. Ljubas is still imprisoned; his projected release date is August 8, 2004.

The FBI files on the "CROMUR" and "CROCTER" investigations are still heavily classified - most likely a result of protecting strategies the agency used to fight Croatian terrorism from being divulged in the modern "War on Terror." There are, however, some tantalizing fragments in the thousands of heavily sanitized pages that were released from a recent Freedom of Information Act request by Attorney Jonathan Levy. In one, an agent opines:

One of the puzzles in the CROMUR extortion situation is the extreme damage which has been wrought in Croatian communities by a so-called Croatian "patriotic effort."

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Editors: Sinisa Djuric and Cali Ruchala

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The Thompson Files

Top Croatian Pop Star Accused of Promoting Neo-Fascism

HE EMERGES ON a smoke-filled stage while thousands of adoring fans thrust their arms forward and upward in a familiar, stiff-arm salute. The black-clad figure returns the gesture, then begins his nightly seance of showering rhetorical bouquets of praise on the graves of the diligent workers of the concentration camps.

Is this a scene from Nuremburg? Not quite. It's a nearly routine occurrence at rock concerts by Croatia's "best paid and most popular singer," Marko Perkovic-Thompson.

A pop star that sings a hymn to the dead bodies of Serbs flowing down a river may leave music aficionados accustomed to the candy-coated lyrics of Christina Aguilera a bit perplexed. It was concern for the neo-Nazi pageantry of Thompson's concerts as well as the rowdy behavior of his fans that led the Dutch authorities in Rotterdam to ban his shows in late 2003. And on November 26, 2003, a leader of the small Jewish community in Zagreb, Dr. Ognjen Kraus, called for concerts which feature Ustase and neo-Nazi imagery—a staple of Thompson's testosterone-driven road show—to be banned. Thompson was already well-known among Zagreb's Jews for telling the press that the Jewish people were responsible for the murder of Jesus Christ.

Thompson—accustomed to being treated to gentle rebukes and a sense of bewildered amusement by Croatia's

mainstream media—responded with wide-eyed naiveté to the controversy surrounding him. "I don't know why my name is being connected with the Ustase," he said disingenuously. "I dissociate myself from that wherever I can."

However, in a series of sensational articles published in December 2003 and January 2004 by the Croatian internet portal index.hr, authors Matija Babic and Neven Barkovic put Thompson's Ustase revival songs under the microscope. Before listening to several of Thompson's songs, they innocently posed the question, often asked, as to whether Thompson was a benign patriot or the leading propagandist of neo-Fascism in Croatia today.

Their verdict: "Croatia is the only state in the world in which the best paid and the most popular singer promotes

In this issue:

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Fascism.”

To buttress their claim, Babic and Barkovic transcribed the lyrics to one of Thompson’s especially repugnant pop gems, “Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara”—so named after the concentration camps of the same names run by the Ustase:

Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara, that’s the house of Maks’ butchers
Through Imotski trucks are rushing, driving the black shirts of Francetic Jure
In Capljina there was a slaughterhouse, many Serbs were carried away by
the Neretva

(let me see your arms)

Hey Neretva flow down the side, carry Serbs to the blue Adriatic
Who could imagine last year that Christmas would be celebrated by
Partizans
Who said it, may his father screw him, that the Black Legion is not return-
ing

(there are two new)

Our Lady of Sinj if you are capable, take away Stipe and give us back Franjo
Hey Racan may a dog fuck your mother, and to those who voted for you
Shiny star above Metkovic, send our regards to Ante Pavelic

Subtle material. “For the ones who don’t know history so well,” Babic and Barkovic explain, “we must mention that Jure Francetic and Maks Luburic, who are glorified by Thompson and [his collaborator] Tomicic in their song, were infamous butchers of the Ustase regime responsible for the death of a large number of civilians—Serbs, Jews, Roma, Croats and others, and for the betrayal of Croatia.”

Thompson and his collaborators, Babic and Barkovic continue, “not only don’t hide that they know well what kind of butchers they are singing about, on the contrary that is the exact thing they admire the most and make points about their slaughters in rhymes... Thompson and Tomicic then glorify the infamous Black Legion, the ‘slaughter-house’ in Capljina, and then, in a comical context for them, the Neretva River full of dead Serbs.”

The authors conclude that the concert in Rotterdam

was banned for “justified reasons, as it would be in any other normal country. In Germany and Italy singers who glorify Hitler or Mussolini don’t perform anywhere except in underground clubs visited by neo-Nazis.” Thompson doesn’t just dress and put forward an image of “Ustase chic,” but “openly advocates Ustase and Fascist ideas. That

the thompson files

Thompson: Patriot or Fascist?

<http://www.index.hr/danak.aspx?id=178032>

“Jasenovac” and “Here Comes Dawn” Were Sung by Thompson in Osijek in 2002

<http://www.index.hr/danak.aspx?id=178979>

Thompson: I’ve Been Singing “Jasenovac,” So What?

<http://www.index.hr/danak.aspx?id=179581>

Translations of the three articles, by Sinisa Djuric, follow in this issue of Archive.

is the fact that shouldn’t be camouflaged nor justified.”

Thompson responded to the article by telling a journalist from *Novi list* that he didn’t remember singing a song called “Jasenovac,” and that the whole thing was an elaborate operation by unnamed conspirators to frame him. “You can do anything on a computer,” he stated.

But a second article published by [index.hr](http://www.index.hr) on January 3, 2004 punctured his pathetic defense of the indefensible. Scores of readers and posts on message boards testified to hearing Thompson sing his ballad to the worst mass-murderers in Croatian history in person. Babic and Barkovic also discovered a complete audio archive on the internet of a Thompson concert in Osijek in 2002. Aside from “Jasenovac,” Thompson was heard belting out another mar-

velous evocation of the two leaders of the Ustase’s “Black Legion,” titled “Here Comes Dawn, Here Comes Day.”

An unrelated sea change occurred in Croatian discourse, however, when the Croatian Democratic Union party (HDZ) of Franjo Tudjman was brought back into office. The party has ostensibly reformed itself as a “modern Christian conservative party,” according to commentators. But they apparently forgot to inform Thompson, who heralded the return of the HDZ as a signal to come out from hiding.

In a statement published on his website after the second [index.hr](#) article, Thompson abandoned his amnesia defense and now proudly proclaims that he has repeatedly, joyously, unambiguously sang of the Ustase concentration camps “everywhere in Croatian squares and in halls.” With the re-emergence of the HDZ, Thompson stated, “we again have Croatian authorities.” And so praising the duty-bound deeds of executioners at concentration camps was something to hold your head high about. This was, in the “new-think” language of contemporary neo-Fascism as well as Thompson, “protect[ing] our values at any cost.”

“The values Thompson alludes to,” Babic and Barkovic remind us, “are of the ‘slaughterhouses’ and ‘butcheries’ of the notorious Ustase murderers Jure Francetic and Maks Luburic.”

Thompson does have a point, however. He’s been befouling the air of the Balkans with these odes to mass murderers for a long time. More than a year ago, *Vecernje Novosti* published a condemnation of Thompson’s neo-Fascist pageantry. Their reporter, Zeljko Vukovic, described a Thompson concert in September 2002, with “content which would, if Ante Pavelic had been physically resurrected on that night in Split, make him enthusiastically crow how lucky a nation must be with such fine youth.” Among the 40,000 fans in attendance were “world class sportsmen... the political elite of the right, the governor of the region,” etc.

It is, however, of little consequence as to who first noted it and when. The fact is, Thompson has been revealed for what he is: a black-shirted eyesore. Following the revelations on [index.hr](#), Croatian President Stjepan Mesic and

prominent Jewish publisher Slavko Goldstein condemned Thompson on television. A online petition was initiated to request that the Croatian authorities ban his performances ([ipetitions.com/campaigns/stop_thompson](#)). Though online petitions are of dubious validity, it’s worth noting that most of the signatories have names of Croatian origin.

“here comes dawn”

Here comes dawn, here comes day, here come Jure and Boban
- Jure calls, Boban shouts, here I am Poglavnik!

On the top of Mount Trebevic, in the camp of Francetic.
- In the camp Jure sits and speaks to his army,

Jure calls, Boban shouts, hey knight Francetic.
- Your brigade guards Lika, pearl of our country, our pride,

Here comes dawn, here comes day, here comes a brigade from Imotski.
- Hey, Ustase my dear brothers, the water of the Drina is deep.

We should go over the Drina and burn Serbia
When he was crossing the Drina, he was shot in a leg.

But he doesn’t scream like a woman, he shouts FOR HOME READY!
- FOR HOME READY! For freedom, of Croatian, his people.

FOR HOME READY! mighty bird, Dr. Ante Pavelic!

Most importantly, countries which issue Thompson a visa to perform—particularly those countries with prohibitions against the display of Fascism’s “unhappy symbols”—now do so knowingly.

—Cali Ruchala

Collective Amnesia

A Nazi Plans to Visit Yad Vashem, Has No Intention of Apologizing

ON SUNDAY, 21 December 2003, the guest of the TV show *Sundays at 2* on Croatian national television was the leader of Croatian Party of Rights (HSP), Anto Djapic. The occasion for the show was the strong showing of HSP in the Croatian parliamentary elections.

During the show Djapic made several statements that caused a series of reactions among politicians in Croatia. However, what passed completely unnoticed was the intention he expressed to visit Israel and Yad Vashem while there. The highly professional host of the show, Aleksandar Stankovic, then asked Djapic the logical question: "Will you apologize to the Jews?" Djapic paused for a couple of seconds and replied that he has nothing to apologize about because according to the new policy of HSP, his party "has nothing to do with the Ustase nor Ante Pavelic."

Djapic pointed out that he is going to Israel to consult and exchange experiences with "similar parties" there and the only reason he wants to visit Yad Vashem is because he would like to build a similar, Croatian memorial center.

Despite the massive response to other statements Djapic made on the same show, there was not a single reaction to his intention to desecrate the memorial of Jewish Holocaust victims with his presence there, not even from the Jewish municipality of Zagreb who certainly know what kind of a man Djapic is and what kind of a party HSP is.

It is unknown which Israeli political party invited Djapic to Israel, but one thing is certain—Djapic is an Ustase and a Nazi, and his visit to Israel and especially Yad Vashem would be an enormous insult to the victims of Holocaust and to all the people of Israel.

Djapic and the HSP recently overhauled their public

image and behavior. They announced that they are a "modern European neo-conservative political party" which does not have anything to do with Ustase, Nazis and Fascists. However, only one completely unfamiliar with the Croatian public scene could believe such a qualification.

A wolf will change its appearance, but never its character (conveniently, the emblem of HSP is decorated by a wolf). The true character of Djapic and HSP is well known even on the international level. Perhaps one of the best examples of that could be the article by Chris Hedges in the *New York Times* from April 1997.

It's as clear as day. However, Djapic has a good excuse for his eclectic performances. For instance, he claims that the stiff-arm salute with the shout "Za Dom—Spremni" is an old Croatian salute and has nothing to do with Fascism

call and response

"The old fascist marching songs were sung, a moment of silence was observed for all who died defending the fatherland, and the gathering on Thursday was reminded that it was the 57th anniversary of the founding of Croatia's Nazi-allied wartime government. Then came the most chilling words of the afternoon.

"For Home!" shouted Anto Djapic, surrounded by bodyguards in black suits and crew cuts.

"Ready!" responded the crowd of 500 supporters, their arms rising in a stiff Nazi salute.

"The call and response—the Croatian equivalent of 'Sieg! Heil!'—was the wartime greeting used by supporters of the fascist Independent State of Croatia that governed the country for most the Second World War and murdered hundreds of thousands of Jews, Serbs and Croatian resistance fighters.

—Chris Hedges, "Fascists Reborn as Croatia's Founding Fathers," *New York Times*, April 12, 1997

The rest of the article can be viewed at
<http://www.web.net/~ara/documents/news/croatia.html>

or Nazism. Perhaps the people who invited him to Israel would be pleased to see him salute the Holocaust victims at the Yad Vashem memorial with this “old Croatian salute.”

Tired of these sorts of “insinuations” Djapic stated at an HSP press conference in February 1998: “Who can tell me in Croatia how to hold my arm and what to do with my arms!? I have the right to show how high corn will grow in Slavonija when HSP comes to power!” For a Nazi he’s quite a comedian.

The article also shows how much Djapic and HSP “have nothing to do with the Ustase,” as he is placed on the celebration of the anniversary of the Ustase state. The fact that Ante Pavelic used to be the leader of HSP also has nothing to do with the modern HSP and Djapic.

Djapic also doesn’t bother hiding that he is a regular visitor of mass memorial ceremonies commemorating Pavelic’s death at the Church of Wounded Jesus in the main Ilica Street in Zagreb. He was also present in June 2000 on a ceremony in Slunj when a monument was erected for Jure Francetic, the commander of the infamous Black Legion responsible for the murder of many Jews.

As Djapic says that his party has nothing to do with the Ustase, what does he think about the Ustase movement? In 1996 Djapic stated for *Globus* magazine that “The only guilt of the Ustase movement is that it failed.” He also has a nice opinion about the treatment of Jews by the Ustase regime. He stated at a HSP rally in Varazdin in November 1999 that “The property of Croatian Jews during NDH was not confiscated, but given to others to use.” “Given to others to use,” obviously, until the Jews murdered by Ustase are resurrected from the dead.

There are many examples of this kind with Djapic and members of HSP marching with Ustase Nazi songs, salutes, uniforms and insignia in many places in Croatia so there cannot be any doubt that the new fur of the HSP wolf as “neo-conservatives” is just a convenient euphemism for this neo-Nazi party. But the question remains: will Israeli Jews buy this story and allow this man to mock their victims, or they will do something about it?

Djapic and HSP are only the tip of the iceberg of a really diabolical effort directed at the Jews. The Croatian

Anto Djapic of the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP)

Liberation Movement, the Ustase umbrella terrorist organization and a political party allied with HSP, is also attempting to change their image in a similar fashion. They have removed all anti-Semitic content from their website (hop.hr) blaming the Jews for world domination and conspiracies, Communism, for the crimes of Communists, abortions, just as all practical Nazis do. Now they compare Croatia to Israel, and present themselves as friends of Jews. Moreover, Pavelic’s granddaughters, activists of HOP, proudly declare themselves as “Croatian Jews” as the climax of the mockery of Jews and their victims.

The school of revisionist history is working in the same direction as the mentioned political parties. Dr. Petar Vucic published a book called *Jews and Croats*, in which he claims that the Ustase were not Nazis, and therefore they have nothing to apologize about to the Jews. According to Vucic, the Ustase were actually philosemitic.

Similarly, Ms. Ljubica Stefan claims that Ustase were not Nazis and that there was never such a political party in Croatia, even though apart from all other evidence, even the *Principles of the Ustase Movement* show that they were indeed Nazis. Ms. Stefan was awarded a title of the righteous by Yad Vashem on the recommendation of the same two people who are trying to award Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac with the same title—Dr. Primorac and Dr. Shomrony.

Stefan presents herself as a great friend of Jews in her texts translated in English. In the complex of Yad Vashem there is a library that collects anti-Semitic texts, masterpieces of hatred and manipulation like *Mein Kampf* and *The*



Protocols of the Elders of Zion. If the people in charge of that library had bothered to just look at some of the texts of Ljubica Stefan in the anti-Semitic paper *Hrvatsko Slovo* that are not translated in English, they would have found themselves in an absurd situation of collecting anti-Semitic texts of the person they awarded with the title of the Righteous Among the Nations.

Even jailed war criminal Dinko Sakic, one of the former commandants of the Jasenovac concentration camp who personally executed Jews, is involved in this scheme. He

recently published in Croatia the book *With the Poglavnik in the Alps* in which he claims that the Ratline was organized by the Jews, and not by the Vatican and U.S. and British intelligence services!

All these Nazis need is a good PR firm to sell this story to the Jews, as it wouldn't be the first time they did something like that. Hopefully, Israeli Jews will not fall to this kind of a story and will react to the ultimate insult that is being prepared by Anto Djapic.

—Sinisa Djuric

The Exiles

A Brief History of the Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP)

Part One: The Pavelic Years

THERE ARE MANY right-wing organizations in the world today, and not a few indulge in their taste for that candy-coated stimulant of the half-educated. I'm speaking, of course, of Holocaust Denial. But there's only one right-wing movement in existence today founded by men that once ran concentration camps.

The Croatian Liberation Movement (*Hrvatski Oslobodilacki Pokret*, or HOP), is a direct descendent of the Ustase movement itself. No other right-wing extremist movement in Europe or diaspora today is so closely connected to the killing fields and slaughterhouses of World War II and Hitler's Final Solution. Nor can the godfathers of the American right-wing extremist movement (such as the recently deceased Dr. William L. Pierce, who once worked for the American Nazi Party) be tied so intimately to the mass extermination of minorities which consumed

the European continent in World War II. As a political party, the HOP is, in the opinion of most contemporary chroniclers of Croatian politics, a spent force. The pool of voters which represent the most extremist fringe of the Croatian body politic have decidedly looked beyond the HOP to more charismatic movements on the right, such as Anto Djapic's and Mladen Schwartz's bands of black-shirted thugs. Much of the movement's support in the Croatian community abroad was likewise siphoned off by more recent political movements, especially the meteoric rise of the late president Franjo Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ).

The HOP is still a subject of fascination, most notably for the permutations it has gone through. What began as a pre-war exile movement responsible for what was considered the "Crime of the Century"—the murder of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia and French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou in Marseilles, France¹—emerged as a full-fledged Nazi puppet regime, even if its barbarity and lack of control managed to alienate most German officials who came into contact with it. And after the war, the Ustase re-established themselves as one of the most virulent terrorist movements in the Western world.

What separates the Ustase from other Fascist movements which suffocated in the ashes of World War II is the HOP. And what separates the HOP from other contempo-

rary neo-Fascist groups is the fact that their founder and a considerable number of their leading officials served as properly coronated and deputized officials of a Nazi puppet state. The HOP didn't just distribute anti-Semitic and anti-Serbian essays; their leader had signed binding anti-Semitic and anti-Serbian legislation. The HOP didn't just harass Jews and Serbs; their leader organized their mass execution and eventually paid Himmler and Eichmann thirty *reichsmarks* for every Croatian Jew deported to Auschwitz. Thus, the HOP is not just a political party, but a relic of the days when most of Europe languished in the shadow of the swastika.

Among the HOP, at least, there is no veil of ambiguity over their past; in fact, the organization, though founded in the 1950s, took the same official name, identity and symbols of the original Ustase movement founded by Ante Pavelic in Vienna in 1929.² HOP propagandists are at pains to stress the continuity from that date to the present, including their proud connection to the Independent State of Croatia (NDH).

For the purposes of clarity, however, "HOP" in this essay makes a distinction which technically does not exist and refers strictly to the political movement of that name baptized by the "HOP Declaration" published on June 8, 1956.³

After the fall of the Independent State of Croatia and Ustase leader Ante Pavelic's surreptitious flight to Argentina, the Ustase movement passed through a sort of dark age. A number of front organizations and governments-in-exile rose and fell; new ones were constantly being formed under the *Poglavnik's* initiative and died with scarcely a mention.

Pavelic had hoped—and had reason to hope—that a confrontation between East and West, the Americans and the Soviets, would provide the Ustase with the space to return to power in a Yugoslavia which would be once again dismembered. From 1945 until 1948, the American and British governments had provided covert support to the *Krizari* ("Crusaders")—former Ustase soldiers as well as new recruits among refugees who mounted raids into Yugoslav territory from Austria.⁴ The *Krizari* "stay-behind"

units within Yugoslavia itself were under the operational command of Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic, the designer of the Jasenovac concentration camp and its first commandant, who had been named commander-in-chief of the Croatian armed forces by Pavelic before he fled from Zagreb in May 1945. One of the *Krizari* squads was led by Ljubo Milos, another former commandant of Jasenovac.

Nearly all of the *Krizari* insurgents were captured by the Yugoslav army and secret police and their leaders (including Milos) summarily tried and executed. The ease with which the Yugoslav Communist authorities neutralized the *Krizari* raiders led many to believe that a mole within US intelligence—possibly Kim Philby of the "Cambridge Spy Ring"—tipped off the Soviets, who in turn tipped off the Yugoslavs.

America's relations with Yugoslavia form the ebb and flow of the Ustase's activity in the first decade following the war. The *Krizari* campaign is thought to have finally died out in 1948—the same year as the confrontation between Yugoslavia and the USSR, and Yugoslavia's subsequent expulsion from the Communist Bloc of nations and realignment as a "non-aligned" state with fairly strong ties to the West. The year 1956 marks the next milestone in Yugoslavia's relations with the West, as Tito and Khrushchev mended fences. That same year—June 8, 1956—the HOP was born.

The declarants to the "Founding Declaration of the HOP" identify themselves as "the undersigned, members of the government of the Independent State of Croatia," then identify their chief enemy as "Communism," in the pot-



Ljubo Milos wearing the badge of the Ustase Security Service.

boiled rhetoric typical at the height of the Cold War. The identities of the thirteen co-signers of the HOP Declaration are illuminating: led by the *Poglavnik* himself, nearly all were wanted by the West as well as Yugoslavia on war crimes charges. Each did future researchers the courtesy of signing alongside their names the position they held in the government of the wartime Independent State of Croatia:

- Dr. Ante Pavelic, Poglavnik and Commander-in-Chief of the Croatian Armed Forces
- Dr. Dzafer beg-Kulenovic, deputy and President of the NDH
- Dr. Vjekoslav Vrancic, Minister of the NDH
- Dr. Stjepan Hefer, Minister of the NDH and deputy of the Peasant Party
- Dr. Jozo Dumandzic, Minister of the NDH
- Ivica Frkovic, Minister of the NDH
- Stipe Matijevic, deputy of the Peasant Party, Doglavnik and State Councillor of the NDH
- Dr. Petar grof Pejacevic, Minister of the NDH
- Dr. Andrija Ilic, Minister of the NDH
- Dr. Oskar Turina, Minister of the NDH
- Dr. Ivan Kordic, State Councillor the NDH
- Josip Markovic, State Security of the NDH
- Ivan Asancaic, Leader of the Croatian Home Guard

In light of the signatories of the Founding Declaration, it's easy to see why the HOP had a leg up on the competition among other neo-Nazi groups: none had quite such an illustrious pool of organizers, thugs and desk-murderers to draw from.

Along with the paper resurrection of the Independent State of Croatia came all of the mothballed trappings of the totalitarian state, including a cult of personality devoted to Ante Pavelic, expressed in "odes" to the *Poglavnik*, flattering portraits on canvas and even on the postage stamps the philatelic Pavelic had printed in his own honour.

From the time the Ustase movement was founded in 1929, however, Pavelic had been forced to confront dissension in the ranks. His experience in Argentina was no dif-

the manifesto

The very first words of the HOP's founding declaration takes special note of the reconciliation between Belgrade and Moscow in 1956, which some policy advisors in the United States feared would lead to Yugoslavia ratifying the Warsaw Pact and bringing the border of the Cold War to Trieste.

"In view of the latest developments," the declaration begins, "regarding the Belgrade Communist government and of the insoluble ties between that government and Soviet Russia, we the undersigned, members of the government of the Independent State of Croatia, pledge to begin work for the immediate liberation of Croatia among ourselves, the Croatian people, and to collaborate with all other peoples enslaved by Communism and all other free people willing to participate."

An English translation of the Founding Declaration of the HOP can be read online at <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/pavelic/ap0037.html>.

ferent. The greatest threat to his authority came before HOP's official baptism in March 1954, following a highly publicized meeting with a fellow émigré from Yugoslavia in Buenos Aires: former Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Stojadinovic. According to press reports at the time (picked up by US intelligence via Germany), Pavelic and Stojadinovic had come to some sort of agreement on the exact division of Yugoslavia after Tito was overthrown, and presumably spoke on how they'd like that to come about.

Following above "interview" [between Pavelic and Stojadinovic] leaflets were disseminated among the Croatian emigrants in Argentina, in which PAVELIC was called a traitor who is planning to "sell out" Croatia in order to realize his personal ambitious plans. The authors of the leaflets are allegedly extreme-nationalist Ustaschi. A split among the Ustaschi is regarded as possible if the "agreements" should come to the knowledge of wider circles. In the case of a split the extreme elements among the Ustaschis are expect-

ed to join Max LUBURIC (known in exile as General DRINJANIN), commander of Group V (Europe) of the "Croatian Armed Force in Exile", seat: MADRID. Differences of opinion have allegedly been existing between LUBURIC and PAVELIC for a long time.⁵



**Vjekoslav "Maks"
Luburic photographed
in his Ustase uniform.**

laborating closely with each other from the United States to Germany to Australia despite their founders' antipathy.

Aside from ideological challenges to his leadership, Pavelic also had to balance the supposed "intellectual" wing of the Ustase movement, represented chiefly by former NDH Minister Stjepan Hefer, and the more violent factions of HOP that longed for a complete return to the slash-and-burn terrorist attacks of the 1930s and of the *Krizari* campaign.

Pavelic's control over the movement seems not to have suffered when he was forced, after a high-profile attempt on his life, to flee Argentina for Spain (coincidentally, the seat of Luburic's Croatian People's Resistance movement, or "Odpor"). He succumbed in Madrid on December 28, 1959

to wounds sustained in the assassination attempt in Argentina two years earlier.

His chosen successor was Stjepan Hefer, though the *Poglavnik* had left a number of issues unresolved. No sooner had Hefer assumed control of the HOP than Vjekoslav Vrancic, Pavelic's long-time, loyal personal assistant and occasional minister in the NDH government, declared Hefer's leadership illegitimate and declared that *he* was the leader of the HOP. The Pavelic era had ended, essentially, with HOP's hopeless fragmentation.

—Cali Ruchala

Notes

¹ In spite of overwhelming evidence, some still refuse to admit Pavelic and the Ustase's role in the affair. The assassin was a Bulgarian "loaned," in the words of Ivan "Vancia" Mihailov of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, to the Ustase from his organization. See "The Conspirator Rediscovered," an interview with Mihailov by Antonio Pitamitz which appeared in the Italian *Storia Illustrata* in 1990. A translation of the interview is available at <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/pavelic/ap0038.html>.

² Within HOP itself, any distinction between the Ustase and the HOP is superfluous. As an example, in 1997 HOP-Zagreb published *Ustasa Hrvatski Oslobođilacki Pokret, 1 January 1929-1979*, which use the two proper names as synonyms. A translation of the preface to the book is available at <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/hop/hop0001.html>.

³ The Founding Declaration of the HOP is available in English translation at <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/pavelic/ap0037.html>.

⁴ See Aarons, Mark and Loftus, John, *Unholy Trinity*, St. Martin's Press, New York 1991, p 119. See also pp 120-125.

⁵ The "Munich Report: Croatian Emigrant Movement," October 1954. The document is a translation from German found in the archives of the U.S. State Department. A copy is online at <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/pavelic/ap0042.html>.

Where Are They Now?

Neo-Ustase Terrorists “Odpor’s” Jailed Alumni

THE HRVATSKI NARODNI Odpor, (Croatian National Resistance, HNO, or simply “Odpor” and “Otpor”) was founded by Vjekoslav “Maks” Luburic, the first commandant of the Jasenovac concentration camp. As with Pavelić’s HOP, this neo-Ustase splinter movement managed to outlive its founder. Luburic was assassinated (most likely by the Yugoslav secret police) in 1969, but Odpor lived on—long enough for a new generation to come of age and fall afoul of the authorities on their own.

Headquartered in Chicago, the American branch of Odpor enjoyed a renaissance through the 1970s, carrying out bombings, murders and arson attacks throughout the country.¹ They also extorted money from Croatian immigrants to finance their terror campaign and had, in the words of the prosecutor who eventually broke the back of the organization, “declared war on almost every moderate Croatian group” in the United States.²

In response to Odpor’s reign of terror, the FBI opened two cases in the late 1970s to deal with an organization which appeared to function with impunity. The investigations (codenamed “CROMUR,” for “Croatian Murders,” and “CROCTER,” of uncertain origin) soon bore results: the indictment of nearly the entire top echelon of Odpor in the United States. Two trials commenced in which the defendants were charged under the Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) for a variety of crimes, including a score of counts of extortion, hiring a professional killer to murder a Croatian-American journalist and assembling and mailing out pipe bombs concealed within hollowed-out books (among other targets was a Croatian-American Catholic priest in Milwaukee).

The government’s prosecutors succeeded in obtaining

convictions against all of the indicted conspirators on a variety of charges. Odpor fired off a series of bombs in New York City in retaliation for the imprisonment of their leaders, but the organization vanished into obscurity a few years later.

So what ever happened to Odpor’s convicted bombers, murderers, extortionists and arsonists? According to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, all but the chief conspirators have served out their sen-

tences at a variety of correctional facilities in the United States and have since been released. The following information is current as of January 1, 2004:

Franjo Ivic: Inmate #02535-054, Franjo Ivic stalked Croatian-American journalist and activist Joseph Badurina with a white van and a sniper rifle, waiting for a chance to assassinate him as Badurina walked his young daughter to school. He was released on October 10, 1995.

Ivan Cale: Inmate #02558-054, Ivan Cale was charged with planning the bombing by dynamite of the Yugoslav Consulate, a travel agency, and a dance studio in New York. Cale was released on April 24, 1998.

Stipe Ivkovic: Inmate #02557-054, Stipe Ivkovic had loaned his van to Ivic for the assassination of Badurina, and also took part in the three bombings mentioned above. He was released on September 28, 1987.

Milan Bagaric: Inmate #02650-016, Milan Bagaric was Odpor’s “explosives engineer,” creating dozens of pipe bombs and other explosives in his basement. One bomb Bagaric created was intended to kill Milan Vranes, an officer with the Croatian Fraternal Union, but two of Odpor’s dimwitted “activists” left the explosive device at the wrong address. He was released on October 18, 1999.

Mile Markich: Inmate #89328-024, Mile Markich had been charged with obtaining the dynamite that went into Bagaric’s bombs from a former employer that ran a mining company in Canada. He was released on March 11, 1988.

Drago Sudar: Inmate #02651-016, Drago Sudar was another Odpor mad bomber, lending his expertise in disguising explosives to the conspirators. From his home in Toronto, the government claimed he had taught Odpor the skills necessary to properly conceal a bomb inside a hollowed-out book, copies of which were later mailed to Father Timothy Majic in Milwaukee and Odpor's perennial target, Joseph Badurina. Extradited from Canada, he was convicted and released on March 9, 1992.

Vinko Logarusic: Inmate #30928-060, Vinko Logarusic manufactured many of the "book bombs" mailed to prominent Odpor opponents in the Croatian-American community. He was also a confidant of Odpor terrorist Miro Baresic, convicted of the assassination of Yugoslav diplomat Vladimir Rolovic in Sweden. A search of Logarusic's home turned up a hollowed-out book stuffed with wires, a battery and a light bulb, described by an FBI explosives expert as a "test book." He also had some eight hundred rounds of ammunition locked in a metal toolbox. Logarusic was released on September 8, 1993.

Ante Ljubas: Inmate #89329-024, Ante Ljubas was described by the prosecutor as the "field general" of Odpor in the United States.³ Ljubas began Odpor's American renaissance in 1974 when he contracted Joe Neri ("a notorious Chicago gangster"⁴) and Louis Almeida ("another local gangster" and the driver for Chicago mafia enforcer Harry Aleman⁵) for the purpose of assassinating John Badovinac, leader of the Croatian Fraternal Union. He agreed to pay Neri and Aleman \$20,000 for killing Badovinac, and \$10,000 for each of ten or so additional killings of Odpor's Croatian opponents. Neri and Almeida traveled to Pittsburgh in February 1975 to kill Badovinac, but couldn't find him. They tried again in March, but were pulled over by Ohio police *en route* to Pennsylvania with a ".38 Colt firearm with a four-inch barrel, a.380 automatic Barretta, a.380 Walther PPKS with silencer, and a photograph of Badovinac."⁶

After this disastrous misadventure, Ljubas recruited the other conspirators mentioned herein and began an unprece-

the odpor trials

The First Odpor RICO Trial

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/odp0001.html>

The Second Odpor RICO Trial

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ljubas/al0001.html>

dented ring of bombings, extortion and intimidation. Ljubas is still imprisoned; his projected release date is August 8, 2004.

The FBI files on the "CROMUR" and "CROCTER" investigations are still heavily classified—most likely a result of protecting strategies the agency used to fight Croatian terrorism from being divulged in the modern "War on Terror." There are, however, some tantalizing fragments in the thousands of heavily sanitized pages that were released from a recent Freedom of Information Act request by Attorney Jonathan Levy. In one, an agent opines:

One of the puzzles in the CROMUR extortion situation is the extreme damage which has been wrought in Croatian communities by a so-called Croatian "patriotic effort"

—Cali Ruchala

Notes

¹ Coincidentally, Odpor shared a common *modus operandi* with another terrorist organization: al-Qaeda. According to Secret Service documents released under the Freedom of Information Act, Odpor's hallmark was to detonate two explosions in close proximity to one another, which has since been noted as al-Qaeda's preferred tactic. See "Field Report X-ODN-06056, I80-56,398, I80-56,399," Department of the Treasury, United States

Secret Service detailing two bombings of Croatian-owned businesses in San Pedro, California on May 25, 1980. The report is at <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/odp0002.html>.

² “10 Croats on Trial on Racketeering Charges,” Arnold Lubasch, *New York Times*, 1982. The article is online at <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/odp0003.html>.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Second Circuit Court of Appeals ruling denying appeals in U.S. vs. Ljubas, Bagaric, et. al. The ruling is online at <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ljubas/al0001.html>.

⁵ First District Court of Appeals ruling in State of Illinois vs. Aleman. An excerpt from the ruling is online at <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ljubas/al0003.html>.

⁶ Second Circuit Court; see note 4. Ironically, it was this comic misadventure (which was none too comical to Mr. Badovinac, to be sure) which led to Almeida’s defection to the government and future testimony against Harry Aleman, particularly in the celebrated case of the murder of union leader Billy Logan. By the 1970s, following the incarceration of many of the Chicago mafia’s top guns, Aleman had become mob boss Tony Accardo’s chief enforcer.

appendix

The Index.hr Files

Thompson: Patriot or Fascist?

The Final Answer Is...

[published December 28, 2003]

Text written by Matija Babic

Thompson’s songs listened to by Nevan Barkovic

TO DECLARE THAT the most popular Croatian singer is a devotee of Fascism only because of his darker style of dress and a few Ustase symbols in the audience is, to say the least, exaggerated, and it gives Croatia a bad reputation.

It was exactly because of these kinds of rumors that Thompson’s concert in Holland was recently banned, and in the world media Croatia was again associated with terms related to the most shameful days of Croatian history.

Marko Perkovic long ago dissociated himself from Ustasism and exclusively emphasized his patriotism, especially during the last four years.

In a search for the final answer to the question whether Thompson is just a Croatian patriot or a promoter of Ustasism and Fascism, we dug through the archive of Thompson’s statements and recordings from his performances at concerts and parties.

After carefully listening many Thompson’s songs—we are shocked by the fact that Marko Perkovic is being rebuked because of his black pants and T-shirts and because of the salute “Za Dom—Spremni,” while at the same time Thompson keeps performing a song with words that fill us with disgust.

Although an average Internet surfer is probably not aware of this, there are tens (maybe even hundreds, we didn’t count) of Internet pages dedicated to the Ustase, the NDH, Ante Pavelic and other Ustase “giants.”

On many of these sites you can freely download Ustase songs performed by singers like Josko Tomicic and Marko Perkovic-Thompson, but also new ones like “Hey Ivica and Stipan.”

Among pearls like “The Ustase Army is Rising” and “We Will Break All Your Fingers” we chose for download one called “Here Comes Dawn, Here Comes Day” performed by Thompson, along with one interesting duet—the above mentioned Josko Tomicic and Thompson song “Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara.”

The text of the song we convey in the form Thompson and Tomicic sang it, following the introduction that “This is the song our grandfathers used to sing and were proud of it”:

Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara, that's the house of Maks' butchers
Through Imotski trucks are rushing, driving the black shirts of Francetic Jure
In Capljina there was a slaughterhouse, many Serbs were carried away by
the Neretva

(let me see your arms)

Hey Neretva flow down the side, carry Serbs to the blue Adriatic
Who could imagine last year that Christmas would be celebrated by
Partizans
Who said it, may his father screw him, that the Black Legion is not return-
ing

(there are two new)

Our Lady of Sinj if you are capable, take away Stipe and give us back Franjo
Hey Racan may a dog fuck your mother, and to those who voted for you
Shiny star above Metkovic, send our regards to Ante Pavelic

If you are refusing to believe that the most popular Croatian singer is really singing things like that, download it yourself while such songs are still legal in Croatia.

Unfortunately, you can take your time.

Download MP3: Thompson - Jasenovac i Gradiska Stara
<http://www.index.hr/images2/Thompson-Jasenovaci-GradiskaStara.mp3>

Judging by the words of the song (Hey Racan may a dog fuck your mother, and to those who voted for you) it can be concluded that it was created during the last four years,

therefore it cannot be attributed to the sins of Perkovic's youth.

For those who don't know history so well, we must mention that Jure Francetic and Maks Luburic, who are glorified by Thompson and Tomicic in their song, were infamous butchers of the Ustase regime responsible for the death of a large number of civilians—Serbs, Jews, Roma, Croats and others, and for the betrayal of Croatia.

The mentioned singers not only don't hide that they know well what kind of butchers they are singing about, on the contrary that is the exact thing they admire the most and make points about their slaughters in rhymes. So already in the first verse they mention the concentration camps Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska as the house of “Maks' butchers.”

Thompson and Tomicic then glorify the infamous Black Legion, the “slaughterhouse” in Capljina, and then, in a comical context for them, the Neretva River full of dead Serbs, and conclude the song by mentioning Ante Pavelic.

The theory that Thompson is just a benign patriot whose songs affect the defiance and rebellious spirit of Croatian youth is obviously just a bad excuse for open praising and celebrating the darkest era of Croatian history, which isn't even in accord with the teachings of the Catholic Church, which Thompson constantly alludes to.

His concert in Holland was banned obviously because of justified reasons, as it would be banned in any other normal country.

In Germany and Italy singers who glorify Hitler or Mussolini don't perform anywhere except in underground clubs visited by neo-Nazis.

Even in Republika Srpska, which we like to think is far more backward than our beautiful homeland, performers like Dinara Rock Division (“Ratko sends shells”) are marginalized and don't have access to state media.

“I don't know why my name is being connected with Ustase and why that happens. I dissociate myself from that wherever I can. What do I have to do with Ustase and Partizans? Absolutely nothing,” Thompson stated recently.

Indeed, if Ante Pavelic, Maks Luburic and Jure Francetic have nothing to do with Ustase, neither does

Thompson.

There are no documented recordings that Bora Djordjevic, whom we remember as a notorious Chetnik because of his statements from the 1990s, has ever stated or sung something as nearly as horrible as Thompson in the mentioned lyrics.

Thompson, it should be obvious to everyone, doesn't just copy their salute and clothing, but openly advocates Ustase and Fascist ideas. That is the fact that shouldn't be camouflaged nor justified.

Thompson will earn 30,000 euros for *[his]* New Year's gig, which shows that Croatia is the only state in the world in which the best paid and the most popular singer promotes Fascism.

Croatia, as much as we want to believe otherwise, is not a normal country.

Nor it will ever become normal as long as a singer who glorifies Ustase massacres is shown on national television, as long as his CDs are being sold by the largest domestic record company, as long as he performs in the largest stadiums, as long as he is being invited to city celebrations, as long as the majority of media qualify him at best as a controversial singer (Margaret Thatcher and her fans could also be controversial, while Pavelic and Luburic, whom Thompson glorifies, just like for instance Arkan and Milosevic, are war criminals and nothing else), as long as those whom he alludes to do not dissociate from him - war veterans, the Church and the political right, and as long as the public perceives him as a patriot.

With these sorts of patriots, Croatia doesn't need enemies.

Until the moment this changes Croatia will justifiably be observed as a small dark Balkan state, the only one in the world in which half a century after the Holocaust, Fascism is still a popular and a state supported phenomenon.

"Jasenovac" and "Here Comes Dawn" Were Sung By Thompson and Supporting Vocalist Tiho Orlic in Concert in Osijek in 2002

[published January 3, 2004]

By Matija Babic and Nevan Barkovic

IF IT WAS at any moment controversial whether "Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara" is performed by Thompson or by someone with an amazingly similar voice, now it is no longer controversial, because index.hr has come into the possession of audio recording of one of concerts on which Thompson sung "Jasenovac."

After index.hr published the recording of the scandalous song "Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara" in which Thompson explicitly glorifies Ustase crimes, the Croatian public remained in disgust.

After the publication of the text we received numerous emails in which visitors, wishing to remain anonymous, mentioned that they were present at a performance of the same song by Thompson in Oscar Disco in Offenbach near Frankfurt *[Germany]* in 2001, at a concert in Cleveland, a concert on the occasion of Kupres Days of Mowing, etc.

Thompson didn't even try to justify himself for the words of a song for which there is no justification, but he stated for *Novi list* how he does not remember ever singing that, and though it is completely clear that it is his voice on the recording, Thompson added that "you can do anything on a computer."

Entries from 2002 in the guest book of Thompson's official web pages show that "Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara" were obviously well known hits among Thompson's fans long before we published our article on index.hr.

In the archive of older posts in the forum of Black Legion (<http://www.crnalegija.com>) we found the song "Jasenovac" which is mentioned there very often, performed by Marko Perkovic-Thompson, which most of the forum participants had, as they said themselves, thanks to

the recording of the concert in Osijek 2002.

But we were corrected on Black Legion that the song “Jasenovac” was not performed by Thompson and Tomicic, as we published in our first article, who died on 9 December 2000, but by Thompson and his supporting vocalist Tiho Orlic.

Thompson held several concerts in Osijek in 2002, and the comments it seems are about a concert from July held in the old Osijek cinema in the lower city, so called “MC Slavia.”

On the web pages of Black Legion we saw a whole line of “interesting” posts and attitudes. Among the participants of this pro-Ustase forum, Thompson is the most popular Croatian star. However, a certain Walter objects to him: “Thompson says he is not an Ustase and a Nazi. And it is obvious he is pro-Ustase, just like us, but doesn’t want to admit it.”

Thompson is also criticized on the forum because of the fact that at some of his concerts it is forbidden to take photographs, and there are also comments that “the best Thompson concerts are in Herzegovina, because he can sing whatever he wants there,” while in Croatia—“because of Racan and Mesic”—he cannot.

After that we found a link to an ftp server of one of the members of the Black Legion forum (<ftp://cromp3:ndh@turboero.dyn.ee/>, at the moment of the publication of this article it was active) and where in a huge archive of songs there is also a recording of the entire Thompson’s concert in Osijek.

Besides “Jasenovac,” Thompson sang at the Osijek concert the no-less-horrible “Here Comes Dawn, Here Comes Day,” in which he glorifies the Ustase and the *Poglavnik*.

Here comes dawn, here comes day, here come Jure and Boban
- Jure calls, Boban shouts, here I am Poglavnik!

On the top of Mount Trebevic, in the camp of Francetic.
- In the camp Jure sits and speaks to his army,

Jure calls, Boban shouts, hey knight Francetic.
- Your brigade guards Lika, pearl of our country, our pride,

Here comes dawn, here comes day, here comes a brigade from Imotski.
- Hey, Ustashe my dear brothers, the Drina is deep.

We should go over the Drina and burn Serbia
When he was crossing the Drina, he was shot in a leg.

But he doesn’t scream like a woman, he shouts FOR HOME READY!
- FOR HOME READY! For freedom, of Croatian, his people.

FOR HOME READY! mighty bird, Dr. Ante Pavelic!

As much as Thompson tries not to remember the concert held less than a year and a half ago, just as many are trying not to recognize his voice in the song “Jasenovac,” the fact is that the above mentioned song was sung exactly by Marko Perkovic-Thompson—at his own concert, with his own supporting vocalist.

As there were thousands of people at the concert, probably many of them will be able to testify to what’s written above, if they can get the courage. The question remains why journalists, who most likely were present at the concert, did not say a thing about this before.

Thompson: I’ve Been Singing “Jasenovac,” So What?

[published January 8, 2004]

By Matija Babic and Nevan Barkovic

AFTER INDEX.HR published a recording from the concert in July 2002 in Osijek, which proves that Thompson with his supporting vocalist has been singing “Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara,” Thompson abandoned his original story according to which “he does not remember” that he’s

been singing about slaughterhouses and butcheries, and the theory that the recording published by index.hr was probably created on a computer.

Thompson now remembered without any problems, and on his official website <http://www.thompson.hr> published a statement in which he admits that he's been singing the infamous song "everywhere in Croatian squares and in halls," but he doesn't even think of apologizing.

Thompson emphasizes in his statement that he's been singing "Jasenovac" and similar songs during the war, but also after 2000, when "power was taken over by the Communists."

"Then we were again saying to the vampire-like Communists, with that and similar songs, that we are not afraid of them and that we will resist them and protect our values at any cost." The values Thompson alludes to, we remind you, are "slaughterhouses" and "butcheries" of the notorious Ustase murderers Jure Francetic and Maks Luburic.

"Never again will Communists and Chetniks tell us what we can and cannot sing in our homeland," Thompson concludes.

Now, Thompson says, there is no more need for that because "we again have Croatian authorities." Therefore, "Jasenovac" is put on a waiting list until the next return of the left wing parties to power.

The statement (we convey it in its entirety):

"Dear friends!

"First of all, I would like to emphasize to you that my official website is the only true source of information about me and my opinion and you can find this in articles edited by the administrator.

"We are witnesses of yet another insane campaign, which, because of their election defeat, hysterical Communists and their collaborators are starting against me.

"This time they have discovered warm water; They have 'discovered' that I've been singing songs like 'Here Comes Dawn...', 'Jasenovac...' and similar.

"I am not the author of these songs, but I have been

singing them, which is well known to all of us, during a certain period everywhere in Croatian squares and in halls without hiding, therefore this makes their sensational discovery ridiculous to say the least.

"And this is when and why I've been singing them. These songs I've been singing with hundreds of thousands of Croats during the Patriotic War when Chetnik aggression endangered the very existence of the Croatian state and the people, when thousands of Croatian young men died defending our values and lives from Chetnik knives.

"These songs we have been singing in spite to the enemy, expressing our rebellious spirit and determination to stand up to those beasts and to finally defeat them, and these songs caused fear among them.

"After the 3rd of January 2000 when Croatia stumbled and power was taken over by the Communists, there were unbelievable derogations, insults, humiliations and persecutions of Croatian defenders, generals, intellectuals and prominent public personalities and everything sacred to the Croatian people. All over Croatia 'Over forests and hills' [*a Partizan song*] was being sung, the Croatian army had been declared an aggressor, warrants were issued, bounties were offered for their betrayal... Then we were again saying to the vampire-like Communists, with that and similar songs, that we are not afraid of them and that we will resist them and protect our values at any cost.

"And today, when they are finally on their knees, they are trying with these sorts of low blows and by declaring me a Fascist, Nazi and similar, to cause as much harm as possible to me and to the entire homeland.

"Dear friends, do not pay attention to them, they are a matter of the past and never again will Communists and Chetniks tell us what we can and cannot sing in our homeland.

"Dear friends, we should turn to the future. Thank God, now again we have Croatian authorities and we have no more need to express our dissatisfaction in this or similar ways, but we need to spend all our energy by contributing to the common welfare and progress of our nation and our state."

—articles translated by Sinisa Djuric

The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



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SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE POGLAVNIK
V.I. Number 40
5. June 1941. [sic - July 5, 1941]
Mostar

DIRECTED TO THE COMMANDER OF LAND ARMY COLONEL LULIC

Consistent with my previous oral and written reports I
communicate the following:

Several days after I took over the military administration
given to me by the Poglavnik in the greater regions of Hum
and Dubrava, by common sense deductions and apart from any
foreign influence I was able to gain the following impression
of recent events.

Unrest in Herzegovina, the anger and desperation of the
population was, according to statements from all sectors of
the population, mostly a result of the savage and inhuman
actions of the "SO CALLED USTASE".

During the organization of Ustase army units men were
assigned without any diligence. Communists, chronic
alcoholics et cetera were made into Ustase overnight, so we
shouldn't be surprised that such things have occurred.

As a result, in the first few days I ordered that these men
/Ustase/ must be disarmed, and that their weapons should be
given to them only when they are on duty.

These "SO CALLED USTASE" crushed the noble ideals of Ustase
movement, undermined its reputation and brought the hatred of
the population against it.

Under this "Ustase regime" not one clerk, not one officer,
not one woman nor child was safe, day or night. These Ustase
ravaged everything wherever they went. Many of these Ustase-
men [ljudi-ustasa-hvalili] bragged about how many people they
killed, how many people they have beaten and tortured to

death. Men and women were without appeal dragged to prisons, even though the least offense could not be attributed to them. "SO CALLED USTASE" arrogantly claim that they "cleansed the area" of Gacko-Avtovac-Bileca-Nevesinje and that in this way did a great favour to Independent State of Croatia. They believed they accomplished this task by bloodshed, but they didn't realize that they only removed just one part of the people, and that on the contrary the largest part of Serbian population out of fear fled with weapons to rocky terrain, to the mountains and forests, determined to die a death worthy of a man, than to be tortured and beaten without mercy at home.

The Ustase bear the greatest part of the blame for the current unrest, which has had to be suppressed by a young Croatian army, which has required many sacrifices and will require many more.

State officials and other authorities, members of the police and others were pushed aside by the Ustase, scared and thus discouraged from resisting the murder of these people.

The Ustase claim that they do everything according to orders coming from the organization from Zagreb and that everything must be subjected to them. State officials and others were so morally discouraged by their fear of the Ustase that they didn't dare send any reports about these events. In an appropriate and tactful manner I made these representatives acknowledge their unworthy and unmanly attitude as chiefs, and with great effort I managed to convince them that instead of a regime of force we live under a regime of laws and rights, and that if they in the future do not take special measures and steps to prevent tyranny and anarchy I would act even against them in the spirit of my declaration and by the laws of war. /appendix number 1/

Respectable citizens, priests, clerks, even serious Ustase complain about the actions and attitude of these "SO CALLED USTASE", who are completely undisciplined. The real Ustase say that there is no discipline among them and that they will accordingly disarm and discharge these hastily recruited men.

I believe I must also emphasize that these actions by the

Ustase also made a trying and burdensome impression on our young army. In the basement of one building in Nevesinje people were beaten until they were unconscious and then shot by a machine gun in prison by Ustase /lieutenant Franjo Sudar/. It wasn't easy to convince our young soldiers not to use force themselves against these bloodthirsty people.

With the declaration of the state of siege and court martial things got better, though during the night 30/VI [June 30] and the daytime of 1/VII [July 1] there was a sad event in Ljubuski when a large number of people were murdered again /as it can be seen from the transcript of a letter appendix number 2/. One butcher named Osmic from Ljubuski was arrested and the case was handed over to an investigative judge.

Consistent with everything expressed here may I be allowed to state the following:

1/ I am deeply convinced and it is confirmed from many places that if the state of siege and court martial weren't executed in the spirit of Poglavnik's order, there would have been a general bloodshed on Vidovdan 28/VI [June 28], which would have the most unpleasant consequences.

2/ It is necessary to further reinforce the Adriatic division area with: 2 battalions of infantry, several batteries of artillery, companies with heavy machine guns and mortar canons. Batteries and mortar canons can easily cleanse the nests of rebels and suppress their resistance.

3/ All actions against the rebels must be executed in a slow and methodical manner, to reduce losses to the least possible number.

Our Domobrans who come from plains, after their brief training, not knowing the difficulty of local terrain nor guerilla way of warfare with military organized groups, can succumb to panic with even the slightest of surprises.

4/ It is in the interest of the state to leave the military administration set up for a longer period of time in the Adriatic division area because of reasons I already mentioned, but also because the army enjoys the trust of the

population there.

In the interest of popularizing the regime and the state authorities, a military administration should be established across the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

5/ To establish a complete peace in these parts the present ad hoc organization of the Ustase should be disband and organized all over again, by people who are worthy of the ideals of the Ustase movement in every aspect.

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE POGLAVNIK
DEPUTY MARSHAL
Laxa

DELIVERED TO:
Military office of the Poglavnik,
Commander of land army, and to
Military office of the headquarters
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CRIMES IN THE JASENOVAC CAMP

ZAGREB 1946

The State Commission of Croatia for the
Investigation of the Crimes of the
Occupation Forces and
their Collaborators

translated by Sinisa Djuric



INTRODUCTION

THE THIRD LARGEST CONCENTRATION camp in World War II, the Jasenovac concentration camp, is also the least known about in the world, and for most of the people in western countries unknown. A suppressed chapter of history indeed. For over fifty years there were only a handful of references for Jasenovac in Western museums and books about the Holocaust and all attempts to introduce this unprecedented torture place to wider number of people have been welcomed by a barrage of denial, deception, deliberate distortion of facts and arbitrary interpretation of parts of documents. Such behavior of revisionist historians has been successful primarily because of the lack of documents and literature about Jasenovac in English. The only way to prevent misinterpretation is to present the available documents in complete form with as faithful a translation as possible.

Certainly one of the most important of such documents is the report of the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators from 1946. The systematic approach, with field research combined with many consistent testimonies of witnesses of three different nationalities (Croats, Jews and Serbs), along with forensic expert opinion provide a comprehensive insight into the most brutal of all Nazi death camps.

Regarding the veracity of the document: The only direct criticism of this document came from mathematician Josip Pecaric, who questioned the number of victims estimated in this document. However, the list of 19,000 victims he mentioned for the Jasenovac-Stara Gradiska camps was found in 1998 and starts with the letter P, and it only lists victims from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. For whole exterminated families, and in the case of the Roma for the whole nation there was no possibility of listing all victims by name on a census.

Others, like Franjo Tudjman, often used parts of this document to support their claims that the most victims in Jasenovac died of diseases, exhaustion and malnutrition, while at the same time claiming that the Ustase killed only 3,000 to 4,000 people for disobedience. The number could be near the truth if Tudjman was referring to the first five months. However, by paraphrasing parts of this document that speak of the first five months and extending them to the entire four years of Jasenovac's existence, Tudjman deliberately manipulates facts which anyone can see by comparing his writings with this report.

By such an interpretation, Tudjman concluded that it is a lie that Jasenovac was a death camp, that there were no daily massacres there, and that *"The truth is that the camp was organized as a 'labor camp' with many field and factory units. To the camp individually and mostly in small groups of tens or one hundred persons, tens of thousands of unfortunate persons were brought, but also released and shipped to labor camps in Germany."* Readers will be able to see for themselves how and where Ustase pranksters "shipped" prisoners who signed up for labor in Germany or in other camps (page 24). And how prisoners were "released" is the best illustrated in the case of a Slovenian Catholic priest on the occasion of the visit of the "international commission." (pages 40-41)

In his attempts to minimize the number of victims in Jasenovac Tudjman also resorted to fabrications of monstrous proportions. Such was his intention to bury Pavelic together with other Ustase in Jasenovac among the bones of their victims. To that purpose he invented "the historical truth" that from 1945 to 1947, the Communists "kept Jasenovac open" to kill captured Ustase there. Naturally, as he was the only one to claim that, he did not offer a single piece of evidence to support that claim, not even a single testimony. As it can be read in the state commission report, it is mentioned a number of times that in 1945 and 1946 there was nothing in the place of the Jasenovac camp but piles of ruins.

Tudjman's books, from *War Against War* (early 1960s), which contributed to his prison sentence for reviving Fascism and national intolerance, to *Wastelands of Historical Reality* written to minimize Holocaust and mock innocent victims, could hardly be described as the books of an objective historian. During his official visit to Buenos Aires, Tudjman paid a visit to one of the former commandants of the Jasenovac camp, Dinko Sakic, and paid a tribute to him for everything he did. An historian presenting himself as objective, trying to establish the "historical truth" about a concentration camp, honors a commandant of that concentration camp, and yet there are still people who insist on the reliability and objectivity of his work.

Using a demographic statistical method, engineer Vladimir Zerjavic "calculated" that the number of Jasenovac victims totals about 77,000. Later he raised that

number another 10% (85,000), as he put it because it is more humane to put a higher number than calculated, though he said he is sure that this is the final number. Anyone familiar with statistics knows that using various assumptions and estimates in establishing a growth rate can lead to very serious mistakes. Based on the assumption that from 1931 onwards the population growth rate was decreasing, Zerjavic reduced the overall number of victims of World War II in Yugoslavia a whole 700,000 people! Even if the growth rate Zerjavic “calculated” was right, it wouldn’t be possible to apply that formula on all populations in a multinational country like Yugoslavia, as Zerjavic did. A growth rate would need to be established for all separate populations, as Slovenians, Croats, Muslims, Serbs or Albanians had (and still have) very different growth rates.

For instance, if one would apply a growth rate of Yugoslavia on Kosovo Albanians, a much lower number of Albanians would be determined than the actual number, as Kosovo Albanians have the highest growth rate in Europe. Similarly, if one would apply a Yugoslav growth rate on Slovenians, a much higher number of Slovenians would be determined than there actually are, as they have a negative population growth rate. In the same way, the growth rate of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina was always a lot higher than the growth rate of Serbs in Serbia, and at that time it was nearly as high as the growth rate of Kosovo Albanians, which can be seen in the fact that in 31 years from 1879 to 1910 the number of Bosnian Serbs nearly doubled. In the same period the growth rate of Bosnian Serbs was significantly higher even than the growth rate of Bosnian Muslims. Zerjavic’s estimates and assumptions span from 1931 to 1948, but estimating a decreased growth rate on the Yugoslav level, he cannot estimate that for Serbs in Bosnia nor Croatia.

While Zerjavic’s “calculations” can be debated at great length, other examples can easily show the mockery his calculations really are. Zerjavic “calculated” the number of Jews killed in Jasenovac to 13,000, while Yad Vashem sent a list of 25,000 names to Tudjman. By his demographic statistical method, Zerjavic managed to erase 12,000 human lives.

The number of Roma victims especially doesn’t fit in Zerjavic’s account. While he calculated that 10,000 Roma were killed in Jasenovac, he admitted that only in Croatia there were 14,000 Roma registered in 1931. However, in this Jasenovac report, it is mentioned in several places, quite specifically, that all Roma from the territory of the Independent State of Croatia were gathered and killed in Jasenovac, numbering about 40,000 (which includes the territory of modern Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Srem, and even Backa and Banat, under Hungarian and German control). To support his claim, Zerjavic mentioned that in 1931 only one Roma was registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which to a person unfamiliar with Bosnian

history would imply that there were no Roma in Bosnia ever. The truth is that Roma represented an integral part of Bosnia for several centuries and there were many more Roma in Bosnia than in Croatia. The fact that only one was registered in 1931 can only mean that nobody bothered to register them. But, even if we would assume that Zerjavic is right and that there were no Roma in Bosnia, his calculation is still incorrect because if all Roma weren't killed in Jasenovac, that would mean that according to Zerjavic's calculations, 4,000 of them survived.

The 1948 census in Yugoslavia is very revealing in this regard. Namely, in that year there were 72,651 Roma in the whole of Yugoslavia. Out of that number, 98.57% of Roma lived in Serbia (52,115) and Macedonia (19,500), and the remaining just over 1% lived in Montenegro and about 200 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The 1948 census proves that all 40,000 Roma from NDH were indeed exterminated in Jasenovac, and that Zerjavic's "calculations" are false and a mockery of victims.

Of course, when faced with facts like these, revisionist historians like Pecaric and Zerjavic—instead of dealing with these facts and history—start with politics and go on at length about the crimes of the Communists towards captured Ustase, and often respond with primitive insults for anyone daring to present facts. Thus renowned Nazi hunters like Simon Wiesenthal and Efraim Zuroff are being called "Zionist Chetniks,"¹ "enemy rabid hyenas with bloody foam on their mouths,"² or even accused of being fond of Fascists.³

The attacks and speculations in various places about The Pavelic Papers website, coming as they do between death threats, can only be understood as disbelief, that they are demanding more proof. Not wanting to disappoint them we can only promise more documents like this one—much, much more to come...

SINISA DJURIC
NOVEMBER 30, 2003

¹ <http://www.hkz.hr/1695.htm>

² <http://www.hkz.hr/1715.htm>

³ <http://www.hkz.hr/1705.htm>

PUBLICATION NOTE

The 1946 report “Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp” originally included a sketched reconstruction of Jasenovac based upon the ruins of Camp No. III, which was thoroughly destroyed by the retreating Ustase. The sketch is not reproduced here.

“Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp” was translated by Sinisa Djuric and published by The Pavelic Papers. Reproduction is permitted, provided that the text is not in any way altered and the document is offered free of charge. The permanent URL for this document is:

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CRIMES IN THE JASENOVAC CAMP

ZAGREB 1946

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JASENOVAC: AN USTASE AND GERMAN INSTRUMENT FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR PEOPLES

BEFORE THE WAR, NEAR the confluence of the Una and Sava Rivers there was a large and prosperous town named Jasenovac. Its population was predominantly Serbian. The town was situated on the Zagreb-Belgrade railway, and hosted several prosperous industries; for example, the “Brick Factory,” and a small factory that made iron goods, the “Chain Factory.”

On the eastern side of the Jasenovac plain, the Strug and Lonja Rivers flow into the Sava, and the entire area is exposed to persistent seasonal floods.

The leaders of the Ustase organization knew before entering Yugoslavia that they had no support among the people, and could only preserve their power through the use of terror. They arrived after Yugoslavia’s collapse, following behind Fascist tanks. Even before the war, they were trained in various Italian terrorist camps paid for by Fascist money. From the first days of the occupation, under the protection of German and Italian troops and with their active aid, they performed arrests and mass and individual executions of Serbs, Jews and progressive Croats according to a pre-conceived plan.

By applying the racist theory of the purity of race and nation in Croatia, they were prepared to exterminate all Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, as well as all Croats who in any way expressed an anti-Fascist disposition. Thus, in a short period of time, all of Croatia’s prisons were full.

The Ustase also founded camps in other places—for instance, in Djakovo, Sisak, Stara Gradiska, Lepoglava, Lobor and so on—but these camps were much smaller. Jasenovac became the largest and most extensive concentration camp in the whole of the so-called Independent State of Croatia.

The Ustase killed the entire population of the town, or deported them, and sta-

tioned in the town itself a permanent Ustase garrison.

The first inmates, consisting mostly of Serbs and Jews, were transported to the village of Krapje, twelve kilometers west of Jasenovac, and ordered to construct a camp which became officially known as “Jasenovac Camp No. I.”

As the number of prisoners continued to swell, a second camp was founded between Jasenovac and Krapje which became officially known as “Camp No. II.”

Inmates had to build both these camps alone and in great haste, constructing barracks and dikes which were constantly overwhelmed by floods. The Ustase finally realized that both locations were unsuitable for camps, so they liquidated them and founded alongside the “Brick Factory” in Jasenovac a new camp, which became officially known as “Camp No. III.”

In the town of Jasenovac itself, they turned the leather factory into “Camp No. IV.” The camp in Stara Gradiska, not far from Jasenovac, is sometimes mentioned in Ustase reports as “Camp No. V.”

Together, these camps could receive up to 7,000 prisoners, but there were never more than 3,000 to 4,000 men on labor detail, not even when Camp No. III housed a variety of workshops.

On 25 November 1941, the so-called *Poglavnik* of the NDH issued a “legal decree,” No. CDXXIX-2101-Z-1941, signed by his “Minister” of Justice and Religion, Dr. Mirko Puk.

This “legal decree” speaks of the deportation of disloyal and dangerous people to compulsory detention in labor and concentration camps. The main articles of the decree read:

§ 1.

Disloyal individuals who present a danger to public order and safety, or who could endanger the peace and tranquility of the Croatian people or the accomplishments of the liberation struggle of the Croatian Ustase Movement, may be remanded to compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps. The Ustase Secret Service is hereby authorized to establish these camps in various places.

§ 2.

The duration of detention in concentration and labor camps shall not be of a term shorter than three months nor longer than three years.

§ 3.

The right to remand individuals to compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps, the right to determine the duration of detention and the degree of caution and surveillance, is bestowed to the Ustase Police Service as a branch of the Ustase Secret Service.

All administrative and autonomous districts, as institutions of the Ustase Movement,

are obligated to report to the Ustase Police Service via district administration all persons mentioned under Article 1 of this legal decree.

For the decisions of the Ustase Police Service regarding deportation and compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps there is no legal remedy, nor recourse to district courts.

§ 6.

The Ustase supervising commander will regulate the organization, labor and degree of caution and surveillance in concentration and labor camps, and the treatment of persons deported to these camps.

Thus began the horrifying régime of the “Ustase Security Service” and its commandant, which murdered hundreds of thousands of patriots and sent their families into mourning.

For an inmate to be sent to Jasenovac meant submitting to the mercy and cruelty of his Ustase tormentors; it meant martyrdom. The dark history of the Jasenovac camp reveals that the Ustase sent all elements that were to be liquidated there; those who were deemed disloyal to the régime “for racial, religious, national or political reasons.”

Today, we can determine that the Ustase sorted prisoners into two categories.

The first category comprised all inmates who were sentenced to detention for a duration of less than three years. It was the intention of the Ustase to exhaust these prisoners by labor to their physical limits, and then remove them to make room for new prisoners.

Only a few prisoners were released after they endured their sentence, and many of them later died from the consequences of their experiences in the camp.

The second category comprises inmates who were sentenced to detention for the maximum duration of three years. Prisoners sentenced by the Ustase Police Service for a duration of three years were, as a rule, liquidated immediately upon their arrival.

Both categories have in common the fact that the prisoners were sent to the camp on basis of individual “sentences” handed down by the Ustase Police Service.

We will see, however, that over the course of four years, the Ustase dispatched large groups of men, women and children to Jasenovac, and either took them inside the camp and liquidated them there, or liquidated them outside of the camp itself.

This included large groups of Serbs from various towns and villages, groups of Jews from various towns or districts, whole camps sent to Jasenovac for liquidation, all Gypsies from the territory of the NDH, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

The Ustase, quite simply, brought these unfortunate people to Jasenovac to herd them *en masse* into the slaughterhouse.



A HIGH WALL SEPARATED JASENOVAC FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD

Camp No. III

AS MENTIONED IN THE introduction, by the end of 1941 the Ustase began to build the true Jasenovac camp in the area of the “Brick Factory” and officially named it “Camp No. III.”

Camps No. I and No. II are described in Section D below. Both these camps existed for only a few months, while Camp No. III remained in operation for nearly four years.

The various workshops and barracks for inmates were encircled by a wall three meters high, so the whole of Camp No. III looked in the Spring of 1945 as it does in the outline attached to this document.

The camp itself was located directly to the east of the town of Jasenovac. The main entrance to the camp was on the western side, on the road which follows the Sava River from Jasenovac to the village Kosutarica and further on to Stara Gradiska. Made from light wood, the entrance gates were built inside the high wall. The wall went first to the north in a length of 420 meters, then in parallel with the railroad to the east in a length of 1350 meters. It continued southward at a 90 degree angle to the Sava for 1300 meters, cutting through the road to Kosutarica. That is where the “Eastern Gate” was located.

The last part of the wall, up against the banks of the Sava in the western direction, was 290 meters long.

The southern border of the camp was created by the Sava River, as a natural obstacle to prevent prisoners from escaping.

The whole of Camp No. III occupied an area of one and a half square kilo-

meters.

At the main (western) gate, sentry boxes were constructed along with the administration building, where prisoners who arrived in the camp were registered and lined up. The building also held a twenty-four meter high watchtower. These buildings were blown-up by the Ustase when they left Jasenovac; today there are only piles of rubble.

North of this building was the refinery, also destroyed, while the petrol tanks located both above and below the earth remained undamaged.

About 150 meters from the wall are the remains of a building that was 150 meters long and 8 meters wide and was pointed in a north-south direction. This was the main warehouse, originally used to store manufactured goods. The Ustase used the warehouse in the Winter of 1944/45 as a room where they herded masses of victims. They were stripped naked in harsh weather, had their hands tied behind their backs, and were bound together in pairs with wire. Then they were taken to the so-called "Granik."

The Granik was a device by which cargoes from boats and rafts had been lifted and unloaded. It was where goods were loaded to be transported out of Jasenovac.

On the Granik, the Ustase killed their victims by blows to the head from a mace or sledgehammer. Then their stomachs were cut open, iron ballasts were hung from their hands, and their bodies were thrown into the Sava.

East of the main warehouse was a large empty lot, filled with scrap iron used as material for the "Chain Factory."

Parallel to the main warehouse was a building housing additional locksmith and tinsmith workshops.

Twenty paces to the east was a whole line of buildings pointed in north-south direction.

The building endmost to the south was the infamous "Bell Warehouse." The Bell Warehouse was two meters long by three meters wide, originally used by the Ustase to store ruined bells from Orthodox churches. Later the bells were taken away, and coal tailings were stored in their place. The Bell Warehouse was later transformed into a torture chamber, housing prisoners who were sentenced to die of starvation. The warehouse had only a single door, made of glass, and no windows.

North of the Bell Warehouse was the "Package Warehouse," where guards censored letters and packages received by "obedient prisoners."

The third in the line of buildings was the "Camp Administration" building and the "Labor Section."

Further to the north was the “Chain Factory,” a large industrial building where various iron products were manufactured, such as chains and wires. There was also a blacksmith’s workshop, a machine factory, a tool factory, a foundry, a rifle factory and car mechanic.

From the sketch of the camp, we can see that at a distance of seven meters, parallel with the Chain Factory, was a circular furnace used for baking bricks for the “Brick Factory,” and behind it a warehouse used for drying them.

In early 1942, near the Brick Factory, the Ustase constructed a special furnace for the incineration of people—the so called “Picilli Furnace”—which they razed after three months in operation.

Also near the Brick Factory on the sketch we see a long, roofed depot without inner walls. Part of the railroad tracks passed through the depot from the Jasenovac train station, and inmates referred to it as the “Tunnel.” Prisoners who were brought to Jasenovac in 1941 and 1942 had to wait here for days or weeks in all sorts of weather until they were assigned a place in the barracks, or until they were taken to be liquidated.

In the sketch we can see further to the east another line of buildings, positioned in a north-south direction.

The endmost building to the south was located at the crossroads of an automobile and a pedestrian road. Inside was a sentry box, a dining room for Ustase officers, a kitchen and a barber. To the north was the Ustase Officer’s Quarters and the offices of the camp commandant and unit commanders, as well as a technician’s office.

North of this building was the Ustase kitchen, and the dining room reserved for Ustase who had been sent to Jasenovac for punishment.

Near the automobile road to Kosutarica was the “Sawmill” and “Power Plant.” It was thirty-five meters high, twenty meters long and had a chimney fifty-two meters high.

The whole area behind the Sawmill was littered with construction materials, except for the northern part where a quarry was being dug out, since the dirt had been found to be very good for bricks.

Further north we can see a line of buildings where there was an economy, and next to it a belt factory, stables, blacksmiths workshops. Beside them was the so-called “Lake” in the rough shape of a mushroom, over which a wooden bridge had been built on the endmost southern part. Southeast of the Lake were stables, kitchens, dairies, butcheries and the women’s camp.

North of the Lake was the “Cemetery,” and near it a whole line of barracks, twenty-four meters long by six meters wide. In the first barrack was a hospital, a

clinic in the second, and in next six were inmates' quarters, and then the main and secondary kitchens.

The Ustase burned down all these buildings, dug the corpses out of their graves and burned them to mislay evidence of their crimes.

All of the buildings mentioned were enclosed by a fence. On the other side of the fence, in the direction of the southeast, was the "Pantry," butcheries and pigstys, and further the "Ustase Workshops" and "Quarters" and the women's camp with a kitchen.

Around these buildings was another fence, connected to the first near the barracks, where the quarters of the male prisoners were located. On the other side of these fences in the northeastern corner was "Camp III-C."

Camp No. IV

Camp No. IV was located in the town of Jasenovac itself, on Dimitrijeva Street.

The Ustase encircled several industrial buildings where leather was manufactured and dried with rows of barbed wire. The entire complex—the warehouses, workshops, rooms where a dynamo and steam engine were installed, pools for soaking leather, quicklime pits, buildings with offices and quarters of employees—formed a single, enclosed camp where the technical staff was imprisoned.

This entire, small colony was referred to as the "Tannery." Inmates of the Tannery received better food, and the Ustase treated them better than the prisoners from Camp No. III, because it was important that that the army receive well-manufactured leather.

Before their escape, the Ustase blew up and burned down all facilities and buildings in the camp, along with almost all of the houses in Jasenovac itself, so that this once beautiful and prosperous town now looks like the location where the most intensive fighting took place.



THE SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION OF INMATES

BEFORE WE MOVE ON to describing the mass atrocities committed against the inmates, we will describe along general lines the system and methods that Ustase applied in the camp. We will describe the life of the prisoners, the type of work they had to do, and all which they had to suffer.

I. Arrival and Pillage

For four years, transports of prisoners arrived in Jasenovac—some in railroad cars, some in trucks, and some by foot. Every week, groups—sometimes smaller and sometimes larger—stopped in front of the building of the Camp Administration, where Ustase guards who followed the transports delivered them to the commandants of the camp or their deputies.

Even while in transit to the camp, prisoners were subject to hunger and abused by different methods of torture.

Witness Kustorin Marijan briefly describes his trip from Stara Gradiska to Jasenovac:

On 23 September 1944 I was relocated from Stara Gradiska camp to Jasenovac with a group of 700 people. For nearly the whole trip, some thirty-eight kilometers, we had to run. Anyone that stopped or staggered was killed on the spot. The road followed alongside the Sava, so many exhausted comrades jumped into the river in desperation, to end their suffering.

Luburic, Milos or Matijevic, the chief commandants and killers in the camp, rarely allowed other high Ustase officers to receive transports of prisoners. They personally performed the inspection of newly-arrived victims, sorting them into groups: Serbs with Serbs, Jews with Jews, and Croats with Croats.

Luburic gave a “speech” to every group, full of insults and the most primitive curses, during which a whip or a truncheon was used to beat the prisoners across their backs or heads. Then they would move on to be robbed. The Ustase took away the belongings of every prisoner, such as a watch, pocket knife, wallet with money, jewelry, books, etc. Every prisoner had to make a statement that he had handed over all of his money, all things of value and letters, and that he didn’t hide or conceal anything.

For even the slightest violation of this rule, no matter whether it was accidental or intentional, the Ustase would punish the “guilty” with an instant death sentence. Witness Steiner Hinko state in his testimony:

I came to the camp on 18 September 1941 with an old man named Poljokan. After he gave them some of his trinkets and said that he didn’t have anything else, the Ustase discovered that he had sewn some money into his coat. Ljubo Milos stepped forward in front of all of us and stabbed him in the chest twice with a big knife. The old man collapsed.

Witness Fabijanec Josip: “When a group of 120 prisoners arrived, the Ustase immediately shot thirteen comrades.”

After the prisoners gave away everything they carried with them, and after signing a statement that they didn’t hide anything, they were obligatorily stripped naked. The Ustase seized the better suits, underwear and footwear and gave them old rags, and some were only left with their underwear. Witnesses were interviewed about these circumstances.

Witness Aleksic Arsa: “When they herded us into Jasenovac, they immediately stripped us naked, taking away our shoes. Instead of our fine clothing they gave us rags. They didn’t give us shoes even though it was the middle of winter.”

Witness Berger Egon: “The Ustase took everything from me and only left me the underwear I was wearing. The whole time they were beating us.”

Witness Lapcevic Stojan: “I was transported to Jasenovac on 12 November 1942. I arrived in a group of nine people. First they smacked us until we were bloody, then stripped us naked. The better clothing they took for themselves and gave us the worst.”

After this procedure, prisoners were sent in groups to the barracks they were assigned to. When there was not enough room for everyone in the barracks, the

remaining prisoners spent the night in other places in the camp.

Prisoners who were brought to Jasenovac by the Ustase for the sole purpose of being liquidated were kept naked and barefoot for hours and hours, and sometimes even for several days, either in the building of the “Main Warehouse,” or in the “Tunnel,” or out in the open. Then they would take them to the Granik or to Gradina, the village on the Bosnian side of the Sava, and execute them there.

Until the Summer of 1942, prisoners were not allowed to receive packages and letters, so Ustase opened all packages that were sent to Jasenovac and split the contents among themselves.

As of Summer 1942, prisoners who were—by the Ustase’s evaluation—obedient and diligent were allowed to write home on postcards. They were permitted only to let their families know they were alive. However, on several occasions, the camp’s administration punished the entire population by forbidding them to send or receive mail home.

During the arrival of prisoners to the camp, the Ustase slapped them or beat them with truncheons and rifle butts. Many were shot or slaughtered immediately. In the execution of these crimes several Ustase stood out: Luburic Maks, Milos Ljubo, Matkovic Ivica, Filipovic Miroslav, Picilli Hinko, Maricic Jerko, Jusic Mujo, Matkovic Ljubo, Kordic Tihomir, Djulkic Alaga, Gasparovic Dragan, Matijevic Matija and Skocibusic.

The State Commission established the legitimacy of these crimes from interviews with the following witnesses: Pesko Djuro, Zouhar Stjepan, Richter Rudolf, Slovenec Rudolf, Fabijanec Josip, Steiner Hinko, Stazic Josip, Blumschein Zlatko, Schwarzenberg Adolf and Berger Egon, all from Zagreb; Ilic Branko from Zivinice; Duvnjak Mato from Kustosija; Finzi Jakob from Sarajevo; Matas Pavle from Trstenik; Breyer Otto from Bjelovar; Aleksic Arsa from Donji Bogicevac; and Lapcevic Stojan and Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija.

II. Food and Accommodations

Food for the inmates in Jasenovac was poor and insufficient. Prisoners received meals two or three times a day. In the morning they would receive warm water with corn flour mixed in. At noon they would receive cabbage, bean or potato soup, in which there were a few vegetables, a potato or a bean, and in the evening they would receive similar fare. The inmates called the soup “hominy.”

Prisoners were given bread very irregularly. Often, they didn't receive bread for several months. The bread they were served was black, with an admixture of bran, and never in a quantity exceeding one eighth of a kilogram per day.

The food the Ustase gave to prisoners contained no fats at all, and very little salt.

The goal of the Ustase was to weaken the health of prisoners with such poor and insufficient food, making them incapable of physical strain and susceptible to illness. This was the practical consequence of such poor nutrition. With the squalor in the camp, every summer brought new epidemics of dysentery, typhus and other diseases of the digestive organs, which in just a single month in 1942 took the lives of 1,800 prisoners.

Nearly every prisoner became ill on account of poor nutrition, so we could quote many witnesses who described these horrible circumstances in the camps.

As an example, we will only mention the testimony of witness Breyer Otto, who stated the following:

Food in the camp was worse than miserable. For breakfast we would usually get this so-called soup. In fact, it was hot muddy water. For lunch we would have beans or potato soup, in which there were few beans or one potato. Supper was the same as lunch. Twelve people would share one kilogram of bread.

During my captivity in Jasenovac I often saw railroad cars full of food and packages for prisoners sent by businessmen or the Jewish religious communities in Osijek and Zagreb. Prisoners would only get beans and potatoes, while everything else—rice, coffee, sugar, canned goods, et cetera—the Ustase would take for themselves.

Similar testimony was given by witness Lapcevic Stojan, who stressed that on that kind of food he was forced to work for ten hours every day.

Living quarters for the prisoners were as unbearable as the food was miserable.

Until barracks were built, prisoners slept in the "Tunnel," in the brick warehouses, the attics of workshops and warehouses or under the open sky.

After the barracks had been erected, the prisoners slept inside of them. Every barrack was a huge wooden room, twenty-four meters long by six meters wide.

A corridor ran through the middle of the barracks. To the left and right were the bunks. Up to six prisoners could sleep in each bunk. When a new group of victims would arrive, and there was no more space left in the bunks, the Ustase would stack the prisoners so they had to lie on top of one another. When even in that way everything was full, others would sleep outside in various parts of the camp.

Sleeping was difficult, and the prisoners covered themselves with blankets. When the prisoners would arrive in the camp, the Ustase would take away the better blankets that prisoners brought themselves, and would later give them old blankets of poor quality. All the bunks were so riddled with parasites—bedbugs, lice and fleas—that the cleaning performed by prisoners was rendered useless.

Since inmates were allowed to wash their dirty clothes only once a month, it is obvious that unsanitary conditions prevailed. Throughout the Winter, epidemics of disease would ravage the camp, especially typhus. Few prisoners who contracted the disease survived. The prisoners' clothing was of very poor quality. Rooms where they had to sleep were cold and dirty.

The doctors and pharmacists who nursed the inmates were prisoners themselves, so they devotedly strived to help their unfortunate comrades. As their resources were very primitive, they couldn't help them much, and were unable to perform any significant surgical procedures.

Thus, every severely ill patient was sentenced to die, and if dying was too slow, Ustase would burst in at night, drive the patients out of their beds and herd them to Gradina or the Granik for liquidation.

All witnesses interviewed by this Commission consistently described the miserable hygienic conditions in which the inmates had to survive. The veracity of the above description was determined particularly by the statements of these witnesses: Breyer Otto from Bjelovar, Kovacevic Vojislav, Trbojevic Nemanja, Dominec Ivan, Stazic Josip, Srca Dragan, Steiner Hinko, Skrgatic Dragutin, Orlic Sime, Danon Jakob and Hersak Josip, all from Zagreb.

III. Prison Labor

As mentioned in the introduction, in 1941 the Jasenovac camp at first consisted of Camp No. I near Krapje and Camp No. II near the Strug, while the real Jasenovac, Camp No. III, was built at the end of Autumn, 1941.

To the first two camps, the Ustase imprisoned Jews arrested in Zagreb, Osijek, Sarajevo and other larger cities, but also Serbs and Croats arrested in various parts of the NDH. There were many intellectuals among them. The Ustase treated the intellectuals with particular cruelty, taking away their clothes and footwear. The food they were given, as mentioned, was especially miserable, though the Ustase still forced them to work for long periods at the most difficult physical

labor.

The inmates were forced to build barracks and dikes intended to protect the camp from the floods of the Strug and the Sava. While they were working, the Ustase beat them with truncheons and rifle butts, forced them to dig faster and run at all times. If the individual collapsed from exhaustion, he would be finished off on the spot.

Prisoner Danon Jakob describes the forced labor in Camps No. I and II:

Every time we went to work, about thirty Ustase guards would turn their rifle butts on anyone who would fall exhausted from faint or old age. We always had to go to work running. On labor detail there even worse sentences than getting beaten by rifle butts. Those who would stop, who couldn't run, were murdered. The Ustase guards were shooting at us prisoners shouting, 'Faster, faster!' They wounded many.

If any prisoner would try to rest and stop even for a second, an Ustase bullet would kill him. I remember hearing Ljubo Milos tell the Ustase guards that they shouldn't shoot, because every single Ustase had a knife, so they should slit the throat of any prisoner who didn't want to work.

Of the several thousand prisoners from Camps No. I and II sent to Camp No. III, only several hundred arrived.

The labor of the prisoners in Camp No. III was divided into interior labor inside the camp and exterior labor around the perimeter.

Interior labor in the camp was performed in the workshops: the Chain Factory, the Brick Factory, the Bakery, the Power Plant, the Sawmill, the Economy, et cetera.

Prisoners had to work at least ten hours a day without rest, because the merchandise they manufactured was necessary for the occupying armies and the Ustase. They also loaded and unloaded railroad cars, trucks and boats on the Sava. There was no rest, not even on Sundays and holidays (in 1943, Sunday rest was permitted for diligent workers). Ustase supervisors patrolled the workshops on the watch for anyone resting, staying too long in the bathroom or working too slowly.

When an Ustase would surmise that a prisoner was "sabotaging" work, he would beat up or kill the prisoner on the spot.

Doctors would often prescribe rest for the ill, old and infirm prisoners, but the Ustase, especially Picilli Hinko, didn't care much for those instructions and relished beating those poor people and forcing them back to work.

Exterior prison labor consisted of building fences made out of barbed wire, small and large dikes, a large wall that lasted until the end of 1942, constructing

bunkers and defensive positions in the area around the camp, cutting trees and chopping wood, working in fields and in “Economy” or in neighboring Jablanac. Ustase guards escorted the prisoners to the work sites and forced them with rifle butts, knives or guns to work faster. Many thousands of prisoners were killed during exterior labor, so it often happened that whole groups or parts of groups didn’t return to the camp. Ustase guards simply stated that they had tried to run, so they had to kill them.

Attitude Towards and Treatment of Prisoners by the Ustase: The Position of Prisoners in General

If they didn’t sense it earlier, every prisoner upon arrival at the camp would understand that a horrible and certain death awaited him. The only uncertainty was how long his suffering would last.

For those who didn’t bear witness to these atrocities—the torture that the inmates were subjected to—it seems unbelievable, impossible that there could exist men who would with such an excess of sadism, with such an excess of perversion, invent and perform such cruel methods and means of torture.

Only the Fascist mentality could create the inhuman monsters who committed these atrocities. Brutality was the only thing that could satisfy their criminal mentality, from the *Poglavnik* down to the last butcher.

Every Ustase, from Luburic down to the lowliest guard, was almighty and all-powerful to the prisoner. He held the power of life and death. At any time, day or night, during work or rest, any Ustase could kill any prisoner and not be held responsible for it by anyone, and wasn’t even required to register the fact.

The following episode is based on the testimony of witness Danon Jakob.

On 23 December 1941, Milos Ljubo, one of the worst Ustase murderers, ordered that all prisoners assemble for muster. He pointed out that one of the inmates tried to kill an Ustase guard. He didn’t mention the name of the prisoner, nor of the Ustase he tried to kill.

Milos Ljubo then separated twenty-five prisoners from the line, grabbed a rifle and shot them all. Then he called for Dr. Gusti Leindorfer to make sure they were all dead, then called for the undertakers to take away their corpses.

Then he added, joking, “Oh, I forgot to ask for their names.”

Even the briefest rest during forced labor, the unsanctioned gathering of prisoners, rummaging through kitchens for food, an appeal from a prisoner to be

spared from labor because of illness or exhaustion, et cetera, represented the worst offense to camp discipline. The Ustase punished such offenses brutally. They would beat the victims with clubs, stakes, whips, or rifle butts; kicked them or stabbed them with bayonets; and quite often would use revolvers or knives and kill them straight away. Sometimes an Ustase would permit a prisoner to do something or take something forbidden. Repercussions were immediate: another Ustase would punish the offender in the most inhuman manner.

Public punishments were often held for petty, trivial or invented offenses, or for no offense at all.

Witness Breyer Otto described the following scene:

Beatings took place when Ljubo Milos or Matijevic were walking through the camp. They would approach a prisoner and without any reason just pick him out and take him to the prison near the Administration building. In the evening all prisoners would be gathered into lines and then the chosen ones—usually two or three comrades—were singled out in front of everyone. Ljubo or Matijevic said that the prisoners had been selected because they didn't want to work and that they would be punished by twenty-five lashes from a whip across their naked backside. A chair was brought, the punished would have to remove his pants and underwear, and lie over the chair. And then one Ustase would hit him twenty-five times as hard as he could with a whip which had a wire inside. It would break the prisoner's skin, blood would flow so much that he wouldn't be able to walk at all for several days.

And then it would be the turn for the second prisoner, the third and so on. They went to supper when they finished with the last. Ustase walking between camp prisoners after labor, whenever they would want, without anyone's orders and without any reason, on a whim, would grab a prisoner and beat him up. I watched once when they beat my friend with a stake and stomped his body until he died.

Other Ustase shot at us with guns. Just from shootings, several people were killed every day.

Aside from these 'performances' for public punishments, there were also 'performances for the reduction of the overall number of prisoners in the camp.' There were also performances for signing up of all those who wanted to go to work in Germany, or who wanted to go to any other camp or hospital for 'treatment.'

Witness Riboli Josip in his statement adds:

Whenever the camp was full, the Ustase would decide to liquidate a certain number of prisoners. All prisoners had to line up in the evening or at night. Once, when Maricic was walking between groups of prisoners, he shoved his lamp in my face and asked where we were from. If Maricic didn't get the necessary number of victims from parts of the country he didn't like, then he would pick the people he personally disliked.

This sort of examination would last for several hours. Maricic would walk around with his escort and returned several times to the same group, sadistically enjoying holding the inmates in suspense, hoping the dice didn't fall on them.

The other public performances—for signing up to go to work in Germany or to a hospital, or any other camp—the Ustase considered a “prank,” laughing at the thought of people voluntarily signing up for death.

Witness Breyer Otto described the fate of prisoners who signed up to go to the Djakovo camp:

I was there when the Ustase loaded prisoners into trucks, then ordered them to sit or kneel. Then they covered them with big awnings, and after that five or six Ustase climbed on and started jumping on the prisoners, kicking them and beating them with rifle butts. That sort of kicking and killing Ustase called 'recovery in Djakovo'...

Ustase would often come at night to the barracks and beat up prisoners, just for fun. Witness Kuhada Nikola stated:

I worked in the concentration camp in the 'Sawmill' as a carpenter. I was also beaten during that period. We all had to get up at night and run in circles by the door of the barrack, where lines of Ustase would beat us with their rifle butts without mercy.

Witness Duzemlic Milan stated:

Upon my arrival at the camp on Christmas of 1943, I was thrown into solitary confinement, where I spent twenty-two days. The Ustase burned my feet, shoved needles under my nails, beat me with a cord wrapped in rubber, they put a board on my chest and stomped on it. They stabbed me, I have visible scars from it on both of my arms. During the entire time I heard screaming and moaning from the other rooms, and I later found out they tortured prisoner Djogas Josip by tying his arms and legs, curling him up into a ball and rolling him over a board of nails. Sertic Djuro, the Ustase cut pieces of flesh from his thighs and salted his wounds.

I remember seeing another incident involving several other prisoners. In December 1944, Luburic, Matkovic, Ljubo Milos, Stojcic and Kordic amused themselves by knocking down a 19-year old girl, Loncarevic Marica from Plesma. She was nude on the ground, they spread her legs and then crucified her on a table and burned her genitals with cigarettes, they shook off the ashes from their cigarettes.

Once, during the liquidation of children in the camp, an Ustase threw a one-year old child in air, and the other Ustase caught the child on a bayonet.

I also saw Ustase Sergeant Bracic Nikola kill prisoner Sulekic Ivan from Kozarica and drink his blood.

There are numerous ways of torture, it's impossible to describe every way the Ustase killed prisoners. They tortured Partizan Tomsic Valent in December 1944 by cutting his testicles off, from which he died.

The Ustase murdered whole groups of prisoners who were sent to Jasenovac by liquidation on the Granik or near the villages of Gradina and Ustica, which lie on the Bosnian side of the Sava River opposite the Granik. Witness Zivkovic Jovan described mass liquidations on the Granik:

Sometimes it lasted all night. Victims would wait in the Main Warehouse or in some other building or out in the open. Before leaving, the Ustase would strip them naked. Then they would tie their hands behind their backs with a wire. Tied like that, they'd herd them one by one to the Granik. A victim would be forced to his knees, and an Ustase would tie a heavy iron weight in the shape of a ring on the victim's arms. After that they would hit the victim with a mallet, a sledgehammer or with the dull side of an axe on the head. They would often cut their stomachs open with a butcher's knife and dump them into the Sava.

Liquidations in Gradina and Ustica were at first performed by Ustase alone, but after 1942 they also used Gypsies. Prisoners would first have to dig long and deep pits. The Ustase would strip them naked, kick the gold fillings out of their heads, and then the victim would have to jump into a pit, where an Ustase or a Gypsy would wait, and hit the victim on the head with a sledgehammer or cut the victim's throat with a knife. Witness Berger Egon described these liquidations:

I worked in Jasenovac as an undertaker starting in December of 1941 and I know that I with other comrades buried about 200 to 300 victims daily. Killings were performed in the following way: pits were three to eight square meters in size. While we were digging graves, Ustase headed by Lieutenant Mujica performed killings of victims that were tied up with wire. The Ustase killed victims by hitting them on their temporal bone. They also killed them by an axe blow across the neck, or by putting wooden stakes into victim's mouths. A stake would be placed into the victim's mouth vertically, and then an Ustase would hit it with an axe and the stake would surface at the top of the head.

Sometimes they asked victims if they had any relatives, and when they established that they did, they would force them to kill each other. There were situations when a brother killed his brother, a father his son, a daughter her mother, and so on. Ustase often cut reins from the backs of many victims. I was there when Mujica cut reins from the back of one vic-

tim and then drove the victim around pulling at them. Younger Ustase cut victims' noses and ears off and told each other that they killed Partizans in combat and cut off their ears and noses. The noses and ears they put in handkerchiefs and kept in their pockets.

They would look over every victim, and when they saw that a victim had gold fillings in his teeth, they would pry them out with their knives.

The same Berger Egon was lying in a hospital in February of 1942 because he was stabbed five times with a bayonet by an Ustase because he didn't dig graves fast enough.

Witness Finzi Jakob stated the following:

I worked as an undertaker in the camp graveyard only for ten days. During that period of time I buried corpses without heads, without arms, with crushed skulls, with missing fingers and toes, with nails driven into their chest, with missing sexual organs, mutilated corpses black and blue from beatings. During those ten days we buried about 3,000 corpses. Among them I recognized the corpses of five undertakers finished off by the Ustase.

Witness Kosina Franjo stated in his testimony:

On a Sunday just before Christmas of 1944, I saw at 11 o'clock about forty naked women and children herded out of the camp to the Granik, where Luburic cut their throats and Prpic cut open their bellies and dumped them into the Sava. On another occasion, I saw thirty-five prisoners hanged and one woman among them who had four little children in the camp. During her hanging her children cried for her and grabbed onto her skirt, but Picilli kicked this six-year old girl so hard that his boot cracked her skull.

We have already mentioned that the Ustase killed prisoners on labor. Related to that we add the statement of witness Katalinic Andrija:

As a barber I often went to the place where the 'New Dike' was being built, and I saw Ustase hitting workers on the dike with knotty truncheons. The ones they finished off they threw into the dike. I heard one Ustase guard, an older man named Jozo, bragging in front of everyone what a real pleasure it is when he slaughters Partizan children and how every evening he slaughters ten to twenty children just for fun.

Camp commandants often ordered executions of groups of prisoners because of a “severe misdemeanor” that happened in the camp. Executions were performed in public in the presence of all inmates. Witness Riboli described one scene:

Majstorovic, Polic and Maricic competed over which of them was a better butcher. Victims had to kneel in front of them until they were touching their foreheads to the ground, and the executioners would fire their revolvers at the backs of their heads. If death wasn't instant, one of them would grab a knife and slit the victim's throat. On one occasion, Ustase Sergeant Major Matijevic licked warm blood off a knife. That was so repulsive, that prisoners either turned their heads away or looked down, not wanting to watch this.

There was also a gallows in the camp, where some prisoners were hanged, their bodies remaining there for several days as a “serious warning” to other prisoners. There was also a crematorium in the camp, designed by Picilli. Ustase incinerated men, women and children here, but we will speak in more details about this so-called Picilli Furnace in Section D.

Witnesses claim that there was a machine in Jasenovac by which the Ustase crushed people, and also a “saw” which was used to saw people alive. The sick and sadistic behavior of the Ustase guards, especially when they were drunk, is illustrated by witness Sulina Mato:

I found out from older prisoners, eyewitnesses, how Ustase had cut open the stomach of a pregnant woman and took out her child, and then cut open the belly of another, non-pregnant woman, and stuck the child into her stomach.

I remember myself an Ustase, Horvat Mate, who would always, when he was drunk, look for a victim and to try a new, original way of torturing them, one never applied in practice before.

I saw with my own two eyes when the Ustase placed one prisoner on an anvil and beat him with hammers, as if they were forging on him, until he succumbed.

This chapter would not be complete if we didn't mention one of the worst methods of torturing and killing prisoners. That was torture and death by starvation.

Later we will describe how the Ustase liquidated the entire population of Camp III-C by subjecting prisoners to death by starvation. We will mention here the “Bell Warehouse,” a special torture chamber set aside explicitly for that purpose. It

was a small barrack without windows, with a glass door, so that from outside it was possible to view everything. The Ustase locked victims inside, keeping them there without food and water for several weeks. Their suffering was awful, and from the barrack desperate screams resounded: “Take us away! Kill us!” The Ustase, especially Matkovic Ivica, reveled in the suffering of their victims, passing in front of the Bell Warehouse and laughing.

As the Bell Warehouse was a small building, not more than thirty prisoners could be locked in at one time. As new victims arrived, the previous inmates had to make room for them. The Ustase would take the previous group to the Granik and execute them there. Even torture by starvation and the knowledge they would kill them later still didn’t satisfy these Ustase's sadism, so they beat and stabbed them with knives before taking them out to their execution.

Witness Devcic Natko relates his observations of the inmates that the Ustase took out alive from the Bell Warehouse:

All of them were to be shot now, after they had spent some time in the torture chamber called the Bell Warehouse. Most of them came out completely black and blue from beating, ears ripped off or cut off and bloody. I remember the names of Dr. Juraj Bocak and Dr. Ozren Novosel, both of them doctors, who were tortured in the Bell Warehouse.

Based on the testimony of many witnesses, of whom only few were quoted here, the State Commission has established the manner in which the Ustase tortured and executed the camp prisoners. When the moment of liberation finally arrived, the Ustase feared that the truth would be revealed. To cover up their numerous atrocities they began in April of 1945 to dig through graveyards in haste, digging out corpses and skeletons of victims and burning them at the stake. For days and weeks the stakes burned, and when their work was finally over, the Ustase killed the inmates who performed the work, and then embraced each other while drinking.

The Main Ustase Criminals

The *Poglavnik* entrusted supreme control over all of Jasenovac’s camps to Luburic Maks. In all of his duties, Luburic was responsible only to him.

Before the war, Luburic was a common criminal and had been sentenced to prison for a variety of criminal offenses. From the original police reports found in

the files of the Zagreb police, we can see that Luburic, by the sentence of 7 September 1929 No. 104.761, was punished with two days in prison for roaming the streets, and by the sentence of the District Court in Mostar of 5 December 1931 No. Kzp. 719/31, with five months hard labor for the embezzlement of 8,305 dinars belonging to the public stock exchange in Mostar. He was arrested again for a second act of embezzlement.

His real name isn't "Maks," the nickname he was given by his Ustase colleagues, but Vjekoslav. Luburic was a common rambler, despising all honest labor. When Pavelic left the country, he went after him and refined his brutality in various Ustase camps in Hungary and Italy.

Pavelic so highly appreciated these Ustase abilities that he eventually named him an Ustase general.

This monster, of an almost dwarf-like height and a face bearing strong traces of infantilism and the characteristics of a criminal, represented the supreme and only authority in the camps.

Luburic came to Jasenovac two or three times per month. He stayed only a few days at a time, but even during that short period he committed so many atrocities that the prisoners were terrified when they would hear that he had "stopped by" Jasenovac.

Knowing when new transports of prisoners arrived at Jasenovac, he wanted to hear why individual prisoners had been sentenced. He only heard and understood what his hatred, his base passions, and his most bestial instincts dictated.

His first "reports" were terrible, characterized by his ranting and curses, and followed up by fists, rifle butts, bullets from his revolver and his knife across their throats. He constantly patrolled the camp, looking to discover any violation of "camp discipline," to catch a prisoner slackening from weakness, old age or illness, to catch a hungry prisoner rummaging through the trash for food or not greeting him with a proper Ustase salute. His eyes would glisten, and a revolver or a knife would go into action.

On 9 October 1942, Luburic arranged for a ceremony in Jasenovac and distributed gold and silver medals to his subordinates, sent to them by Pavelic as a reward for "merit."

At the banquet, Luburic, as drunk as the rest, held a speech and according to the testimony of one witness stated, *"And thus in one year here in Jasenovac we have slaughtered more people than the Ottoman Empire was able to do during the entire stay of the Turks in Europe."*

Luburic's first deputy was Matkovic Ivica. Matkovic was a common killer, who executed prisoners by his own hand just like Luburic. He was also a pro-

nounced sadist who enjoyed prolonging suffering for as long as possible. The true measure of the man can be seen in the fact that he enjoyed mocking his helpless victims.

Matkovic ordered that all camp prisoners must line up to witness mass executions, singled out victims in order to reduce the overall camp population, et cetera.

Matkovic arranged a great three-day slaughter of Serbs on Catholic Christmas in 1941, and ordered the liquidation of Camp No. III-C by exposing prisoners in the harsh winter to death by starvation.

Third in rank in the camp was Milos Ljubo of Herzegovina. Milos Ljubo was a extremely sanguine fanatic and sadist. While Matkovic Ivica was a refined killer, Milos Ljubo was a brutal butcher.

Witness Flumiani Milan stated about him:

As soon as we arrived, the seventeen of us, to Jasenovac, Ustase beat us with rifle butts and took us to the Brick Factory, where Milos Ljubo had already lined up two groups, while we arrived as a special third group.

Maricic asked Ljubo Milos, 'Who should I aim at first?' And Milos replied, 'Where there's more of them,' and both of them pointed automatic rifles at the forty men from the first two groups and shot them all.

After that he asked the first man from our group why he came here, and when that man replied that he is guilty for being born a Serb, he shot him at the spot.

Then he picked out Laufer, a lawyer from Zagreb, and asked him what he was, and when he replied, he called out him like this—'I like lawyers very much, come closer'—and killed him right away.

Then he found out that a third man was a doctor from Zagreb, and he ordered him to examine the first two men and to establish whether they were dead.

When the doctor confirmed that they were, he turned to the fourth man and when he found out that he too was a doctor, he 'forgave' the whole group.

Ljubo Milos would often go into one his fits, riding a horse across the camp and shooting at groups of prisoners who didn't manage to hide themselves.

He kept a room in the camp administration building that he arranged as a sort of a "clinic."

He would wear a long white doctor's gown and send an Ustase guard to the Jewish barrack with the message that every Jew who was ill could come in for a doctor's examination.

When a victim would come to his "clinic," Milos would place him against the wall and with a quick swipe from his knife would cut the victim's throat, ribs

and stomach. He called that an “operation,” the “ritual slaughter of Jews,” and as witness Riboli stated, he was very proud of it.

But even Milos was surpassed in sadism by Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, commandant of Camp No. III, but also for a time commandant of the camp in Stara Gradiska.

Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav is a friar, a Franciscan. In the beginning of 1942, he was sent to the prison on Savska Cesta in Zagreb. After Easter of 1942 he was sent for punishment to Jasenovac. There he first became a “Free Prisoner,” and when Ustase commanders noticed that this friar had abilities the Ustase coveted, they accepted him into their ranks and appointed him as an officer among the supervising staff. Thus did Filipovic-Majstorovic by the end of 1942 become an Ustase officer and commandant of Camp No. III.

Witness Krkac Tomo described Majstorovic in his statement with these words:

Very often during my imprisonment in Jasenovac I saw Majstorovic shoot prisoners during so-called ‘public performances.’ Majstorovic kept this short rubber hose, which he sometimes held over his victims wounds, saying, ‘I want to get drunk on Communist (or Jewish) blood.’

I saw when Majstorovic and Stojcic amused themselves by killing three Gypsies, ordering the first Gypsy to kill the second Gypsy with a sledgehammer, the third to kill the first, and then they liquidated the last.

Many other witnesses also stated that they saw Filipovic killing prisoners by his own hand.

The State Commission, through a magistrate of its investigative division, interrogated Filipovic after the liberation of the country when he finally fell into the hands of justice. The main parts of his statement appear in Section D.

The commander of the labor service in Jasenovac was an engineer, Hinko Dominik Picilli. He was the absolute master of camp’s “labor power.” Picilli exploited prisoners ruthlessly, forcing them to work beyond their limits. He inspected prisoners in workshops and at worksites, wherever they worked, and with an iron-wire whip, which he always carried, he beat the workers ruthlessly over their heads and across their torso, arms and legs.

Picilli especially persecuted infirm prisoners prescribed rest by doctors, entering the barracks where they were and forcing them back to work with his whip. He studied blueprints of German “crematoriums” and built a furnace near the “Brick Factory” where men, women and children were incinerated for three months. We

will speak of this furnace in more detail in Section D.

Other members of the Ustase headquarters in Jasenovac were Brkljacic, Polic, Maricic and a few other commanders. It has been established that they all executed prisoners personally; we will emphasize specific atrocities below.

Informers and “Free Prisoners”

These terms sometimes appear in this document, so to avoid confusion we will clarify what is meant by “Informers” and “Free Prisoners.”

Informers were made up of various Ustase members found guilty of some disciplinary lapse or serious criminal offense, and who had been sent to Jasenovac for punishment. It should be made clear that by “criminal offense,” only a mutual offense between Ustase is implied, as the worst atrocities committed against the enemies of Fascism didn’t meet with any disciplinary or criminal responsibility.

The Ustase administration housed these convicts in a separate building, gave them good food—the same food the Ustase guards received—and obligated them to supervise camp prisoners while they were working or asleep. These “Informers”—as camp inmates called them—could move about freely and walk about outside the camp. They hovered around the camp prisoners, carrying sticks or bats and beating prisoners to force them to work.

They were very cruel towards inmates; often they beat prisoners to death. Witness Devcic Natko describes them:

Officer Civindini had a prison and a torture chamber in Jasenovac, and his aide was a police agent named Kovacevic. Aside from him he had an entire squadron of informers and thugs, all convicts, imprisoned police agents and Ustase, whom we called the ‘Agency.’ I know they tortured and killed many prisoners in the most savage ways. I once heard the screaming and wailing of one prisoner named Deutch. They burned him with a red hot iron and tortured him until he went insane, and then they slaughtered him.

The Informers criticized the Ustase out loud in front of prisoners and tried to lure them into saying something careless. When the victim would fall for it, they would rush to denounce him.

“Free Prisoners” were prisoners who stood out by their obedience to Ustase supervisors, to the extent that they entrusted them with supervision over other

inmates. Free Prisoners had better accommodations and better food, they could send and receive packages and letters from home, and they could move about freely throughout the camp.

How Many Victims Died in Jasenovac?

During their hurried escape from Jasenovac at the end of April of 1945, the Ustase burned or destroyed all material which could be used as the basis of a statistical analysis to determine how many victims died in Jasenovac.

Thus all registries, directories, ledgers, economy books, and all official documents and orders which could have related certain information about the camp were destroyed, even though record keeping was—according to statements of witnesses—erroneous, sloppy and unsystematic.

Therefore, it isn't possible to answer the question of precisely how many victims died in Jasenovac. Few prisoners who spent some time in the camp were released, and less than a hundred managed to break out of the camp in the final moments.

It was pointed out earlier that the Ustase sent prisoners to Jasenovac for labor, but it has also been stated that many transports of men, women and children arrived at Jasenovac only to be taken inside and liquidated by the Ustase, or killed nearby without being seeing the inside of the camp at all.

The most intense years of the Ustase terror and mass crimes were 1941 and 1942. The whole of 1943 and half of 1944 were marked by relative moderation, which means that mass executions of inmates were not performed as often and in such a scale as they had before. From August of 1944 until April of 1945, large transports began to arrive and liquidations were repeated again *en masse*.

Prisoners who were in the camp in the first or fourth year mention very high numbers of victims, while the statements of those who were imprisoned in the third year of the Ustase terror in Jasenovac give a much smaller number of victims.

We will mention below some fifty mass crimes carried out by the Ustase in Jasenovac, and if we add the number of prisoners who were killed individually to the number of victims killed in mass executions, we arrive at the figure of approximately 500,000 to 600,000.

As we have pointed out, it will never be possible to determine the exact number of victims swallowed up by Jasenovac. However, based on the research conducted by this State Commission, we can conclude that the above figure approach-

es reality.

Not one criminal in history managed to slaughter one tenth of a nation, the way Pavelic did his own people. And yet he had the nerve to declare in public that *“Jasenovac is not a resting place, but it is not a torture place either.”*



SPECIFIC MASS ATROCITIES

WE WILL NOW DESCRIBE atrocities committed *en masse* which the State Commission has established based on the interviews and consistent testimony of many witnesses. We will list these crimes in chronological order from the middle of 1941 to the end of April 1945.

However, these represent only a fraction of the crimes which were actually committed.

The Ustase committed most mass crimes in Jasenovac at night, and secretly, so in most cases, surviving witnesses do not have direct knowledge of the number of victims nor of the exact time and means of execution.

In addition, the number of those who survived imprisonment is so small that we do not have direct evidence for most of the atrocities performed in Jasenovac.

I. The Liquidation of Camps No. I and II

As mentioned in the introduction, the first Jasenovac camp was located twelve kilometers away from the town of Jasenovac, near the village Krapje. After several weeks, Camp No. II was founded on the Strug River, near the road leading to Jasenovac in the direction of Novska. The Ustase brought the initial prisoners to two large fields and ordered them to encircle the area with barbed wire and construct sentry boxes. Prisoners then had to build barracks, kitchens and other auxiliary rooms for their living quarters and construct dikes around both camps, as both the Strug and the Sava often flooded the entire area around Jasenovac.

In the Summer and Autumn of 1941, the Ustase brought thousands of Serbs, Jews and Croats to the camps. These were workers, peasants, journalists, lawyers, engineers, industrialists, merchants and clerks.

Inmates were forced to work without respite from morning until dark, in water up to their knees, pulling up dirt with their hands and sometimes shovels to drag to the dike. The Ustase treated them brutally, beating and kicking anyone who would stumble or faint. Often they would simply shoot him or slit his throat and throw his body into the dike.

They carried out punishments using what they referred to as the “Wire.” Witness Breyer describes it:

For any sort of ‘offense’—for instance, if an inmate would dare ask for more food, or to spare the old and ill inmates—he would be placed in a cage the Ustase called the ‘Wire.’ It was a square five meters long, five meters wide, and one meter high, fenced from the sides and from above with barbed wire, open from beneath. It was located in a swamp. The Ustase would throw in a prisoner and keep him there for several days and nights, in all kinds of weather, without food or drink.

As prisoners were barefoot and could only crouch inside of the Wire, their legs were submerged beneath the water. Many acquired respiratory infections or other severe illnesses. Dr. Oton Gavranic from Zagreb, among others, was martyred inside the Wire.

As the food was miserable in both camps, and labor exhausting, prisoners died in great numbers every day.

In November 1941, autumnal rains flooded the entire area into a great lake. Provisional dikes faltered, and the Ustase feared that the floodwater would carry away their sentry boxes. They decided to liquidate both camps, disassemble the barracks and order the prisoners to move to the area around the “Brick Factory” near Jasenovac, to build a new camp there.

Around 15 November, Luburic ordered that all prisoners who were physically unable to move to the new camp were to be executed. On that occasion, 600 to 700 prisoners were murdered.

The same day, Luburic ordered another eighty-five prisoners to be killed, because they had dared to appeal to him to improve the quality of the food received by the inmates.

Milos Ljubo and other Ustase at the same time slaughtered about fifty Jews in Camp No. II, to sow fear in those who “don’t want to work fast.”

After these executions, only about 700 prisoners remained, who through rain and mud had to carry blocks, battens, tools and other materials to Jasenovac itself. By the time the move to the new camp was complete, it was established that only 250 prisoners remained alive. They became the first prisoners of Camp No. III.

The State Commission has established that in the first five months in Camps No. I and II, about 8,000 prisoners died from illness or exhaustion, or by Ustase knives and rifles.

These facts were established based on the testimony of witnesses Filipcic Ivan from Zagreb, Auferber Mijo from Osijek, Breyer Otto from Bjelovar, Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo, Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Ilic Branko from Zivinice and Slovenec Rudolf from Zagreb.

II. Mass Executions on Catholic Christmas, 1941

The first 250 prisoners were housed in the open sheds of the “Brick Factory.” By segregating Serbs, Jews and Croats, the Ustase thus created Sections 3A, 3B and 3D.

New transports of prisoners arrived daily. As there wasn’t enough space for such a large number of people, new prisoners had to sleep in the attics of the Brick Factory and the Chain Factory or under the open sky.

Kvaternik Eugen and Luburic Maks planned to gradually build various industrial workshops and barracks for prison labor in Camp No. III. They calculated that they would have to make room for 3,500 to 4,000 prisoners, who would represent Jasenovac’s “permanent labor force.”

They ordered that the camp be encircled by barbed wire with a broad wall, three meters high, to prevent prisoners from escaping. Thus was the camp separated from the rest of the world. A railroad passed nearby, and behind it the main road, so travelers might be able see everything that went on inside the camp. That was to be prevented. The Ustase took pains to evacuate the population of Jasenovac and the nearby villages, to isolate the camp totally from the outside world.

In 1942 the Ustase ordered the construction of new industrial buildings and living quarters, turning Camp No. III into a small industrial base important for supplying their army with various materials.

Mass atrocities had already begun in the Autumn of 1941. On Catholic Christmas Eve, 24 December 1941, the Ustase herded about 500 Serbian peasants from around Jasenovac into the camp. Ljubo Milos, Matkovic Ivica and Matijevic

Joso planned to kill the whole group of innocents and in that way “celebrate” the Christmas holiday.

Witness Milisa Djordje described the atrocity in his statement:

A day before Christmas in 1941, I saw a group of about 500 prisoners taken to a field. They were first forced to dig a deep pit. After that, the Ustase hit them one by one over the head with sledgehammers, threw them into the pit, filled it back up and threw quicklime over it. This happened several hundred meters away from me and the other prisoners, so I couldn't tell who exactly was doing the killing. I know that this was a group of Serbs. At that time the commandant of Jasenovac was Ljubo Milos.

The next day—on Christmas itself—another group of fifty Serbs arrived in Jasenovac. This group too was slaughtered by Milos Ljubo and Matijevic Joso, which is described by witness Danon Jakob:

Matijevic Joso pushed the prisoners towards Ljubo Milos with a bayonet. Their hands were tied behind their backs. Each and every one of them Milos stabbed with a strong swing of a large butcher knife and slit their throats.

III. Mass Executions in the Winter of 1941/42: Executions of Ill and Starved Prisoners

Throughout the entire period from 1941 until the end of February 1942, the Ustase brought large numbers of men and women from Srem, Slavonia and Bosnia for liquidation in Jasenovac. They were mainly Serbs, but there were also Jews and some Croats.

Inmates Steiner Hinko and Berger Egon gave consistent testimony that the Ustase brought these groups, numbering sometimes a hundred and sometimes as many as 3,000 victims, to a large field near Velika Kosutarica and killed them there.

The victims were killed from axe blows or sledgehammers to the head. Throughout the winter, eighty prisoners from the camp were obligated to work, to dig pits and bury corpses. These executions were organized by Milos Ljubo, Polic Marinko, Pudic Dragutin, Kojic Ante, Sudar Joco, Maricic Jerko, Modric Ante,

Gasparovic Dragan, Music Mujo and one Covicic.

The witnesses mentioned above claim that about 50,000 people were killed in Kosutarica that winter. The undertakers in the camp told other prisoners how many victims they buried each day. Of the eighty undertakers, only witness Berger Egon survived.

These innocent victims were arrested and herded into Jasenovac for the specific purpose of liquidation. Their arrest and execution wasn't preceded by any sort of legal procedure, not from the Ustase, nor the police, nor the judicial authorities.

The Winter of 1941-1942 was exceptionally harsh. Due to poor nutrition and clothing and shoddy and cold barracks, a large number of prisoners became ill, mostly the elderly. As the elderly didn't represent a part of the labor force, the Ustase decided to liquidate them. Witness Steiner Hinko stated:

In January of 1942 in the so-called hospital there were about 300 sick prisoners. As prisoners then had to sleep even in the attics or out in the open, and the winter was harsh, many of them died from disease. So the hospital was always full of sick prisoners.

Ljubo Milos, Matkovic Ivica and Matijevic Joso roused all patients from their beds one night, put them on sleighs and took them to the fields, where they finished them off with sledgehammers and knives.

The same sort of liquidation also occurred later. The statement of witness Steiner is corroborated by witnesses Setinc Marijan and Kamhi Sabetaj.

As a constant hunger overwhelmed the inmates, in the absence of their guards they searched for leftovers around the camp, especially around the kitchen and the dump.

Five prisoners tried one day in February of 1942 to root out several raw potatoes that were buried near a repository.

Ustase guards spotted them and took them to commander Matkovic Ivica, who decided to mete out their punishment immediately. Witnesses Steiner Hinko and Danon Jakob described their punishment:

Matkovic ordered all prisoners to line up in groups for the public punishment of these five men. Even though it was extremely cold, all five of them had to strip naked. The Ustase tied their hands behind their backs and hanged them by their arms. They were hanged in this position for an hour, shivering from the cold. Their bodies turned blue. After an hour, Matkovic had them untied and shot all five of them in the back of their heads. He held a speech for the prisoners, in which he threatened an even harsher punishment if such a 'crime' happened again.

IV. The Arrival of the So-Called International Commission and Executions of Prisoners in Preparation of Its Arrival

By the beginning of 1942, the whole civilized world knew the sort of crimes the Ustase had committed in Jasenovac. Something had to be done to hide the truth.

To that end, the Ustase brought to Jasenovac an “international commission” consisting of a German, an Italian and an Hungarian, while its other members were all Ustase. This was in fact an international Fascist commission.

Luburic was notified of when the commission was due to arrive, so he had built in haste seemingly decent central kitchens and two solid barracks for prisoners’ quarters. Even bunks were built for people to sleep on.

Food for the prisoners also improved somewhat.

Witness Steiner Hinko stated that prisoners had to work fast; some carried bricks and building material, while others worked on the construction. Every ten paces an Ustase stood, beating prisoners and forcing them to work faster. During construction, seventy-two prisoners were beaten to death.

Witnesses Breyer, Danon, Riboli and Steiner described how every prisoner was given a rag on which a high number was written. The rag was to be sewn on their sleeves. The Ustase intended to trick the members of the commission by showing the number of prisoners in the camp in the register. By assigning such high numbers, they intended to give the commission the impression that each registered prisoner was indeed alive.

Prisoners were made to reply to every question of the commission by answering, “I am prisoner number so-and-so.”

Several similar commissions visited in 1942. In November, when Aleksandar Seitz, an Ustase member of a commission, asked a Slovenian Catholic priest who he was, the prisoner replied as he was told: “I am prisoner number X.”

When asked his profession, he replied in the same way. And when questioned why he was in the camp, Seitz heard again the same answer: “I am prisoner number X.”

The Ustase “minister” thought it too stupid to hear such a reply repeated to different questions. He demanded the prisoner answer with a human voice and speech.

The priest finally gave in, and stated that he was a Slovene, that he was a vicar in a Croatian parish on the border, and that he didn’t know why he was in the camp.

Luburic couldn’t let such a severe “violation of camp discipline” go unpunished. The next day, the old priest was summoned to his office. He was told that he

could go home, and was even given some sort of a release certificate. He was happy, he packed his rags and said goodbye to the other prisoners. Guards escorted him out. Shortly thereafter, his possessions were returned, giving silent testimony to the other prisoners, his comrades, of his death.

V. Two New Ustase Atrocities

Prisoner Zouhar Stjepan described two crimes the Ustase committed in the beginning of January 1942:

On 6 January 1942 Matkovic Ivica, Milos Ljubo and Jusic Mujo ordered all prisoners to gather in a 'public performance' to hear some important announcements. When the prisoners mustered, these criminals held speeches during which they yelled, cursed and insulted the inmates, saying they were saboteurs and slackers, and that they would need to apply Ustase methods to bring them back to their senses.

The real reason—or, to be correct, the motive—for the raving of these criminals and for what would soon happen wasn't known, but everyone concluded that Matkovic, Milos and Jusic weren't happy with the prisoners' work.

They then picked out 50 prisoners, took them to a barrack, and finished them off with shovels. About ten Ustase helped them.

On 1 February 1942, again, all inmates had to line up. The camp gate opened, and Lieutenant Jusic Mujo rode in on a horse, and after him a group of Serbs from Mlaka near Glina entered, about 500 of them. All of them were bound with wire. Two by two, they were chained together. A larger group of Ustase followed them. Jusic had captured these innocent Serbian peasants from Mlaka and brought them to Jasenovac, to slaughter them all in front of the other prisoners.

When Jusic came to where the prisoners stood, he turned around to face the Ustase and shouted: 'Here comes the Red Army, finish them off!'

A terrible scene, a shudder of horror went through the ones who had to watch that, a company of Ustase charging at the victims with their knives drawn. The slaughter began, slitting throats, until the entire road turned into a pile of corpses with streams of warm blood flowing from it.

The inmates were ordered to dig out pits and bury the corpses.

VI. Incineration of Inmates

The Ustase recognized that their methods of execution were slow and overly complicated. A lot of time was lost digging pits and burying corpses, which also left evidence behind.

Following the example of their Nazi masters, the Ustase too decided to build crematoriums in Jasenovac where they would incinerate their victims.

The work concerning construction of the crematoriums was entrusted to engineer Picilli, supervisor of the labor service in the camp. They built two crematoriums, two furnaces—one near the “Brick Factory,” and the other in Gradina.

Picilli gathered together the material and masons he needed, and the furnace near the “Brick Factory” was finished in short period of time. The prisoners called it the “Picilli Furnace.”

When the construction of the furnace was over, Picilli had all the masons who worked on its construction executed.

Witnesses Duzemlic Milan, Breyer Otto and Berger Egon testified that the first victims were sent into the furnace in February 1942. It remained in operation until May of the same year—approximately three months—when the Ustase had it demolished for reasons unknown. Not a trace of it was left.

At first, the Ustase incinerated women and children brought from the camp in Stara Gradiska as well as from other camps. During its three months of operation, trucks full of victims arrived in front of the “Brick Warehouse.” The Ustase unloaded their victims there, and then took them one by one to a room near the crematorium, where they would strip victims naked, stun them with a blow to the head and throw them into the furnace.

Clothes, shoes and other items were collected, sorted, and carried off to a warehouse. Prisoner Berger Egon described in more detail the execution itself:

For some time I eavesdropped from a workshop that was near the crematorium, hearing what went on in there. I would hear wailing, crying and screaming, and then a dull sound as if an iron door had been shut. After that there was silence. A flame would appear from the chimney. Then the screaming and wailing of a new victim could be heard.

The Ustase also incinerated prisoners from the camp itself—mostly old, infirm and ill men. Their numbers weren’t large, but according to witness statements, about 5,000 women and children were brought from the camp in Stara Gradiska, and an additional 10,000 from other camps and places.

At the end of May, the Ustase demolished the furnace near the Brick Factory. For the furnace built in Gradina, there is no information that it ever went into operation.

All witnesses interviewed by this commission believed that the Ustase first stunned victims by blows to their heads, and then threw them into fire unconscious. Only witness Baliija Branko claimed that he heard Ustase discussing throwing conscious people into the furnace.

With Picilli, the incineration was overseen by Luburic Maks, Milos Ljubo, Matkovic Ivica, Zrnusic Ante and Mandic Ante.

The State Commission gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes by interviewing many witnesses. Particularly comprehensive testimony was given by Kovacevic Vojislav, Hebner Marijan, Hersak Josip, Berger Otto, Danon Jakob, Slovenec Rudolf, Baliija Branko and Breyer Otto.

VII. Mass Liquidations in 1942

From March 1942 until the end of the year, Camp No. III was constantly full of men, women and children brought there by the Ustase in large groups to be liquidated.

To begin with, the Ustase gathered *all* Gypsy men and women from across the so-called Independent State of Croatia, numbering about 40,000 people, and transported them to Jasenovac.

All Gypsies were gathered in the field located between the “old wire” (see outline) and the great wall in the northeastern part of the camp. The area was enclosed by a special wire and guarded by several sentries. The Ustase named it “Camp No. III-C,” because at first only Gypsies lived there, in their tents or out in the open, hungry and barefoot, in the heat of the sun and without shelter during storms. Their food was even worse than that received by the other inmates, and the Ustase beat and whipped them with particular delight and forced them to beat and kill one another.

At night they took them in groups to Gradina, forced them to dig their own graves, and then finished them off with sledgehammers or hammers. Thus, the Ustase liquidated within a few months every Gypsy man and woman, young and old alike. Only a few Gypsies saved themselves, primarily those who stood out by diligent work building the dike and the wall around the camp. The Ustase spared

them, and took them to the villages of Gradina and Ustice, where they assigned them work as undertakers and executioners.

This group of Gypsies survived for a long time. They lived in village houses, received good food, and drank to excess. It is significant that none of them tried to flee. Their duty was to dig graves in Gradina for the victims who now arrived in Jasenovac for the sole purpose of being liquidated, to execute victims with sledgehammers or hammers and to bury them afterward. Although they fulfilled their duty as slaves, in the end they, too, learned how little the Ustase's promises were worth. In early 1945, the Ustase killed them all, in order to eliminate all witnesses to their crimes.

When the Gypsies from Camp III-C vanished, the Ustase sent large numbers of Serbs, Jews and Croats there to be liquidated.

Prisoners often saw large groups of men and women departing from Camp III-C, numbering 500 to 800 people. Witnesses specifically mentioned groups sent to their death in Gradina on 17 August 1942, 29 August 1942 and 18 October 1942.

The State Commission has gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes based upon statements given by witnesses Peska Duro, Hersak Josip, Slovenec Rudolf, Fabijanec Josip, Pejnovic Djuro, Tot Ljudevit, all from Zagreb; Ilic Branko from Zivinice; Setinc Marijan from Dolenjska Jasenica and Breyer Otto from Bjelovar.

VIII. Mass Liquidations Outside the Camp

In the previous chapter, we spoke of the liquidations of victims inside Jasenovac.

However, during the entire year of 1942 large numbers of men, women and children arrived by railroad, trucks or on foot. These captives weren't taken inside the Jasenovac camp at all, but immediately dispatched over the Sava and liquidated in Gradina and Ustice and other locations. Witnesses Hersak Josip, Slovenec Rudolf, Bednjanec Slavko, and Danon Jakob, all from Zagreb; Matas Pavao from Trstenik; Breyer Otto from Bjelovar and Tot Ljudevit from Garesnica testified about the following mass crimes during 1942:

- a.) that, on an undetermined date, the Ustase killed a large group of approximately 8,000 peasants from Slavonia in Gradina;
- b.) that shortly after, they killed a group of approximately 7,000 people captured from villages around Mount Kozara;

- c.) that shortly after, they killed a large group that arrived at the Jasenovac railroad station in fifty-six railroad cars, packed with living skeletons;
- d.) that they killed in Gradina a large group of Jewish women and children who had arrived from the women's camp in Djakovo.

Witnesses state that the Gypsies in Gradina were so exhausted from digging graves day and night that they grabbed truncheons and forced the victims to dig long and deep graves for themselves. The Gypsies competed with the Ustase over who could more quickly and with better skill slit the throats of their victims, or beat them with sledgehammers to the head.

When the pits were covered, both the Ustase and the participating Gypsies drank until they were unconscious.

IX. Maiming and Killing of Two Groups in January and March 1942

Witness Blumschein Zlatko gave the following statement:

Around 20 January 1942, the Ustase gathered around 200 Serbian peasants from different Slavonian towns, and beat them inside of the camp itself with blunt objects for a whole hour. Peasants wailed, curling up in pain. Many died. The Ustase then brought several carts, threw both the dead and the living together, and took them to the graveyards outside of the camp.

The bodies were dumped from the cart and the Ustase stomped on them with their boots. When they finished the last of them off, they removed the victims' shoes and clothes, and threw the corpses into a large pit.

I know that this slaughter was organized by Milos Ljubo himself, and was aided by Matijevic Joso and Sabljic Ilija.

Witness Finzi Jakob described a mass atrocity committed in March of 1942:

In the first half of March 1942, some Ustase, whose identity I could not determine, killed some 3,000 prisoners in Jasenovac. It was also impossible to determine whether this slaughter was

performed for the purpose of reducing of overall number of prisoners in the camp, or for the purpose of inducing terror.

The slaughter lasted for ten days. They smashed the heads of their victims with blunt objects. They beat them with stakes and iron rods to such extent that their bodies were black and totally mutilated. They drove nails into their bodies, dismembered them, et cetera. For ten days about fifty undertakers had to bury corpses in the graveyards outside the camp, which is where these mass atrocities occurred.

X. Mass Slaughter of Jews

In early Winter 1942, more transports were scheduled to arrive in Jasenovac. As the camp was already crowded with inmates, the Ustase decided to reduce their number and liquidate some of them, first of all the Jews.

For three nights, Ustase supervisors walked through the barracks, singling out old, ill and infirm Jews. On 17, 18, and 19, November 1942, they collected 800 Jews from the labor service of Jasenovac. First they kept them in a concentration room, and then one night took them by boat over the Sava River to Gradina, where they had to dig their own graves. The Gypsies slaughtered them and buried them.

The State Commission has gathered evidence this crime based on the statement of witness Breyer Otto from Bjelovar.

XI. "Three Year Prisoners" Subjected to Torture and Execution

In the introduction, we stated that the Ustase intended to sentence every disloyal subject to a concentration camp, and that the term of imprisonment varied from three months to three years.

Prisoners noticed that the Ustase commandants, when receiving new prisoners, treated some more strictly than others, and separated them immediately from the other inmates.

At first, the prisoners didn't know what criteria the Ustase used to separate certain persons and why those singled out were never taken inside the camp. They

eventually discovered that those singled out were “Three Year Prisoners”—that is, individuals sentenced by Ustase police to a term of three years in prison.

In June of 1942, a large transport arrived in Jasenovac with only “three-year-prisoners,” approximately 300 in number.

Witnesses Habijanec Josip and Danon Jakob stated that they watched as Maricic Jerko ordered that the prisoners be taken immediately to Gradina, where the Gypsies killed them. From that time on, the inmates understood that the Ustase would kill all “Three Year Prisoners” outright upon their arrival at the camp, as confirmed by the aforementioned witnesses.

XII. The Liquidation of Camp No. III-C

From the attached outline, one can ascertain that between the so-called “old wire” and the great wall in the northeastern part of the camp was a large field. In the Spring of 1942, the Ustase built a common camp under the open sky, enclosed it by barbed wire and interned approximately 40,000 Gypsies there.

The Gypsies were killed in a matter of a few weeks. As the number of Gypsies gradually declined, other prisoners were brought in, so Camp III-C became a concentration camp of numerous men, women and children who waited here during 1942 for their turn to go to their death.

By the end of November 1942 only about 160 prisoners, mostly intellectuals, remained in Camp III-C.

The commandant of the camp, Matkovic Ivica, decided to execute them in the most macabre way imaginable: to deprive them of all food and water and see how long they could survive. To that end, he reinforced the guard around the camp and strengthened the wire. Guards were ordered to shoot any prisoner attempting to escape, and to kill any prisoner who tried to sneak food into the camp.

He ordered the construction of a large sign outside the camp which read “typhus.” This was to intimidate the other prisoners, but also was a warning to the Ustase themselves from approaching too close to the barbed wire.

Weak and infirm prisoners succumbed only after a few days, but about forty managed to survive even after a few weeks. Out of despair, they ate every blade of grass in the camp. Driven mad by hunger they even started eating human flesh. Witness Kuhada Nikola stated the following:

Toward the end of 1942, I was disinfecting the bunks in a barrack, four meters away from Camp III-C. I was in the attic of the building and out of curiosity I lifted a couple of tiles on the roof. I saw what the inmates in Camp III-C were doing. Nobody was allowed to enter anymore—a board had been erected with a sign on it reading ‘typhus.’

I saw how some prisoners ripped flesh from the corpses of their dead comrades and ate it raw. For 17 days they didn’t receive any food.

Some witnesses observed the camp at night from a distance. Witnesses Breyer and Riboli stated that they observed prisoners in Camp III-C baking the flesh of their dead comrades and eating it. The flames illuminated the whole camp.

When one prisoner reported to Matkovic Ivica what he saw in the Camp III-C, Matkovic started to laugh and told him, “You are an intelligent man, and should know that a corpse is poisonous, from which death comes quickly. Let them bake and eat, the sooner they will all drop dead. It seems this has been going on too long already.”

But the prisoners still wouldn’t die. They tried to squeeze through the wire and jump into the Sava. Ustase guards saw them and reported it to Matkovic, who made the decision to load the remaining thirty-five prisoners from Camp III-C into carts by night and move them across the Sava to Gradina, to a house inside the village.

The Ustase imprisoned several other inmates in the same house. They had previously been incarcerated in the “Bell Warehouse,” where they had been tortured by starvation.

The thirty-five prisoners from Camp III-C were brought to the house, stripped naked and barricaded behind boarded-up windows and doors. After a few days they passed away from exposure and starvation.

The location of Camp III-C was plowed over to erase every trace of the camp where several hundreds of thousands of men, women and children waited for days and weeks, in the heat of the sun and in the snow, hungry, naked and barefoot, for the moment of a death in which they saw their salvation, to be relieved from the horror and despair which they had to experience every day.

The State Commission has gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes based on the statements of Srica Dragan, Danon Jakob, Riboli Josip, Breyer Otto and Kuhada Nikola, who named Matkovic Ivica, Sliskovic Ivan, Maricic Jerko and Polic Marinko as the Ustase who exhibited the most extreme cruelty during the execution of this crime.

XIII. Redoubled Brutality Against the Jews

Prisoner Richter Rudolf from Zagreb stated:

On one night in December 1942, the Ustase entered the barracks and grabbed the Jews from their bunks. They threw them out of the barracks and beat them with bats and kicked them, fracturing their legs and ribs. Many Jews were beaten to death, and many died later that night.

Later we found out that the reason for all of it was because guards found the corpse of an Ustase guard in the camp, and two Jewish prisoners had escaped from the camp. The Ustase suspected the Jews had killed the guard.

XIV. The Slaughter of Children

Throughout 1942, Camp III-C was swarming with children brought to Jasenovac together with their parents.

During liquidations, many children lost track of their parents, and other prisoners took them in. Many prisoners thus hid the orphans whose mothers and fathers had been killed, sharing their meals and depriving themselves of food to their benefit. Inmates permitted to receive packages with food from home gave all of it to the children.

Near the end of the Summer of 1942, Luburic noticed the children in the attics of workshops and in the barracks, and he ordered the Ustase to search the whole camp.

Thus it was discovered that there were over four hundred boys and girls in the camp, ranging from four to fourteen years of age. Luburic consulted with his officers and—to the inmates' surprise—had the children registered and placed in special rooms. He identified several male and female teachers among the inmates, and ordered them to teach the children to read, write and sing.

This little “kindergarten” became the sole joy of the inmates in the camp. Their happiness didn't last long. Matkovic Ivica, Kapetanovic and Sliskovic Ivan weren't satisfied with the results; it seemed to them that the children's upbringing didn't emphasize enough the Ustase spirit. Aside from that, they had established that these children were mostly Serbian and Jewish.

When Luburic returned to Jasenovac, they reported their findings to him. He ordered that they be killed, particularly as they had become a burden to the supply

budget.

The Ustase took the children in groups of sixty to eighty each to Gradina, where the Gypsies killed and buried them.

This commission has gathered evidence for these crimes against innocent children based on statements from several prisoners, particularly Stazic Josip from Zagreb and Jovanovic Svetozar from Osijek.

XV. Changes in Camp Administration in March 1943

The years 1941 and 1942 saw the bloodiest of the Ustase atrocities in Jasenovac, killing several hundred thousand prisoners.

However, important events in the world had a decisive influence even on the Ustase régime in Jasenovac: the defeat at Stalingrad. This was the reason why camp's administration became more tolerable.

Eugen Kvaternik was removed from his duty of supreme supervisor of all camps in the so-called NDH during 1943. Matkovic Ivica was also removed from his duty as administrator of Camp No. III.

Ustase Brkljacic Ivica, a Catholic priest, was appointed in his place. Matkovic received word of his dismissal on 19 March 1943, but Brkljacic wasn't due to arrive until 25 March 1943. Over the next four days, Matkovic "celebrated" his departure. He got drunk with his fellow officers, non-commissioned officers and other Ustase, and went on a rampage through the prisoners' barracks at night, herding inmates around like cattle and beating them with lathes, rifle butts, fists and boots. Many prisoners were beaten during those four nights, their bodies black and blue from the abuse, and one prisoner was beaten to death. Witness Danon Jakob from Zagreb emphasizes that during this orgy of violence, Stojcic Jozo, Brzica Petar and Hirschberger Nikola were especially frenetic.

XVI. Atrocities in the Summer of 1943

Though no mass slaughters were committed in Jasenovac in 1943, the year still didn't pass without bloodshed.

Witnesses Bednjanec Slavko from Zagreb, Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo, Skrgatic Dragutin from Zagreb, Danon Jakob from Zagreb and Gregurovic Vera from Zagreb testified to the following:

In the Summer of 1943, several prisoners managed to escape while they were on exterior labor detail. The commander of “Ustase hour,” Pavlovic Marko, had decided, and Brkljacic Ivica so ordered, that prisoners were to wear chains on their legs for the next month of exterior labor. He forbade other prisoners from receiving packages and letters, and also reduced the daily food ration. Ustase officers divided the packages among themselves.

Ustase guards began to abuse the prisoners again, particularly while they were on labor detail outside the camp. Very often, fewer number of prisoners returned in the evening than had left for work in the morning. Ustase guards stated that they shot inmates who had tried to escape. Thus in August of 1943, fifty prisoners were killed.

Witness Richter Rudolf from Zagreb stated that just before Autumn of 1943, fifteen Serb Partizans were brought to Jasenovac after being captured in Bosnia. All of them looked like living skeletons, and their bodies bore evidence of torture. When they entered the camp, ten Ustase from the First Company beat them with stakes. The beating lasted for half an hour. Three of them were finished off immediately, while others died shortly thereafter. Responsibility for the crime was attributed to the commanding officer of First Company, Sankovic Ante-Matesa, non-commissioned officers Alilovic Frane and Brkljacic Jurica and several other Ustase, identities unknown.

XVII. “Forest Groups”

Toward the end of 1943, camp administrators created the so-called “forest groups.” Every group consisted of thirty to eighty prisoners who were given tools to cut down trees and chop wood. Returning at night to the camp, they realized that several of their comrades had disappeared. Witness Breyer Otto from Bjelovar stated:

From September 1943 until January 1944, forest groups were formed daily. They were sent to Gradina to cut down trees. I know that during three weeks about eighty people went to work, but each day ten of them didn't return.

Witness Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste stated:

On 29 December of 1943, eighty-four or eighty-five prisoners were called out from a list. They were given saws and axes and were told that they were going to work in the forest. We thought that was suspicious, because there were very few permanent workers from a forest group among them. They were loaded onto a boat, but even before they went ashore, the saws and axes were taken away from them. At noon, the food that was supposed to be taken to them was stopped from being taken to them. We all knew right away that they had been killed. Afterwards their clothes were returned to the camp, and we were now sure that they had been killed.

There were rumors in the camp that they were killed by the First Company of the First Ustase Defense Group, commanded by Ante Vrbanić.

Two weeks after that, in the Gradina forest across the Sava, about 120 prisoners were killed from among three or four groups. They too were sent on forest labor to Gradina, but they never returned. At that time Domobran Senior Lieutenant Nibler was appointed supervisor of the labor section. An inmate in the camp, Vlah Romeo, went to see him and told him that this was the third or fourth group that didn't return from the forest. Until now he had signed documents that these men had tried to escape and were killed, but that from then on he wouldn't sign that anymore.

Other witnesses, including Grun Walter, Breyer Otto, Danon Jakob and Novak Perjanec Mate, also stated that the Ustase killed many prisoners on forest labor during the autumn and winter, and that they noticed how Ustase brought to the camp at night various clothes, footwear and tools. All these witnesses assign blame for these crimes to Luburic Maks, Pavlovic Marko, Brkljacic Ivica, Milos Ljubo, and engineer Picilli Hinko as organizers, and Zrnusic Ante, Mihaljevic Marko, Primorac Silvestar, Bracic Nikola, Frkovic Mile, Djulkic Alaga, Cop Luka and Hirschberger Nikola as executors of these crimes. The number of prisoners killed in the forests during this time has not been established.

XVIII. Ustase Reprisals in June 1944

In June 1944, inmate Wollner Ivan, a student from Zagreb, escaped from the camp. The Ustase captured him near Dubica and beat him up so badly that he passed away, and his dead body was brought back to the camp. All prisoners had to come to the public performance, and Ustase Senior Lieutenant Sakic Dinko demanded to

know the persons with whom Wollner socialized and who had helped him escape. When not one prisoner answered, Sakic ordered that an Ustase bring him the "Directory" in which the name of every Jew in Jasenovac was listed. Out of the Directory he called out 100 names. When they stood in front of him, he singled out twenty-five Jews and sentenced them to imprisonment in the "Bell Warehouse," which meant that they were sentenced to die of starvation. During the reading of the sentence, two Jews laughed. An Ustase guard noticed and reported it to Sakic. He ordered the two Jews to kneel and shot them in the back of their heads. Among the twenty-five Jews sent to the Bell Warehouse, there were several respectable people from Sarajevo: professors, lawyers, engineers, et cetera.

The State Commission gathered evidence for this crime from interviews with witnesses Ilic Branko, Kamhi Sabetaj, Danon Jakob, Aleksic Arsa and Zivkovic Jovan.

XIX. Liquidation of a Large Group of Serbs in Jablanac

Witness Breyer Otto testified that at the end of August, approximately 700 to 800 Serbs from near Okucani arrived in Jasenovac.

The witness saw the Ustase load these Serbs onto boats and transport them down the Sava to the forest located between Mlaka and Jablanac. As the camp's Economy was the custodian of land in Jablanac, the witness originally believed that these Serbs were being taken there to work. However, he learned from other prisoners that Ustase killed the Serbs on the Sava riverbank. The witness saw the Ustase guards who followed the prisoners return to the camp that night but the prisoners were never seen again.

XX. Activity of the Mobile Court-Martial in Jasenovac in September 1944

In September of 1944, the camp administration discovered through their informers that certain groups of prisoners maintained contacts outside the camp. According

to the informers, these groups were connected to the Partizans and were crafting a plan for an uprising and escape.

The camp administration then convened a mobile court-martial to conduct an investigation and trial.

Luburic entrusted the investigation to Ustase judge Dr. Prpic Mihovil. Prpic was very cruel, and together with his agents Sudar Mile, Primorac Silvestar, Pavicic Petar, Neovcic Lajco, Kvesic Stipo and Pehar Nikola, conducted an “investigation” using every means of torture, including beating victims with truncheons, crushing their fingers, driving needles under their fingernails, burning their naked bodies with a blowtorch used for welding by tinsmiths, blinding them, et cetera. The investigation lasted for several weeks, during which Prpic and his comrades mutilated several prisoners.

The exact purpose of this “court”—which ignored the established facts that the Ustase had killed several hundred thousands of people, in the most heinous ways, without any justified reason, without any procedure and without any, even an Ustase “trial”—isn’t clear.

The nature of the “court” can be better determined from the statements of friar and Ustase Majstorovic-Filipovic, who was a member of the “court” and who was interrogated by this commission on 29 June 1945 in Record No. 2006. Among other things, Filipovic stated:

In 1944, in September, I was a member of a mobile court-martial in Jasenovac, with the other members, Mataja Josip, Ustase captain, Milkovic Martin, Ustase Senior Lieutenant from Lika, and Dinko Sakic, Ustase Senior Lieutenant from Bosanski Brod. We didn’t investigate anything, we only signed the verdicts. The verdicts we signed were given to us by Dr. Prpic Mihovil, chief of the judiciary for the area of Jasenovac. I signed death warrants for civilians from Dubica, I think seventeen of them, who were accused of collaborating with the Partizans. These seventeen men were hanged in Dubica. Finally, I signed as a member of the court-martial eight death warrants in Novska for railway workers, and they were also hanged. All the sentences were carried out the same day, and all verdicts were made by Dr. Prpic Mihovil, and the executions were performed in the various places I mentioned.

Therefore there was no inquiry, and the “court” didn’t come to any verdicts on their own, but the camp administration simply passed on their decisions to be signed by members of the “court.” With a few slight differences in procedure, other Ustase mobile courts-martial functioned in the same manner, fomenting terror in various parts of the state and murdering on the territory of the so-called NDH thou-

sands of innocent victims.

Filipovic-Majstorovic didn't reveal the entire scope of the Jasenovac "trial" in September 1944 in his quoted statement. By interviewing witnesses Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo, Magric Misko from Vrapca and Danon Jakob from Zagreb, it was established that based on the verdicts handed down from this "court," a total of thirty-one individuals were hanged.

Witness Danon Jakob was present during the execution of the inmates. He stated:

That these prisoners were tortured, I know, because I saw them going into the administration building. When the Ustase brought them from the interrogation, I saw they were dragging them behind from being beaten up. The undertaker who buried the victims told me that he could identify the body of Rebac Remzija when he undressed him. His body was burned from a flame of a blow torch. Sakic Dinko, a member of the 'court,' referred to that torture instrument as 'V-1' and bragged in front of me in the barbershop that 'V-1' was a success.

On the second day I had to watch the hanging. I heard Primorac Silvestar ask Hadzija, the inmate about to be hanged, if he forgave him for beating him. And he replied that he would never forgive him for that. Primorac then told Hadzija, when the rope was already around his neck, 'Until we meet again in the other world.'

As mentioned in the introduction, in the town of Jasenovac itself there was a factory where leather was being produced. Prisoners were employed as workers, engineers and technicians, and Ustase guards used great caution in preventing them from escaping. The official name of the factory was the "Tannery," or Camp No. IV.

In October of 1944, the Ustase discovered that even in the Tannery there were two organizations keeping in contact with the Partizans. An "investigation" was conducted by Ustase Lisac Slavko, Djerek Bozo, Svagusa Andrija, Zivanovic Mato and Grubisic Jerko. Witnesses Lapcevic Stojan from Zagreb and Auferber Miro from Osijek, who both worked in the Tannery, stated that the investigation was marked by extreme cruelty, that the mobile court-martial sentenced to death twenty-five prisoners from the Tannery and had them shot.

XXI. A Still Bloodier Reign: October 1944

By October 1944, the period of moderation by the Ustase had ended.

By that time, the territory of Macedonia and Serbia had already been liberated. Belgrade had been resurrected as the capital of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, and in Vojvodina, Croatia and Bosnia, battles were being fought between the National Liberation Army and the German-Ustase armies that were fleeing toward the northwestern border.

The Ustase realized that the end of their reign of terror was near, so Luburic, Boban and other “knights” suggested slaughtering everyone who was not a part of the Ustase. Thus the Ustase from October 1944 until the last days of the war committed mass liquidations of all hostile elements.

Again, transports began to arrive to Jasenovac from unliberated parts of the country. Whole prisons and camps were evacuated and their inmates transferred to Jasenovac. Throughout the Winter of 1944 and '45 blood flowed from the “Granik” and from Gradina. Witness Rozman Ivan stated:

In December 1944, the Ustase lined-up prisoners during the public ‘performances’ before supper, 150 to 200 people a day. They were locked in the barracks in front of the ‘Administration.’ At night they were taken naked and bound with wire to the ‘Granik,’ where the Ustase killed them and dumped their bodies into the Sava.

I observed this during the whole month of December from my quarters in the ‘Brick Factory.’ There were glass windows there and I arrived around 10 p.m. from working at the ‘Sawmill.’ From my quarters I saw clearly how that butcher Frkovic killed people on the ‘Granik’ by cutting their throats with a knife and dumping them into the Sava. I could see that pretty well because there was a powerful electric light behind that spot.

Witnesses Zadavec Vinko from Zagreb, Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija, Grun Walter from Nova Gradiska, Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo and Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo gave statements to this State Commission, based on which it determined the following crimes:

- a.) that, during the Winter, the Ustase killed about 3,500 prisoners who were part of the Jasenovac labor force;
- b.) that drunken Ustase raped in turn about 20 young women who worked in the Economy, then slaughtered them and dumped their bodies into the Sava;

c.) that, in December 1944, the Ustase liquidated by the “Granik” two groups of prisoners, who applied—believing, in their naïvete, that they would save themselves—to work in Germany. In the first group about 200 prisoners were liquidated, of different nationalities and religions, while in the other group there were only Serbs;

d.) that, on an undetermined date, an enormous transport arrived to the camp with about 15,000 workers and peasants. The Ustase interned them in the “Main Warehouse” and the fields around it, and gradually, within a few weeks, liquidated them all on the “Granik.”

XXII. The Bombing of Ustase Fortifications in Jasenovac

On 30 and 31 March 1945, Allied planes bombed Ustase fortifications in Jasenovac.

During the bombing about 40 prisoners were killed and many wounded. Fires broke out and set off several explosions.

The Ustase forced prisoners with truncheons and gunshots to put out the fires, save various items from burning workshops and otherwise expose their lives to mortal danger. Witnesses Lapcevic Stojan, Danon Jakob and Kamhi Sabetaj state that Ustase officers Zrinusic Ante and Zovko Stanko killed many prisoners, while Mihaljevic Marko and Perkovic Marko beat and slaughtered any prisoner they wanted. These witnesses claim that at the end of March there were 5,000 prisoners on labor in Jasenovac.

XXIII. The Final Liquidation of the Inmates

In the beginning of April 1945, an offensive by the National Liberation Army commenced with the goal of driving the German occupiers and their Ustase servants from the country.

The Ustase administration in Jasenovac prepared for their escape. Luburic

decided to kill the surviving prisoners, and to turn the camp and the town of Jasenovac into a pile of ashes.

Simultaneously, great transports arrived at Jasenovac with inmates from Lepoglava, Stara Gradiska and other camps and places. The Ustase killed all of these prisoners on the “Granik” or in Gradina. Witness Skrgatic Dragutin stated:

I remember that eleven railroad cars of prisoners from Lepoglava arrived in Jasenovac. I saw when all of those people were taken away by night to Gradina and killed there.

Altogether, about 700 prisoners arrived from Lepoglava, and an even greater number from Stara Gradiska.

In April, as stated by witness Breyer Otto, the Ustase took the prisoners on “exterior labor” and executed them outside of Jasenovac.

They feared that sooner or later the new cemeteries would be discovered in and around the camp and would be used to establish how and how many victims died.

This is why they formed teams of inmates to act as undertakers who were ordered to dig out the graves in and outside the camp, in Gradina and Ustice, and exhume the corpses of the murdered victims. Other prisoners were ordered to build enormous stakes. Coke was strewn at their bases, corpses and skeletons were thrown on it, doused with oil and burned. Prisoners observed the fires burning over the next three weeks. Witness Duzemlic Milan stated that a peasant woman, Marinic Marija, told him that she observed these fires from the roof of her house in Kosutarica. She also claims to have seen the Ustase killing prisoners. When they burned the last skeleton and corpse, they began drinking and celebrating.

Prisoners and witnesses Abinum Yeshua, Danon Jakob, Zivkovic Jovan and Lapcevic Stojan, who survived the last days of Jasenovac, claim:

- a.) that, on 20 April 1945, a large group of approximately 470 persons was liquidated;
- b.) that, at the same time, a group which numbered approximately 400 people from Sarajevo arrived in Jasenovac, and that they too were finished off in Gradina;
- c.) that, on 21 April 1945, in the women’s section of the camp, approximately 760 women and girls remained, working in the Economy, in the

kitchens and dairies. On 21 April, a long line of these women went to their death singing songs, parting with their comrades and saying goodbye by shouting, "You are staying, and we are going to die."

The women were finished off that day and thrown into the Sava or burned at the stake. A month later, the Commission of Inquiry found many items of female clothing strewn across the fields and roads between the Economy and the Sava;

d.) that, on 21 April, panic broke out among prisoners, and about a hundred of them hanged themselves out of despair in barracks and workshops.

Thus on 22 April, about 1,060 prisoners remained in Camp No. III.

The Ustase brought these prisoners into a large factory building near the "Brick Warehouse." They barricaded the doors and windows and placed guards around the building to prevent anyone from escaping.

That whole day and night, the Ustase were busy mining one factory building after another, workshop after workshop, warehouse after warehouse, barrack after barrack. Their intention was to start a multitude of fires, turning the entire camp turned into a torch with explosions resounding throughout it.

The inmates in the factory building knew that certain death awaited them, and they assumed that Ustase would burn their building too and kill them all.

Therefore they decided to mount a breakthrough from the building the next day in an unarmed battle for life and death. They chose Bakotic Ante as their leader. Each prisoner ripped out boards from the walls and doors, and at exactly 10 a.m. on 22 April 1945 they broke down the doors and windows and rushed out of the building.

At the last moment, about 460 prisoners hesitated. Many were ill, old or so infirm that they couldn't think of engaging in unarmed combat.

Though physically weak and exhausted from their suffering in the camp, the six hundred prisoners who didn't lose their nerve gathered their last strength and attacked the Ustase guards, strangling several of them with their bare hands and taking their rifles. Other prisoners grabbed iron rods or bricks. Beating the Ustase with whatever they had, they began running in the direction of the eastern gate on the road to Kosutarica.

They had to cross the area alongside the Sava, between the southern part of the great wall and the river. The Ustase had several bunkers concentrated there, and

several machine guns in every bunker. They were, however, surprised. They didn't expect that unarmed prisoners would dare attack them, and had neglected to close the eastern gate.

Thus the final part of the battle occurred at the gate. Prisoner Ristic Mile strangled the Ustase with a machine gun guarding the gate with his bare hands, grabbed his weapon and began firing.

Eighty prisoners were able to run through the gate and save themselves by running to the nearby forests. The other 520 died in the fighting.

The Ustase massacred the prisoners who remained behind, approximately 460 of them. Only Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste saved himself by hiding in the ruins of one building, crouching for five days and nights without food or water, watching the Ustase demolish the camp and the town of Jasenovac.

When the last Ustase disappeared from Jasenovac, Zivkovic pulled himself from his hole, ran to the Sava and swam across. The National Liberation Army had already arrived in Jasenovac and saved him and the other eighty prisoners who managed the breakthrough from the camp.

The State Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators has gathered evidence for these crimes by the Ustase by interviewing witnesses Solenicki Stjepan, Lapcevic Stojan, Skrgatic Dragutin, Filipcic Ivan, Kamhi Sabetaj, Abinum Yeshua, Ilic Branko, Danon Jakob, Zivkovic Jovan, Aleksic Arsa and Maric Mihajlo, who gave consistent testimony on which and what type of atrocities the Ustase committed before their escape from Camp No. III.

XXIV. Breakthrough from the "Tannery"

In the town Jasenovac itself there were still 147 prisoners working in the "Tannery" on 23 April 1945.

All of them saw the fires and heard the explosions resounding from Camp No. III. They also saw the panic among the Ustase, and that they were moving from house to house planting explosives. They too were afraid that the Ustase monsters would mine and blow up the Tannery with the worker's buildings, so they decided to try to save themselves from the destruction of Camp No. IV.

They divided themselves into fifteen groups of ten and agreed to what each group had to do. Doctors among the prisoners distributed poisonous chemicals,

since all prisoners would rather poison themselves than fall into the Ustase's hands.

The first group was supposed to break down the door of the quarters, the second to attack the guards; the third to cut the barbed wire, the fourth to break down the door leading into factory yard, the fifth to beat and disarm the Ustase who were there, the sixth and the seventh to bring clothes and food, the eighth to perform medical service, and the others to acquire weapons in the battle for life and death.

The plan was well thought-out. The prisoners fought bravely and broke through from the camp, but there the greatest difficulties awaited them. They had to run across Jasenovac's streets, through the fields, cut through the circles of barbed wire, and then cross the dike, roads and railroad that were swarming with bunkers and machine guns.

Prisoners Lapcevic Stojan and Berger Egon, who gave us information about this heroic feat, claim only ten prisoners survived from the Tannery and within a few days met with units of the National Liberation Army.

XXV. The Liquidation of the Ustase Hospital

As mentioned earlier, the Ustase maintained a hospital in Jasenovac for the ill and wounded soldiers of the Jasenovac garrison. Many prisoners were obligated to work in the hospital as doctors, pharmacists, nurses, maids, cooks, orderlies, chauffeurs and undertakers. According to the testimony of Danon Jakob, on 23 April Milos Ljubo and Tomic Jure ordered thirteen prisoners to be killed. The Ustase took them to the fields and executed them.

The hospital and several prisoners was relocated to Sunja.

XXVI. The Statement of Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic, Ustase War Criminal and Commandant of Jasenovac

In Record No. 2006 of 29 June 1945, the State Commission interrogated as a witness the aforementioned war criminal Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, who was captured and put on trial after the liberation. We have already mentioned part of his statement—that regarding the “trial” of the so-called mobile court-martial in

Jasenovac.

Here we append the most important parts of his statement. Though his statement considering the number of victims doesn't match the truth—all witnesses interviewed, who were prisoners themselves, speak with complete consistency and certainty of a far greater number, especially in regards to the number of victims killed by Majstorovic himself—it is still crucial in that he admitted to killing approximately 100 victims by his own hand, and only “attended” mass executions. According to his confession, just during the short period of time of his command over the camp—from the end of June until the end of October 1942, therefore during four months—20,000 to 30,000 innocent victims were liquidated. Before and after his time as commandant of the camp, he performed various duties in Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska. His statement reads:

It is true, since I was confronted with the statement of Vjekoslav Servatzi regarding the massacres in the villages surrounding Banja Luka, that I was chaplain of the II Poglavnik's Bodyguard Battalion. As such, one night I went with the brigade II PBB into action and allegedly only to search surrounding Orthodox villages, that we suspected were hosting Chetniks.

I emphasize that I was a priest in that area before the NDH. I saw how Ustase soldiers returned bloody from the slaughter, later I heard stories that on that occasion, 2,000 people were killed.

In Jasenovac I was an Ustase officer and administrator of the camp from the end of June 1942 until the end of October 1942. I admit that during public executions, I personally killed about 100 prisoners from the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska camps. I also admit that during my administration of the camp, mass executions were performed in Gradina, but I didn't participate in that, even though I knew about the killings. I correct myself—I attended these mass executions, but I didn't take part in them. As administrator, I permitted these mass executions, because I had oral orders from Ljubo Milos, and also from Matkovic Ivica, and sometimes even from Maks Luburic. In Gradina, executions were performed by sledgehammers, and in such way that a victim had to climb down into a pit that had already been dug out, which was followed by a blow from the sledgehammer to the back of the head. Besides that, killings were also performed by shooting and slitting throats. During liquidations of women and girls in Gradina, I know that rapes of the younger ones were performed too. Matkovic Ivica permitted that, and rape was, as far as I know, performed by Gypsies, the Gypsy undertakers. I never committed rape.

During my administration, according to my calculations, twenty to thirty thousand prisoners were liquidated in Jasenovac. I especially emphasize that in the beginning of Summer, the liquidation of the Djakovo camp was performed in Jasenovac. The liquidation was organized by Matijevic Joso, an Ustase lieutenant. During the liquidation of the Djakovo camp, I reckon that two to three thousand Jewish women and their children were killed.

From Jasenovac, I went to Stara Gradiska at the end of October 1942 until 27 March 1943. During that time in Stara Gradiska, mass liquidations were performed, usually outside the camp, for instance in Mlaka, Jablanac, but some were sent off to Jasenovac too. Such

large transports for liquidations were carried out by the order of Matkovic Ivica, and in this way two to three thousand people were sent away.

On 16 April 1945 I returned to Jasenovac, where I stayed until the end. I know that at the time corpses of prisoners from Gradina were being exhumed and burned, in order to cover up traces of what had been done. I didn't participate in the liquidation of the last prisoners, but only in exhumation.

* * *

We have presented a fraction of the mass crimes committed by the Ustase in Jasenovac over a period of four years. We repeat that the litany of mass atrocities is not exhausted, and that numerous instances of torture and executions performed by the Ustase on individuals or groups of prisoners were not mentioned. We would again underline that these crimes were committed on a routine, daily basis.

We also mentioned that the number of victims from Jasenovac ranges around the figure of a half million, which means that one out of every ten inhabitants of the so-called NDH left his bones in Jasenovac.

The crimes committed in Jasenovac do not in the least lag behind the crimes committed by the Nazis in Belsen, Auschwitz or Majdanek.

As with all other Fascist organizations, the Ustase terrorist organization also created a criminal mentality among its members, who thus killed out of “conviction.”

It is an unfortunate fact that all members joined the Ustase terrorist organization voluntarily, that they knew in advance the criminal goals of the organization, that the organization was operating by criminal means, that its activity consisted, precisely, of committing criminal acts. Therefore, when they joined this organization, every one of them knew—they knew and they had to know—that they would commit crimes, organized, mass crimes. They knew the consequences of becoming members of such organization. Therefore, they cannot use the excuse that they were ordered to commit a criminal act, and thus shift the responsibility to their commanders.

Evidence of Crimes in Jasenovac

The State Commission didn't find written documentation relating to the atrocities committed in Jasenovac. To erase all traces of this unprecedented torture chamber, which by severity and cruelty was undoubtedly one of the bloodiest of all Nazi camps in Europe, the Ustase destroyed all of their documents. However, even if all the documents written by the camp's administration were preserved, these alone couldn't be counted on for reliable information, at least in regard to the number of victims. From statements given by witnesses it was established that victims who were killed weren't always registered.

During this investigation of the atrocities committed, their timing and circumstances, the State Commission gathered evidence by interviewing witnesses, conducting an investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac and by a photographic survey of the camp and its vicinity.

Sixty-two witnesses were interrogated:

Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo, Sarac Izmailova street 23,
Aleksic Arsa from Donji Bogicevci,
Auferber Mijo from Osijek,
Balija Branko from Zagreb, Zagorska street 44,
Berger Egon, command of the city of Zagreb, employee of Propodjelo,
Bing Julio from Virovitica,
Breyer Otto from Bjelovar,
Bzik Stjepan from Kupljanova street 12,
Blumschein Zlatko from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 60,
Bednjanec Slavko from Zagreb, Barutanski jarak 25,
Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 32a,
Devcic Natke from Zagreb, secretary of the Conservatory,
Duzemlic Milan from Drenov Bok,
Dobaj Kario from Sarajevo,
Dominec Ivan from Zagreb, Ilica street 224,
Duvnjak Mato from Kustosija No. 23,
Fajdetic Grgur from Kompolje,
Filipic Ivan from Zagreb, Sava station,
Finzi Jakob from Sarajevo,
Flumiani Milan from Zagreb, Kuslanova street 34,
Gelb Makso from Zagreb,
Grgurovic Vera from Zagreb, Gajeva street 2b,

Grun Walter from Nova Gradiska,
Habijanec Josip from Zagreb, Nova Cesta 38,
Hala Dragutin from Zagreb, Radisina street 8,
Hebner Marijan from Zagreb, Lorkoviceva street 8,
Hersak Josip from Zagreb, Cvjetna Cesta 41,
Ilic Branko from Zivinice 28,
Jovanovic Svetozar from Osijek, Mobil. Department,
Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo,
Katalinic Andreja from Ludbreg,
Kosina Franjo from Zagreb, Jarun No. 82,
Kovacevic Vojislav from Zagreb, Vinogradska street 21,
Krkac Tomo from Jakovlje,
Kuhada Nikola from Pusca,
Kutnjak Srecko from Zagreb, Livadiceva street 22,
Lapcevic Stojan from Zagreb, Ukrinska street 12a,
Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija, Mosorska street 1,
Magdic Misko from Vrapca, Perjavica street 26,
Maric Mihajlo from Obrovica,
Matas Pavao from Trstenik near Pusca,
Milisa Djordje from Zagreb, Zelengaj,
Novak-Perjarec Mato from Kobiljak near Sesvete,
Orlic Sime from Zagreb, Ilica street 180a,
Pejnovic Djuro from Zagreb, Brigada V. Cetkovic,
Richter Rudolf from Zagreb, Visegradska street 5a,
Rozman Ivan from Zagreb, Rojiceva street 3,
Slovenec Rudolf from Zagreb, Seljina brig. IV divizija,
Solenicki Stjepan from Novaci No. 66 near Donja Bistra,
Srica Dragan from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 2,
Stajzic Josip from Zagreb, Padovceva street 3,
Steiner Hinko from Zagreb, Nova Ves 83,
Setinc Marijan from Dolenjska Jesenica 7,
Skrgetic Dragutin from Zagreb, Rudes, Trebinjska street,
Schleifer Filip from Zagreb, Marticeva street 47,
Sulina Mato from Crikvenica,
Schwarzenberg Adolf from Zagreb, Ilica street 15,
Tot Ljudevit from Zagreb, now in Garesnica,
Trbojevic Nemanja from Zagreb, Omiska street 2,
Zadravec Vinko from Zagreb, Vranovina 22,

Zauhar Stjepan from Zagreb, Skrlceva street 39,
Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste.

These former inmates who spent considerable time—some even a full four years—in Jasenovac itself gave their statements based on their personal experiences and direct observations. The arrested war criminal Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav gave a short statement. The most important parts from his statement we appended to this report.

The investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac was conducted by the State Commission with a team of experts. Three investigations were conducted.

The first investigation was conducted by the District Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators in Nova Gradiska on 11 May 1945.

The second investigation was conducted by a special inquiry commission, sent by the State Commission to Jasenovac on 18 May 1945 to investigate the surviving evidence. That commission consisted of one official of this State Commission, three judges of higher courts, and two doctors of forensics.

The third investigation was conducted by this State Commission with the participation of doctors of forensics and two photographic experts.

All these three commissions inspected the town of Jasenovac, Camp IV, and Camp No. III near Jasenovac, and recorded the results of their work.

The first commission conducted an investigation in both Gradina and Ustice.

The commissions inspected the entire terrain and buildings and many corpses of prisoners, which lie on the banks of the Sava River or in the Sava itself, or which were buried shallow in the ground.

According to consistent forensic findings and opinion, all corpses found in the Sava and on the banks of the Sava show the common characteristics of advanced post-mortem decay, which obstructed attempts at identification. Clothing and found objects couldn't be considered as factors for identification.

Attached to nearly every corpse was an iron weight tied by wire, and their hands were tied in front or behind them, or they had fractured bones in the extremities or skull, et cetera. There was a routine occurrence of evidence of some violent act. The cause of death could not be precisely determined in every case, but each had one thing in common: that every cause of death was of a violent nature, such as severe fracture of the skull, drowning, strangulation, et cetera.

...Almost all corpses show the condition of a very pronounced thinness, which isn't concealed even by the bloating of hypodermic tissue, which occurs from gas created during post-mortem decay. Thus, for some corpses which have been discovered a possibility is allowed that the cause of death was due to a very pronounced physical weakness, exhaustion and malnutrition as consequences of severe, chronic starvation.

University professor and court doctor of forensics Dr. Premru substantiates his above opinion by the fact that during his imprisonment in Jasenovac in 1941 and 1942, he personally saw, clearly and well, all manner of torture and killings of a large number of prisoners—from bullet shots to knife stabs, decapitation from an axe, blows from sledgehammers and mallets to the head, drowning in the Sava, incineration of living people, et cetera...

* * *

In the demolished quarters for male prisoners there is the corpse of a man, whose identity could not be determined. The corpse is in a severe state of decay. Near the women's quarters there are many parts of female clothes and underwear, and in the camp area many male and female clothes, male ties and suitcases filled with children's clothing. In one building demolished by explosives which had been used as a barn, four completely charred corpses were found of people who had either been burned alive or killed and then set aflame.

Near the burned down prisoners' quarters there are three electrical posts, on which curved axle-pins could be seen. On each post there are three such pins. According to statements given by witnesses, prisoners were hanged from the axle-pins. Near the posts is one complete device, a gallows, where according to statements from the same witnesses prisoners were hanged.

In an area of the camp right next to the mentioned posts is a larger space that was dug up and which according to statements of witnesses was used as prisoner's graveyard. On 21 April this year, the corpses were exhumed and burned, apparently for the purpose of concealing evidence of the crime—according to statements of witnesses—in a nearby ditch, where even today some ashes can be seen, while rocks in the ditch show signs of combustion. A large pile of coke was found nearby. In many places in the camp area lengths of chains were found, which by their shape clearly show that they were used as shackles for the arms and legs of prisoners.

These were the most important parts of the findings and opinions from the record of 18 May 1945 regarding the investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac, conducted by the special inquiry commission.

The investigation at the scene of the crime by this commission on 18 June 1945 was performed as a result of a significant drop of the the water level of the river in June, revealing several boats that appeared to be filled with corpses. The entire northern bank of the Sava was full of mud in which numerous corpses could be identified.

The commission found corpses of men and women, some naked and some dressed, some with skulls or the forehead or temporal bone crushed, while others had been decapitated or had the hands cut off, while others were complete. All corpses or skeletons had their arms tied behind their backs, upon which iron weights were hanged in the shape of rings or a line of trundles. The weights were approximately three to five kilograms. The court doctor of forensics issued the following finding and opinion:

I believe the corpses are one and a half to three months old and in certain cases even several months. A more accurate determination of age of the corpses isn't possible for several reasons: subsequent decay outside of the water, mechanical activity disrupting the water current, but also because they were being eaten by fish.

It is possible to conclude that the corpses were thrown into water after they had been killed by a dull, hard blow to the temporal region, crushing the skull or were killed in another manner which cannot be correctly determined due to decay of corpses, or that they were thrown alive into water shortly after they were knocked out by a blow to the head, which could be concluded from the fact that corpses were tied and fixed with iron weights.

By an investigation conducted by the district commission in Nova Gradiska on 11 May 1945 at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac without doctors of forensics present, the following was established:

Near the burned down clinic, the skeletons of some nine corpses were found. According to the statement of witness Zivkovic (who was present during the investigation), these were the corpses of prisoners who hanged themselves on 21 April 1945 out of fear of the Ustase, because on the night of 20 April 1945 they had killed with dull, hard objects about 400 prisoners whose bodies were subsequently dumped into the Sava.

On the banks of the River Sava corpses can be seen in many places. It is noted that most of the corpses had their hands tied behind their backs. According to the statement of Zivkovic, these corpses are of prisoners. Corpses floating on the Sava can also be seen.

The same commission went to Gradina and Ustice, which are located on the Bosnian side of the Sava. The following was established:

In the middle of a plum orchard belonging to Mile Bozicic is a space six steps long and thirteen steps wide, covered with ashes and bone fragments which didn't burn out completely. Nearby are shovels and wheelbarrows. Leaves throughout the orchard are completely burned; only here and there at the end of the orchard are there some plum trees with green leaves.

The earth has been plowed to either side. In one corner there are nine empty barrels of

oil, and in several places in the orchard there are traces of spilled oil. Even in areas which have been plowed, sporadic traces of oil, ashes and fragments of human bones that didn't burn out can be seen. Here and there a few whole bones can be seen, a few shoulder blades were found, and from one deep pit the lower part of a human jaw was discovered. Human hair was found in the same place.

In the plowed area, ashes and remains of human bones can be seen, especially in the parts which the plow passed over. Next to the orchard is a field belonging to Lazo Jandric, freshly plowed. Judging by the evidence, it appears that from there, too, corpses had been exhumed and burned in the orchard. We conclude this from a bone that was found, partially caked in dirt, and some bones which were found in pieces. Fragments of human teeth were also found there with three whole teeth, and beside that a few more bones. Pieces of coke were strewn about sporadically.

Behind the orchard is another plowed field, about the same size as the orchard. Four meter wide trails of ashes and bones are spread across. Judging by the trails it can be concluded that the ashes were moved by wheelbarrows and scattered about. A couple of large branches were thrown about, cut off from plum trees in the orchard. The branches are burned out.

Comrade Spanovic, who was here on 6 May 1945, mentioned that in several places in the plum orchard he even saw traces of blood. This was also reported by Mato Jugovic, Stipe Jugovic and Franjo Slafer, all from Ustice.

In the plowed field a box used for carrying things was found. The box was full of ashes and pieces of human bone which didn't burn completely. By following the trail further we reached the Sava, which is 315 steps away. A trail two meters wide leads into the Sava itself. The trail consists of ashes and human bones, but hair was also found. Judging by these trails it is obvious that the ashes and remains of bones were being moved in carrying boxes and in wheelbarrows to the Sava and dumped into the river.

Photographs were made of the corpses and skeletons of prisoners found in the River Sava, on the banks of the Sava, inside the camp, in various buildings of the camp, or that were exhumed. The ruins of the camp, which the Ustase blew up and burned before their escape, were also photographed.



CONCLUSION

SUCH A MANNER OF preconceived and inhumane torture and slaughter of a people has never been recorded in history. The Ustase criminals followed precisely the model of their German masters, most consciously executed all their orders, and did so in pursuit of a single goal: to exterminate as many of our people as possible, and to create a living space as large as possible for them.

The total dependence by the Ustase on their German masters, the foundation of the camp itself, the dispatch of the “disloyal,” the brutal implementation of Hitler’s racist Nazi theories and the deportation to the camps and extermination of the racially and nationally “impure,” the same methods of torture and atrocities with minor varieties of Ustase cruelty, the building of furnaces and incineration of victims in furnaces (the Picilli furnace)—all of the evidence points to the conclusion that both Jasenovac and the crimes committed in it were fashioned from a German recipe, owing to a German Hitlerite order as implemented by their servants, the Ustase.

Subsequently, responsibility for the crimes of Jasenovac falls equally on their German masters and the Ustase executioners.

I.

Aside from the members of the German government and German commanders, first of all the so-called *Poglavnik*, Ante Pavelic, is held responsible.

II.

Secondly, his “deputies” and “state counselors” and all “ministers” who were in office during the era in question are responsible, especially his Ministers of the Interior: Dr. Artukovic Andrija, Dr. Lorkovic Mladen, Dr. Niksic Ante and Frkovic Mato.

III.

The third ones responsible are the heads of the “Main Directorate for Public Order and Security” and chiefs of the “Ustase Secret Service”: Kvaternik Eugen, Jurcic Milutin, Cerovski Bozidar, Tomic Viktor, Lisak Erich, Herencic Ivo, Dr. Zimmermann Ljudevit, Dr. Crvenkovic Filip, Tomasevic Ivan, Dr. Vragovic Josip, Wagner Karlo, Rukavina Joso, Lucic Franjo, Dr. Benak Aleksandar, Dr. Bozinovic Zvonimir, Kirin Ico, Dr. Majic Josip, Vasko Tibor, Fario Fabjan, Paver Vjekoslav, Grzeta Nikola, Rados Franjo, Tomljenovic Stjepan, Turkalj Branko, Mak Miroslav, Ceko Ivan, Fulanovic Miroslav.

IV.

All higher and lower commandants in the Jasenovac camp are also responsible: Luburic Vjekoslav aka Maks, Sarac Ante, Milos Ljubo, Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, Brkljacic Ivica, Sakic Dinko, Picilli Hinko, Matkovic Ivica, Pavlovic Mirko and Dzal Jakob.

V.

Finally, all Ustase officers, non-commissioned officers, Ustase guards and informers and camp prisoners who tortured and killed are responsible, namely:

Alilovic Ivan and Fran, sergeants major; Andricevic Ivica, sergeant, Altarac Ante,

lieutenant;

Bagaric Karlo, Balic Pasko, Basic Stevo Pindzo, Ustase non-commissioned officers; engineer Beretin, technician; Boras Ante, Drago and Ivan, Ustase non-commissioned officers; Bracic Nikola, sergeant; Brkljacic Jurica, sergeant major; Budimir brothers, Ustase non-commissioned officers; Brzica Petar, lieutenant; Buric Brusic Milan and Buntic Stepi and Simun, non-commissioned officers;

Ciprijanovic Jakob, lieutenant;

Cacic Ivan, Ustase officer; Cop Luka, sergeant; Colak Petar, non-commissioned officer; Cotic Mirko, non-commissioned officer; Covicic, Crcek Joza and Cupic Jozo, senior lieutenants;

Cenan Ivan, non-commissioned officer;

Dangubic Milan, sergeant; Delac Petar, official; Diamantstein Bruno, "Free Prisoner"; Cerek Bozo, manager of the "Tannery"; Djulkic Alaga, sergeant; Dimac Luka, officer; Dosen Mato and Dukaric Franjo, sergeants;

Elez Ante, senior lieutenant;

Falcini Vjekoslav, non-commissioned officer; Forentic Stjepan, official; Friganovic Ante, sergeant; and Frkovic Mile, sergeant;

Galic, camp prisoner; Galic Ante, non-commissioned officer; Gasparovic Dragan, sergeant major; Grgosevic Jozo, sergeant major; Glamuzina Marko, lieutenant; Grbavac Ivan, official; Grubisic Jerko and Grgic Jure, sergeants major;

Hadzic Osman, "Free Prisoner"; Hirschberger Nikola, sergeant major; Hodzic Latif, official; Horvat Ivan, major and Horvat Mato, sergeant;

Ivanovic Joso junior, official; Ille, lieutenant from Sibenik;

Jandic Ante, sergeant; Jankovic, "Free Prisoner"; Jarak Petar, sergeant major; Jurcevic Ivan, sergeant; Juricic Jerko, sergeant major; Jusic Mujo, lieutenant; and Jusic Saban, non-commissioned officer;

Kapetanovic Ahmet, senior lieutenant; Kardun Nikica, Senior Lieutenant; Kojic Ante, lieutenant; Kojic Zarko, lieutenant; Keza Mirko, non-commissioned officer; Kolobaric Josip, sergeant major; Kolak Petar, sergeant; Kolaric Zlatko, senior lieutenant; Kordic Tihomir, lieutenant; Kosic Ante, non-commissioned officer; Kresic Tvrtko, captain; Kvesic Stipo, sergeant and Kujundzic Stipe, non-commissioned officer;

Lipovac Zvonimir, military chaplain; Lisac Slavko, sergeant major; Luzic Stjepan, sergeant;

Mackovic Josip, official; Mandusic Ante, captain; Majetic Dane, sergeant; Markotic Stanko, sergeant; Maricic Jerko, senior lieutenant; Markic Ivan, sergeant; Martinovic Slavko, sergeant; Martinovic Stojan, sergeant major; Mataja Josip, major; Matijevic Miro, major; Matijevic Joco, senior lieutenant; Matek Milan, sergeant major; Mihic Pajo, captain; Matkovic Ljubo, officer; Matijevic Matija, camp prisoner; Medvedovic Mato, major; Mihaljevic Marko, sergeant major; Miljkovic Martin, senior lieutenant; Modric Ante, sergeant major; and Musa Mato, non-commissioned officer;

Nekic Ivan, Neorcic Vlado and Novosel Stjepan, sergeants;

Ostojic Mate, non-commissioned officer;

Pavicic Petar, sergeant; Pehar Nikola, non-commissioned officer; Pehar Petar, sergeant; Perkovic Marko, sergeant major; Penaric Mate, second lieutenant; Petek Franjo, captain; Polic Marin, lieutenant; Poldrugi Stjepan, sergeant major; Polic Drago, non-commissioned officer; Dr. Prpic Mihovil, captain, military judge; Prpic Stipe, second lieutenant; Primorac Silvestar, Pudic Dragutin and Prgesa Ante, sergeants major;

Radic Miroslav, major; Remenar Antun, captain; Rendjec, senior lieutenant, and Ruzic Blago, sergeant major;

Sabljić Ilija, sergeant major; Stojcic Jozo, Senior Lieutenant; Spiller Herman, "Free Prisoner"; Skocibusic, officer; Sliskovic Ivan, lieutenant; Stankovic Marko, sergeant major; Sudar Josip, captain; Sudar Mile junior and senior, sergeants;

Sepovic Miro, sergeant; Stimac Dane, sergeant; Svagusa Andrija, officer;

Tomas Josip, sergeant major; Tomic Jure, lieutenant and Tralic Mirko, sergeant major;

Uzicanin Rasid, official.

Vasilj Ilija, lieutenant; Vasilj Mate and Luka, non-commissioned officers; Vidovic Mile, sergeant; Visakovic Nikola, major; Vlaho Vinko, sergeant major; Vrbani Mate, sergeant major; and Vucic Ivan, non-commissioned officer;

Zokic Ante, camp prisoner; Zrinusic Ante, sergeant major; and Zivanovic Mato, lieutenant, and all other Ustase whose identity was not determined.

The State Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators has determined the above individuals as the worst war criminals, traitors of the people and enemies of the people, and deems that they must be most severely punished for the atrocities and misdeeds they committed.

In Zagreb, on 15 November 1945
Number: 4547/45.

State Commission for the Investigation
of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces
and their Collaborators

President: Dr. Venceslav Celigoj
[by his own hand]

Secretary: Dr. Ante Stokic
[by his own hand]

The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

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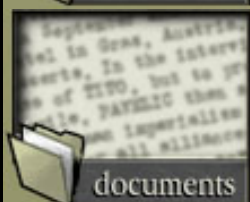
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Two Bullets for Pavelic

The Story of Blagoje Jovovic

by Tihomir-Tiho Burzanovic
translated by Sinisa Djuric



PRO-NAZI IS HUNTED

Argentina Orders Arrest of
Wounded Yugoslav

BUENOS AIRES, April 26

P)—The Ministry of Interior

night issued an order for

rest of Ante Pavelic,

ent pro-Nazi leader in

avia who headed the in

nt Croatian state set up

e invasion by Hitler's

The Ministry said

d disappeared from his

suburban Buenos Air

s considered a fugitive

He was shot and se

unded by an unid

ailant two weeks

TITO ASKS PERON TO YIELD PAVELIC

Yugoslav Note Also Reqs

Other Ustashis Residing

Re Extradition

ANTE PAVELIC DIES IN MADRID AT 70

Head of Nazi Puppet Regime

TWO BULLETS FOR PAVELIC

THE STORY OF BLAGOJE JOVOVIC

BY TIHOMIR-TIHO BURZANOVIC

TRANSLATED BY SINISA DJURIC

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INTRODUCTION

Several years ago, Blagoje Jovovic, a long-time émigré from Montenegro, returned to his homeland for the first time in fifty-five years. As described in the Prologue, at the famous monastery at Ostrog, Mr. Jovovic made a startling confession to Archbishop Amfilohije: that in 1957, he had purchased a revolver and shot the leader of the Independent State of Croatia, Ante Pavelic, in front of his home near Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The parties responsible for the attempted assassination—which, after a two year interval, would take Pavelic's life—were never identified by the Argentine authorities, though most would presume it was the work of the Yugoslav secret police. The crime remains, officially, unsolved.

After hearing Mr. Jovovic's confession, the Archbishop encouraged him to speak to Tihomir-Tiho Burzanovic, a journalist, whose role, as he says modestly, was "just to write it down."

The following translation of Tihomir-Tiho Burzanovic's book, *Two Bullets for Pavelic: The Story of Blagoje Jovovic* appears with the gracious permission of Mr. Burzanovic, to whom the editors wish to offer their most sincere thanks.

PROLOGUE

IN THE LOWER MONASTERY in Ostrog, in a dining room painted with icons, there is a portrait that depicts the eternal human sin of treachery: Judas with his thirty silver coins. This Judas has a goat's beard that reminds one of Lenin's, Hitler's mustache, a Papal hat, and a mole on his face like the one Josip Broz Tito had.

It was beneath this image of Judas that Archbishop Amfilohije and Blagoje Jovovic met.

Blagoje Jovovic arrived at Ostroske Grede from distant Argentina, and, he calculated, he had been away for exactly fifty-five years.

It was the feast day of Saint Spiridon.

"This is where I fought, this is where the headquarters of Colonel Bajo Stanisic was," Blagoje told him. From here he was dispatched on one of his war assignments, and if he hadn't delayed his return—if he hadn't left home first to change and rest up a bit—he would not be alive today. He would have been killed with Bajo Stanisic, General Blazo Djukanovic, Draza Mihajlovic's envoy Dr. Jovo Toskovic, and three young Stanisics, who went to their death after kissing the reliquary of Saint Vasilije... And over his corpse too the Partizans would have danced, and instead of a requiem a song would resound:

*Under two Ostrog rocks,
Bajo's beard is waving...*

"If I had only arrived a day earlier... But there is no death without judgment day," Blagoje said.

God had other intentions for Blagoje.

Beneath Mount Ostrog, in the fatherland he left more than half a century ago in the uniform of the army that was, by the will of the Allies, proclaimed a loser in a horrible civil war, Blagoje Jovovic told Archbishop Amfilohije his story, the story of an émigré who carries with him shadows of the past and who, beneath closed eyelids, evokes a dream with images of the village of his birth, the River Zeta, the brotherhood of the Bjelopavlici. It is the story of a man and history, the story of a lost birthplace, the story of the curse of spilled fraternal blood, a story full of hardship, work, courage and patriotism, Montenegrin heroism and beautiful Serbian *inat*, a story of Judases who repeatedly crucify God for their thirty silver coins, a story of revenge, a story fumigated by the smell of gunpowder, the story of Milos Obilic, kind and patriotic.

Blagoje Jovovic returned to Ostrog, to his native Kotic, to the cemetery of his ancestors, to a requiem for his martyred father, his uncle and brothers.

And it seemed to him that his fifty-five years of wandering and suffering were nothing more than a single moment. There was a lot of joy, but also a lot of sorrow on his reunion with his fatherland, which we didn't know—though he may have anticipated—would also be his final parting.

And as if in confession, he told Archbishop Amfilohije: "I was the man that killed Pavelic."

But let us begin the story of Blagoje Jovovic from the beginning, the way he told it to us. Our role was just to write it down.

TIHOMIR-TIHO BURZANOVIC

PART ONE

ROYAL EMBLEMS & RED STARS

THIS STORY I AM telling you for the first time.

I was in the army when I was caught up by the war in 1941, in Strumica, on the border of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Greece. There I shot Germans without anyone telling me to do so. For that I received a medal, but since the Royal Army perished, my medal perished as well.

In Strumica we were betrayed by our officers and we, the soldiers, were left to manage alone and return to our homes by any way we knew and could.

As with many others I went home—alone. They said, “There’s nothing to fight for,” so it would be the best for everyone to go home. I went to Montenegro and my village, Kosov Lug, in Bjelopavlici.*

All through Macedonia nobody bothered me nor stopped me, although I was careful not to move by roads or through towns.

After several days of traveling and several sleepless nights, I arrived near Pec where I was stopped by Albanian Balists, who allowed me to pass shortly thereafter. While I was walking through the town I noticed there were more Serbian houses than Albanian, so it wasn’t clear to me that the Albanians were armed, and the Serbs were in their houses, hiding.

* The Montenegrin people were traditionally made up of some thirty-five clans. The territory inhabited by a clan—in this case, the Bjelopavlici, or descendants of Duke “White Paul”—adopted the clan’s name as a sort of broader, geographic term.

I moved on. I remembered that my uncle, Stojan Jovovic, lived in a village near Pec. I asked some people if they knew Stojan Jovovic, but they all looked at me strangely.

Then one man approached me and asked, "Are you looking for Murat?"

I looked at him and answered, "Murat? No, I'm looking for my uncle, Stojan Jovovic."

"Well that's the same, boy! Around here everyone calls Stojan 'Murat,' that's his nickname. The Albanians named him that because both Serbs and Albanians are afraid of him."

This man took me to my uncle's house.

At the door I saw Uncle Stojan sitting, with a full house of men around him.

I told myself that this can't be good. Uncle Stojan sat me beside him and told me that the Albanians were preparing to attack Serbs in the village, that they were not to be trusted, even though they gave their *besa** not to attack until the end of the war.

"What a dark end! And it hasn't even start yet!" I thought as I watched the poor Serbs gathered, and none of them, except my Uncle Stojan, were armed.

EVERYTHING WAS GOING TO HELL

I spent several days there. I ate a little, rested and then continued my journey. Uncle Stojan didn't stop me. He too could see everything was going to hell, so he said, "Let Blagoje get to Kosov Lug alive and well. It's easier to fight your enemies when you're among your own."

My uncle walked me from Pec to the road for Cakor. We said goodbye and we never saw each other again. I remember, when we parted he told me, "If Albanians stop you, just say you're a nephew of Stojan Jovovic-Murat and nobody will bother you. The Albanians know Murat, they're afraid of him. At least that's how it was until now. From now on, we'll see!"

I parted from my uncle and continued on toward Cakor. On the road I saw columns of people, women, children... mostly Serbs and Montenegrins, but every step of they way they were pestered by Albanians who would ask them where they were going. People, all confused and scared would just answer, "We're heading for

* Word of honor.

Montenegro.”

The Albanians, I could see, were satisfied, they let the people go. Kosovo and Metohija were being emptied, everything was going as they planned. The war had barely started, and they were cleansing Kosovo of Serbs. In all that commotion and misery, I slipped into one column, among the people, and I passed through the checkpoints with them.

I traveled that way, with some women and elderly men, for several days. I spent the nights under a clear sky. I didn't see a house or a bed until I came to Mojkovac, where a man allowed me to spend the night.

I ARRIVED HOME FOR MY FUNERAL

The next day—straight to Podgorica. When I would come close to houses, I would go around, over the hills to the Moraca River. I crossed the river in an old boat and went to towards Vranjske Njive.

I was tired, but when I saw Zeta and Glavica near Spuz, it seemed as if someone took me under my arms and I felt as if I wasn't walking, but that I was being carried home by someone, to Kosov Lug.

With all that running I caught up with a horse cart. The man on it thought I was running to catch him, so he shouted, “Come on! Sit with me to Danilovgrad.”

I jumped on the cart, but I wasn't able to say a word. I couldn't believe that all the way from Strumica—all the way on foot—I had finally arrived home. I was beside myself with happiness. The cart was moving, I could only think of when I would arrive home, to see my family.

Then I heard some woman shouting: “Blagoje! Blagoje! Blago...”

I turned around and saw the wife of an old guerrilla, Zivko, the son of Suto Brajovic.* It was my godmother, Zorka.

“Is that you Blagoje?” she shouted, but I just looked at her and didn't say anything. What could I tell her? I don't know who is it if it's not me!

“Do you know Blagoje, that your family is preparing for a funeral on Sunday?” Godmother Zorka asked.

* With far fewer than a million people in the whole Montenegro, strangers could often be identified by their family, particularly (as the reader shall note) a well-known kinsman. The expression is less inelegant in Serbian than in translation.

“Why?”

“My Blagoje—someone told them that you are dead!”

“Who told them that, Godmother? You see I’m alive! Lets go to my home in Kotic!”

By the time we came to my family’s house, the whole village had gathered there. They couldn’t quite believe that I was alive.

My mother told me that someone named Resetar had told them I was decorated for attacking the Germans near Strumica, and that I was decorated posthumously.

“Mother, I did fight the Germans and I was decorated, but I didn’t die, can’t you see I’m alive in front of you?”

My mother looked at me, hugged me, and cried.

HITLER’S AND STALIN’S GERMANS

News spread that I was alive and well, so my house was crowded all day. I told everyone that came by how I had attacked the Germans without being ordered to do so. I remember thinking, “If I had waited for an order I wouldn’t be among you today, nor among the living!”

They congratulated me for my courage, and I was glad as a young man. I was happy that people admired me and respected me, but I couldn’t even guess what kind of dark misery I had come home to.

I told them the details of my encounters with the Germans, but some of them asked, “How could you shoot at Germans?”

I didn’t understand, so they explained everything about the Germans and their leader Hitler, how he is the closest ally of Communism, the Communists and Comrade Stalin.

“Who says that? Communists?” I wondered. So I said, as if joking, “I don’t know about *my* Germans, if they were Hitler’s or Stalin’s. I fought them anyway, so I’ll ask the Comrade Communists to forgive me this time.”

I thought people were joking, but later my cousins said that some intellectuals and students who studied in Belgrade came to Kotic and that they were making a lot of trouble, that they were propagating Hitler, Germany and their politics. That propaganda wasn’t being spread by the Communists and Communist

Youth just in Bjelopavlici, but all over Montenegro.

During those first few months, people were always hearing the story about how Hitler was the closest ally of the Communists. And Belgrade was in ruins, half of Serbia in slavery—God forbid the kind of people they were!

And look at it today, after fifty-five years away I've come back to Yugoslavia, and I hear that we were all collaborators of Hitler—all except the Communists! Could you be sane, if you couldn't come to your fatherland for half a century—and you fought against the Fascists, on the side of the Allies—because the Communists marked you as a traitor? And these people would have killed anyone for Hitler and Germany, because the Allies were part of the system of “rotten Capitalism.”

Those stories spread by the Communist Youth and the students annoyed a lot Serbian nationalists and our old guerrillas, who met regularly in the house of my uncles, Father Ljubo, the priest, and his brother, Savo Jovovic.

I used to listen to those conversations. I felt especially sorry for Nesko, the son of Bajo Jovovic, the famous guerrilla. He was very bitter about all of that. He suffered because of those conversations and was bitter about the Communist betrayal, because he was a great Serbian nationalist and as such he didn't like Germans.

Communist eulogies lasted only until Hitler attacked Russia. Then the Communists started a new story: Hitler was now a criminal and the Allies were no longer from the “rotten Capitalist system.”

NOT WITH THE COMMUNISTS, NOT WITH MILOSAV

The Communists were caught off guard when Germany attacked Russia. There were great arguments in Father Ljubo's house. Uncle Savo and Father Ljubo argued fiercely on one side, and on the other was the famous Communist Bosko Tonkovic, an immigrant from Kosovo. (His real last name was Brajovic.)

Among the Communists, the sons of Marko and Mileta Jovovic stood out—Stanoje and Malisa were their names. They were good orators, and they played football well, so they were popular. Stanoje could also sing well, and later he became a capable officer.

I liked my uncles, but I also liked Bosko Tonkovic, I guess because he was a

refugee from Kosovo, so I kind of felt sorry for him.

I remember it as if it was yesterday. On a July day, we heard that the Russians were fighting great battles against Hitler. The Communists asked the people to gather on Glavicica, on the property of a teacher, Zivko, the son of Suto Brajovic. Everybody came, both Communists and nationalists. In the name of the Communists, Milosav Babic spoke first. A high school pupil, he presented himself as the political commissar for Bjelopavlici.

He apologized to the nationalists. "You were right when you attacked Hitler and I apologize for my words about Mother Russia. Comrades, let's be united, we shouldn't allow any divisions among us. We should all stay together in solidarity." With those words he finished his speech.

Then my uncle, Savo, asked to speak. "I was fighting in the first war and I will fight in this war too, but never under the leadership of the Communist Party. There's even less chance that I will fight under leadership of the son of Radoslav Babic—Milosav!"

Not only did he want nothing to do with the Communists, he didn't want anything to do with Milosav Babic either!

When we parted—Communists on one side, nationalists on the other—I went to see Father Ljubo and Uncle Savo.

I told Savo his speech was inappropriate. He responded with fury.

"How was that inappropriate? I wanted to say what I think! How can the son of Radoslav Babic be my commander?"

It was no use talking him into it.

Bosko Tonkovic waited for me in front of the house. He wanted me to walk with him to the house of Nikola, son of Tomica Jovovic, where he was living.

Bosko asked me to show the Communist students, who had never served in the army, how to handle a rifle and how to shoot.

I could see that misery and misfortune were coming.

HOW TO FIRE A BULLET

The next day Bosko gathered together a group of young Communists and asked me to tell them all about weapons, armies, and war. I could see the Communists knew what they wanted! They didn't have a stronghold among the people, nor

were they appreciated much, but they were aggressive and well-organized.

I felt ashamed by how little they knew, but I agreed to train them. They respected me, because Bosko Tonkovic described me as a young man who was an officer and who could teach them a lot. The Communists were very responsible and disciplined and it was easy to work with them, even though they were very ignorant.

The first thing they asked me was how and why a bullet was fired! I showed them, they listened to me, they were all ears. I remember how Bosko Tonkovic, in particular, listened to me. He knew nothing, and he looked at me as if I was God, he looked funny because he couldn't understand anything, and he was well over thirty.

And when we would finish talking, Bosko would talk alone with me and ask me again to show him how to shoot, how to aim.

When we finished our course, we would go to see my uncles and brothers who were Serbian nationalists and respectable men, seventeen of them had college degrees. Among them there were teachers, priests, professors, colonels, officers of the general staff, lawyers...

The arguments were fierce whenever Communists and nationalists would meet, and there were some really sharp quarrels. In fact, all those arguments revolved around one issue—who would lead the resistance movement against the Germans and the Italians. The Communists skillfully turned the arguments to their side and looked for any opportunity to persuade the nationalists to stand under their command, so they could ultimately win over the support of respectable men, and through them the common people.

However, the nationalists weren't quite naïve either. They were proud and honorable men, they respected religion, tradition, customs. Even back then I had a feeling they would rather die than allow someone to play with them, or let themselves be led by men who weren't respected by the people, men from "thin" families who it was undesirable to have relatives married to. How could the worst become the best?

Among nationalists back then there was both order and hierarchy. They were real Serbs, they always kept their word. In contrast, the Communists—at least our Communists—could only fish in the mud and wait for fast opportunities.

Thus the days passed, but not one day went by without Communists and nationalists arguing about who would lead the resistance movement.

There was no agreement, and all conversations would usually end when Savo

Jovovic got up and told Father Ljubo, "Let's go Father, I won't be led by Communists and Milosav Babic, even if it costs me my life!"

WHAT DID YUGOSLAVIA EVER GIVE TO MONTENEGRO?

As with all things in life, even arguments and disputes fizzle out and come to an end. We came to a point when we had to choose a commander for the Kotic company. Both Communists and nationalists agreed that a man should be chosen to be the commander for everyone.

Back then nobody even dreamed that we would one day be divided into Chetniks and Partizans. Back then you were either a Communist or a nationalist, but we were all unanimous in our desire to defend our fatherland.

It was decided that the man with the highest rank should be named as commander. That was Petko Jovovic, a major in the Royal Army, the brother of Jaksa and Marko Jovovic, who were respectable men, teachers and great nationalists.

After his selection, the nationalists were satisfied, but the Communists wouldn't rest. They kept going from house to house, propagating Communist ideology and organizing their party cells.

One day, Bosko Tonkovic asked to speak with me and suggested I join the Party and train Communists for warfare. I thought about it for awhile. I knew Bosko, he was a good man. I thought, "We're all in this together, both nationalists and Communists." And my father and uncles were famous guerrillas in the first war. They knew how to wage war. I decided to go with the Communists and train their young men how to fight. I was young too, but at least I had finished military school.

When I accepted, Bosko was very happy. We began immediately to plan—attacks, training, meetings.

At the Communist meetings Bosko took me to, I was bothered most by the talk of some guy, an engineer, who kept repeating like a parrot that the Kingdom of Yugoslavia didn't give a thing to Montenegro.

"They promised us roads before the elections, and after the elections—nothing!" he shouted. "They built schools for the first four grades, so we were neither a peasant nor an intellectual. In a word, they made us Montenegrins pure proletarians!"

I was Bosko's friend and I liked him, but I didn't like to stay too long with these others. I was bothered by how much those Communists attacked authority and how nothing was good enough for them.

HOW I BECAME A SKOJ MEMBER

One day, the Communists told me that on the recommendation of Bosko Tonkovic, I had become a SKOJ member. To tell you the truth, back then I didn't even know what SKOJ was. When I was accepted, I was told that I, as a young SKOJ member, must not speak to anyone about our organization and its tasks. And when they told me not to mention anything about SKOJ to my mother, my father and the priest when I go to church, I stood petrified and wondered, "My God, what kind of a miserable organization have I been accepted by?"

When they told me that—and not just me but everyone they accepted—I raised my arm and asked to speak, I wanted to say something to them, too. Just as I raised my arm, Bosko nudged me and asked, "What will you speak about?"

"Well, to ask them how I can't say a thing to my mother and Father Ljubo, since they didn't bring me up that way."

Bosko stood up and said to that Communist, "Comrade, he was accepted on my recommendation and I will speak for him."

And Bosko said something quickly, and I didn't even speak, but I listened until the meeting was over. When we left the meeting, Bosko started describing how I should behave as a member of the Party.

"Well, I'm not interested about that, Bosko," I interrupted, "but you need to tell me—what is SKOJ?"

"That's the Union of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia, they'll fight the invaders and Fascism and we are its members and fighters."

We walked further, but I was still bothered that I couldn't say anything to my mother and Father Ljubo. I thought about it for awhile, and then asked, "Bosko, you still haven't told me why I can't talk about SKOJ to my mother and Father Ljubo."

Bosko looked at me as if he had expected that question. "I see, Blagoje, that you like Father Ljubo very much."

"True, I like him and I could never hide anything from him, nor from my

mother.”

“Listen Blagoje,” Bosko told me. “If we were to tell you to kill an enemy of the people and you told Father Ljubo, he would say that it’s a sin and that you cannot do it. That’s demoralizing for you and for our fighters!”

“It’s the same if you told your mother. She’d say, ‘Don’t do it son, he has a mother too, who would cry for him, as I would cry if someone would kill you. Blagoje, son, don’t kill anyone who is a Serb and of Serbian kin!’”

“That’s right, Bosko,” I agreed.

“There, that’s why you can’t tell anyone what we’re doing and planning.”

I wanted to tell him something else about that, but he changed the subject.

MAJORS SMUGGLE, SKOJ MEMBERS COMMAND

Then they asked for me. A directive came to remove Major Petko Jovovic from his position as commander of the Kotic company and they proposed me instead. I asked, “How can that be, well I’m just a soldier, and after that not even an officer, how can I have command over a major, a high officer? That’s a disgrace and I will not accept it!”

I told that to my father when I came home. He listened to what I had to say and then said, “Let’s go see Petko about it.”

When we came to his house I told him, “Uncle Petko, the Communists asked me these things, and I wouldn’t try to replace you even if I were crazy.”

And he said right away, “But you should accept it! That’s how we will know what the Communists are planning to do. And I’m tired of everything anyway! They keep telling me how we royal officers are doing fine, but my wife and two children have nothing to live on!”

Major Petko carried tobacco on his back in a bag, and from that smuggling he fed his family.

I persistently refused Petko’s proposition, but my father had already decided the matter. “You will accept, if the Communists offer it.”

After a few days the Communists came and made their proposal, because, as they said, “We want a young man, skillful and capable.” Thus I, sometime in the Autumn of 1941, became the commander of the Kotic company.

Immediately we fought in some minor battles. After one of those battles,

Bosko Tonkovic came to me and said, "You're young, there's a bright future ahead of you!"

And he told me how Yugoslav officers, led by Arso Jovanovic,* were preparing for a battle, how the Communists were planning to liberate a town.

Bosko asked me if I would go to Pljevlja, because, as he put it, that would be good for me.

I accepted, but just as an ordinary soldier.

COMMISSARS AND STONE CUTTERS

Many volunteered for the Battle of Pljevlja. I told my father that I was going to fight, but he scolded me. "You should have asked me first, Blagoje, son!"

I—the commander—should ask for permission from my father!

During preparations, my father and I went to see our meadow, under Mount Glavica. All business there was supervised by Pero Begovic, our godfather.

When we cleared the meadow, we gave it to Djuro Cagorovic and his uncle Stanko, who were distinguished stone cutters, for their cows to graze in.

"Fine, Djuro," my father said, "you can let your cows graze on my meadow, but you still haven't finished that tombstone with a saber you promised!"

Djuro told him that the tombstone was finished, it was at Mirko Begovic's house and that he'd send it tomorrow or the day after by horse cart. The other parts, the cross and the rest, would come later.

"Please do that, because I want Lazar in his lifetime to see how it will look and know that his tombstone is finished."

Professor Milos Jovovic had asked to write some verses on Lazar's tombstone. Djuro assured us that both the cross and the cover with a saber would be finished in a day or two.

We didn't know that we would need a tombstone so soon.

Djuro asked me if I was going to Pljevlja, mentioning that he was a great Communist. He bragged to my father, Jovan, the son of Lazar Jovovic, an old guerrilla, "I never served in the army, and I've been appointed the political commissar of the Bjelopavlici company!"

* Arso Jovanovic, an officer in the Royal Yugoslav Army. He joined the Partizans and as Chief of the General Staff was responsible for organizing their army. After siding with the USSR during the Tito-Stalin confrontation in 1948, Jovanovic was killed, officially while trying to cross the border to Romania.

And after he praised himself enough, Djuro asked my father to tell him something about warfare, because, as he said, he “knows nothing about war.”

“Djuro, I’ll tell you everything, but I would like to go to Pljevlja too, to follow my son,” my father said to Djuro, the stone cutter and commissar.

WHEN A MONTENEGRIN EXECUTES A MONTENEGRIN

That’s how it happened. One day the army left from Bjelopavlici for Pljevlja.

Near Njegovudja, for the first time I saw Communists shoot one of their own.

They brought two men who had, allegedly, betrayed the Party and were about to be executed. They were reading this order and it didn’t seem sane to me. How can you kill a man because of the Party? Aren’t we fighting against the occupiers, Fascists, Hitler?

One of them was not tied up, he could have run away, because nobody wanted to shoot anybody for the Party. In the end they were shot and for the first time I saw a Montenegrin killing another Montenegrin. Because of the Party.

The next night was cold, it was a harsh winter and two or three young men fell dead from exposure. A doctor came by and told us that we had to tap with our legs when we were standing, so our blood could circulate. That was so horrible, I saw a man fall dead, from frost.

We crossed over the Tara River, by night, to the mountains. We rested during the daylight hours, as the airplanes flew overhead, since the Italians had already found out that we were going to Pljevlja. And how could they not know, since the attack had been talked about for three months, and they had plenty of spies? Those airplanes just passed over us without throwing out any bombs. The following night we approached Pljevlja.

OUR STRUGGLE DEMANDS WE SING WHEN WE ARE DYING

We were told that by six a.m., we should be awake to attack the town’s fortifications. The Bjelopavlici company attacked the Great and Small Bogisevac,

and next to us there was the squad from Lovcen, with Peko Dapcevic.* As the largest unit they were supposed to watch the entrance to the town.

That night they told us we must learn a song. I didn't know what it meant until I went to Italy in 1943. It was the song "Bandiera rosa." In Italian.

Early in the morning we began our attack and then, while we were cutting wires, we were supposed to sing "*avanti populi, avanti rosa, bandiera rosa, bandiera rosa...*" and attack the fortifications.

Before the attack, the commander asked for volunteers to throw hand grenades. They would go first and cut the barbed wire. I volunteered. They gave me scissors for lacerating the wires and told us the enemy may shoot at us, but we could not fire one bullet at them.

After I volunteered, my father Jovan, an old guerrilla, wanted to go in my place. He asked Djuro Cagorovic, but they didn't let him, they said, "Let him do it, Jovan, he's younger."

Besides me, Ilija Dragovic volunteered too, I think he was a teacher. Some Skerovic also came with, he had been a sergeant in the Yugoslav Royal Army, but he was expelled, because he was a Communist.

In the presence of Ilija Dragovic, the commander of the company, Djuro told me that since I volunteered I should be the leader of the hand grenade section too.

I accepted that. Young, eager for affirmation and for war, I was glad they put so much trust in me.

We moved by night, but we had very poor lamps. When we got near enemy positions, we began cutting the wire. The Italians apparently heard us and started shooting. They wounded some of our fighters, luckily nobody got killed. After we cut through the wires we went forward, near the bunker, and threw our grenades. At the Great and Small Bogisevac, the Italians surrendered.

Much later, when I talked about my participation in the Battle of Pljevlja to Momo Vucekovic, who was the ambassador to Argentina, he wondered aloud how I, a Chetnik, could have fought at Pljevlja. He said, "Blagoje, I was there too." Therefore we were war comrades. And now he was the ambassador to Argentina and I was an émigré; he's a hero and I'm a "traitor to the people."

We passed Bogisevac, both Great and Small. In other places there were many dead among the Partizans, but none from the Bjelopavlici brigade, though there were a few wounded.

* Peko Dapcevic, a veteran Montenegrin Communist and volunteer in the Spanish Civil War. Dapcevic organized and commanded the First Army during the war, becoming one of the most senior Partizan military leaders. He was named Chief of the General Staff in 1953, though he was later demoted due to political troubles.

The next day, the Lovcen squad entered the town of Pljevlja first, but then Italians moved in with tanks and maimed them badly.

Well, it's not nice to talk about it now, but nothing would have happened to them if they had listened to the officers of the Royal Army, who had a good tactical plan, but Montenegrins wanted to prove themselves, and then die for no reason!

After the Italian counterattack, we had to retreat.

MOSA PIJADE EATS MILK AND HOMINY

During the retreat we stopped in Zabljak. There we met Mosa Pijade,* as well as Marko Savicevic, who was killed by the Communists after we left.

Marko Savicevic was a great man and a great orator, which is why they killed him. He was in the way of illiterate fools.

Mosa knew my father Jovo, and he remembered me too. Mosa got to know all our customs when he came to Montenegro. When we came, he only ate hominy and milk. Maybe later, when nobody could see, he ate meat or something else, I don't know, but in front of soldiers he only ate hominy and milk.

Mosa told my father and I that we should stay on at Zabljak.

"I need you and you should stay here," said Mosa, whom Montenegrins called "Maso."

"Maso," my father told him, "you yourself said there is trouble in our land and the Italians are moving towards Bjelopavlici. The people need us there too."

Mosa-Maso asked me to stay.

I told Mosa that I'm going with my father.

Bosko Tonkovic didn't want me to leave either, but I told him, "I have to go with my father, he told me to. I have to obey my father!"

Then Bosko said he wanted to come along with us. Mosa Pijade then stood up—he had a white beard back then—he grabbed his beard, and paused for a moment. Looking at us, he gave a speech and in the end, bearing in mind that the majority wanted to return home, he said that all members of the Communist Party must not return.

* Mosa Pijade, the doyen of the Yugoslav Communist Party, often jailed through the pre-war years. Pijade fled Belgrade after the German invasion for Montenegro; he was especially at risk of Gestapo arrest due to his Jewish background.

“Whosoever even thinks of returning home will end up like those two who were executed in Njegovudja!”

Me and Bosko, my inseparable friend, parted for the first time.

Those executions, those threats by Mosa-Maso... I was worried, I saw things going in a bad way, but still, it was hard for me to admit to myself what I saw. I accepted my position as commander of the Kotic company, under the condition and with firm assurances that there wouldn't be a fratricide. And that was how it all started...

WITH IVAN MILUTINOVIC IN PIPERI

From Pljevlja and Zabljak we returned to Kotic.

Milosav Babic, who was the political commissar of the company, told me one day that we must go to Moraca, that we must fight—actually to intercept a large column of Italian trucks that were on their way to Podgorica with food, clothing and some other merchandise.

That battle wasn't difficult, we blew up the road, and rolled big boulders at other points. The trucks stopped, we shot at them, but didn't kill anyone. They all surrendered.

We carried the merchandise by night. A lot of people and soldiers came to help carry it, but even today I don't know where so many people came from. And when we came across the enemy, there was no one.

When I came back from that battle I was told that I had to report immediately to Ivan Milutinovic* in Kopilje, in Piperi. He was the commander of the Zeta squads.

Before I left my father told me, “Watch yourself, Blagoje, and don't always run to be the first to throw hand grenades, let someone go in front of you. You shouldn't always be the first.”

When we arrived at Kopilje, we were received personally by Ivan Milutinovic. I think he was about forty years old then. I remember that he was healthy, with a broad chest.

He said to us right away, “Fine, you go and report to Moraca.”

* Ivan Milutinovic, a veteran Serbian Communist and member of the Central Committee. Named party chief in Montenegro in the Autumn of 1941, Milutinovic held a number of posts during the war. He drowned in 1944 after a vessel he was traveling in hit a floating mine in the Danube River.

I found out that we were supposed to attack Major Djordje Lasic,* who started an uprising against the Fascists in Vasojevici, and later went to Moraca.

One of those going with me, a well known Communist, approached and said, "Jovovic, looks like we're about to attack our own brothers."

"Never," I told him.

"I will never participate in fratricide," he agreed, and he just nodded his head.

HANGED OVER MORACA

We had to go over the Moraca River. They gave us two wires. What were we supposed to do with those? We stretched the cables over the abyss to get to the other side.

A man crossed over before me. There was a strong wind, it was winter. They gave me leather gloves, and I went... The abyss, the Moraca foamed below, and I with a backpack, with a machine gun... When I reached half-way, I thought, "Can I do this?" I didn't think I could make it.

Somehow, I gathered my last strength...

On the other side, that same Communist was behind me. Now he said, "Don't say so arrogantly that you won't participate in fratricide!"

When we reached our destination, I said, "Comrades, we should know where we're going, whom we are attacking."

Someone said to wait, the commander would be arriving. The commander came and said that there wouldn't be an attack after all.

And that guy just kept repeating to me, "Don't say that, Jovovic, that you won't allow us to fight against brothers. It would be better for you!"

Djordje Lasic was a cadet in the military academy of my uncle, Stevo Jovovic. He was in the best class and first among them. I could not believe we were going fight such a Serb and hero...

But the fratricide had already begun. In my village, Kosov Lug, the first victims would be Major Petko Jovovic, his brother Marko (he was a teacher, his son is now an ophthalmologist) and Bosko.

* Djordje Lasic, an officer in the Royal Yugoslav Army and kinsman of Arso Jovanovic. Like Blagoje Jovovic, Lasic led a combined Chetnik-Partizan unit in the early days of the war, but in October 1941 was named by General Draza Mihajlovic as Chetnik commander of Montenegro.

THE RED STAR WILL NOT BRING US ANY GOOD

We reported to Kopilje, but they just told us to go home. I returned to Kotic.

We fought against the Italians who pushed past Danilovgrad and further on to Niksic. I was assigned elsewhere by Mida, a great Communist who, if she was a man, would have already made general. Mida told me that I had go to Rzisite.

I remember, in Rzisite, a man in the uniform of a Yugoslav officer approached me.

“Young man, where can I find Blagoje Jovovic?”

“Who are you?”

“Young man, don’t be rude, just show me where Jovovic is.”

“I’m Blagoje Jovovic!”

“You are the son of Jovo, the grandson of Lazar Jovovic?” The man changed the tone of his voice. “Such a young man... I’m assigned to your unit.”

I felt a little embarrassed. They were all older than me, and I was their commander. He was a reserve officer and a teacher.

“I am Vojislav—Vojko Saranovic,” he introduced himself.

We sat down. I asked him, “So what do you think, Vojko, how will things develop?”

Vojko looked at me and said, “Red stars, red stars... that will lead us nowhere... and I came to you. Bad times will make an eagle spend a winter among hens.”

We sung a song:

*In our small county,
There are no priests even for heresy
And poor Father Ljubo
Had his beard eaten by leprosy...*

Vojko and Father Ljubo were friends, although they were political opponents. Vojko used to tease Father Ljubo with that song, since the priest was such a radical.

TO KILL A PRIEST AND A TEACHER

Half of the company remained in the village to defend the people from the Italians, and the other half went to Rzisite. I was leading one group, and Bako Jugovic Brajovic the other.

One day, when I replaced Bako, Milosav Babic told me that Savo Jovovic, Father Ljubo Jovovic and Nesko, the son of Bajo Jovovic, should be killed.

Savo and Nesko were guerrillas and heroes, and Father Ljubo was a respectable nationalist. Communists respected them, but they hated them too. But that they were planning to murder them—that surprised me.

I protested against that.

“You said you will never allow fratricide, and under that condition I accepted my position as commander of the Kosic company. We cannot proceed this way!”

Milosav looked at me, smiling all the time, and said, “We are doing them a great honor with this!”

“Honor? To kill them?”

“Well, we’ll say they were killed by the Italians!” Milosav Babic said.

“I won’t do it!”

“What do you mean you won’t do it? “

“I won’t kill them, let Bako do it, I won’t do it!”

Later I found out Bako didn’t want to do it, either.

But Milosav Babic didn’t give up. He was looking for me at the house of my companion, Svetozar Filipovic, called “Cvejo.” As I wasn’t there he left a message for me to strengthen the guard the next night, because we were supposed to be attacked by the Italians. He also specified that there should be three men on guard and that I should check on them regularly.

Cvejo gave me that letter from Milosav Babic, and I showed it to my father who said, “All right, I’ll be the guard.”

WOE UNTO YOU SAVO, BROTHER

I sent my uncle with my father, and Dusan and Savo Djurovic, very good and honest men. It felt awkward to give orders to my father and my uncle, because

they were older than me, but they did as I told them and went to guard Lazine, in front of the house of Petar Simonovic.

I went to check on them with Cvejo during the night. As we were walking, we heard shots.

“What was that?” I told Cvejo to hurry.

When we got there my father told me, “I think the Communists killed Savo and Father Ljubo! Shots came from the direction of their house!”

I wanted to check first and told Cvejo to go from one side of canal, and I from the other, we reached the house of Spiro, son of Tunjo Lakic, a great hero.

And we heard women wailing, they were screaming, “Woe unto you Savo, brother!”

We were twenty, thirty meters away.

I ran to my father and shouted, “They killed Savo Jovovic! “

Father cursed something, then cursed the Communists. He threw his rifle, and went to see what happened.

HOW CAN I NOT GO TO MY UNCLE’S FUNERAL?

Savo was killed by deceit, vile trickery. He was first invited to the headquarters of the battalion for an interview. He went there to report. When he was told he should go to main headquarters, it was a certain sign that he would be killed. Savo knew that, he told them he was old and could walk by night, and that he would get there in the morning.

However, the Communists insisted and he had to go.

Savo got dressed, and took his gun, because he knew what was about to happen, but it seems that he believed that he would be able to kill at least one of them.

As they went, a certain Tomasevic and two Communists followed behind him. When they came near the house of Spiro, the son of Tunjo Lakic, they found water, the stream had risen. They told Savo to jump over first.

“You know these paths, teacher, you should go forward,” Tomasevic told him. And those two stood behind him, in silence.

When Savo jumped over the creek, Tomasevic fired. And he killed him, there, in the creek, from behind.

All of this was described the way it happened by Tomasevic, later, when he

deserted the Communists.

That morning when they killed Savo, Milosav Babic came to our house.

"Blagoje I have good news for you," he said. "You have been assigned by headquarters to lead a company to fight against Bajo Stanisic, who rose up in Ostrog when he heard that Communists are killing nationalists."

"I will never accept that. Bajo Stanisic was the commandant of my military school in Bileca and I won't shoot at him!"

"What do you mean you won't? That's an order!"

"I won't shoot at him, nor any other Serb!"

Milosav Babic just stared at me.

"It's not an honor that headquarters is sending me to shoot at Bajo Stanisic," I added. "I will never accept that. I won't shoot my brother and commandant."

Milosav Babic acted as if he didn't hear me. He changed the subject and said that headquarters had forbidden me to go to Savo's funeral.

"How can I not go to my uncle's funeral?"

Milosav insisted. "Tell your father that he cannot go to the funeral, either."

"If you have the courage," I said, "then you tell him that, but I'd think about it a moment!"

Angrily, I went inside. Not long after that, the Communists came and asked for my machine gun. I didn't want to give it to them. I had captured it from the Italians. "Communists didn't give it to me," I told them.

But the Communists, as Communists, insisted on taking my machine gun—as they said, there is no private property of weapons in war. What could I do, I gave in to their demands and gave them the machine gun.

After that, Father Ljubo's niece came to me. She asked what he should do, if I could help him in any way.

I told her that the Communists would come to Savo's funeral and would say, "Father, in the name of the Communist Party we deprive you of freedom!" And if he didn't surrender, they'd kill him.

Later my father came. He also asked if there was any way we could help Father Ljubo.

Help him? How? I could only help him by escorting him to Danilovgrad. The only thing I could do is go with him to make sure nothing happened. Since everybody knew me, I could be of some help if he ran into Partizan guards.

It was already morning. Father Ljubo left and sent me a letter saying that he didn't need me, because he decided to go alone, without an escort, to Danilovgrad.

FIVE GRAVES OF JOVOVICI

My father invited many friends to Savo's funeral. After that funeral, a few days later, the Communists killed a whole family of Jovovici, a father and three sons.

When he heard about it, my grandfather had a stroke. He couldn't believe that Djuro Jovovic was killed, that his three sons were killed, and moreover that they were killed as traitors.

Partizans first went to kill Djuro's son Nikola. They came at night, knocking at his door.

"Who is it?" he asked.

"Partizans," one of them answered.

"We've gone to sleep, you can't expect me to let you in at this hour."

"Open up or we'll throw a grenade in your house!" one of the Partizans shouted.

Nikola started unlocking the door, but the Partizans shot through it. And so they killed him. His wife started screaming, and then the Partizans killed her too.

Then they went to get Djuro, they took him with his two sons to headquarters.

From there they took them to Keca's pit...

When he saw his sons killed and thrown into the pit, old Djuro jumped after them himself. Into Keca's pit.

A father, his three sons and his daughter-in-law. They killed them. All of them.

Those were horrible times.

Grandfather Lazar, when he heard about it, went insane and started to invoke the dead, and by superstition one who invokes the dead will soon die himself. He became very ill that night and died before morning because of the murder of Djuro and his sons and daughter-in-law, especially because the Partizans had announced that they were degenerates.

My father, Jovo, gathered several respectable Jovovici, Brajovici, Djiknici, neighbors, flag carrier Jaksa Filipovic, Nesko, the son of Bajo, who was a famous guerrilla... All those men came to our house. They invited me to the meeting too.

It was horrible back in those days, people were afraid of Partizans everywhere, because of these heinous crimes. We decided to establish contact with Bajo Stanisic.

They asked me if I agreed with that decision, and I said that I did.

THE DEATH OF LITTLE VLADO UNDER A PLUM TREE

That same day the Italians were shooting at us, one shell fell behind our house and killed my cousin, Vlado, Filip Jovovic's son, a thirteen year old boy.

I never saw that kind of death. Vlado leaned back on a plum tree with a book in his hands, it seemed as if he was reading... He stayed that way. His mother called him for dinner, but he didn't make a sound.

"Vlado, Vlado!"

Dead.

When they got near him, it was obvious that he was already stiff.

An Italian shell that fell between two houses killed him, from a piece of shrapnel...

I had just arrived, I had been over the Zeta, at headquarters... I was just in time to dig his grave.

At headquarters I had met Radomir Babic, my cousin. He had been there but we didn't know before then, we only knew of Mosa and Djilas.*

Radomir was a big man, he used to work in Podgorica, a director of finances. When I met him he had some kind of strange wolfskin hat.

He asked if he could meet with my father.

"Blagoje, what do you think? How could this situation quiet down, how could this situation improve?"

How should I know?

And he told me, under the condition not to tell anyone else, that they had decided to appoint me commander of a youth battalion.

"There were other suggestions, but Djilas and Pijade want you, even though you are young."

Through the night they buried little Vlado. Old men and women.

The next day, the Italians came again.

REUNION WITH MY MACHINE GUN

While Cvejo and I were digging a grave for Vlado, some man came and asked me

* Milovan Djilas, a member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Djilas was dispatched to lead the uprising in Montenegro in July 1941. He became Minister for Montenegro, vice president and chairman of the Yugoslav parliament after the war before becoming Yugoslavia's most famous dissident.

to report to headquarters. I told him fine, as soon as I finished digging, I'd be there. He came back and asked me to report to headquarters, urgently. Then Mida Brajovic came, and her sister Olga Jovovic, the daughters of Zivko and granddaughters of Suto Brajovic.

I went with Cvejo, but I didn't tell him where we were going. We were on a boat with Beba Brajovic, who liked me very much. I was greeted by them saying, "Hello to the best Marnic, the best Jovovic!" As I was shy, I felt a little uncomfortable being praised so much. Then Miso told me that some people in high places had mentioned me, with a promise that he'd talk to me about it later. I think he wanted to tell me that I was supposed to be appointed commander of the Montenegrin youth battalion. We already knew it was supposed to be a big battalion, in which every fighter would have an automatic weapon.

There were a lot of weapons there at headquarters. I saw my machine gun. I looked around. One guard was standing there. I told Cvejo to take as many weapons as could carry.

"Why? Those aren't our weapons!"

I said I'd tell him later. "Just grab them now!" I took my machine gun and put it on my shoulder. I said to Cvejo, "Take them!" Nearby, a young man watched us, but he didn't say anything.

I filled two bags full of ammunition and I couldn't carry any more. Cvejo also took as much as he could. We took those weapons back to my house.

We didn't have much food back home, and I was tired and hungry.

I told Cvejo that there was some smoked ham in the house. Mother came, I told her that Cvejo and I were hungry, and she brought us smoked ham, cheese and bread.

HE IS NOT A COMMISSAR TO US

After he ate, Cvejo fell asleep. Then Jaksa came.

"Don't wake up your cousin!"

"I have to!" I said.

"Let your mother tell him you left with us," Jaksa said. That seemed suspicious. I called my mother and told her to wake Cvejo up when I left. Jaksa told me that he came to ask me what I thought about being a commander. I asked

what Milosav Babic thought about it.

"Milosav has nothing to think about," Jaksa replied.

"But he's a commissar!"

"He's not a commissar to us."

Now what was happening?

When we arrived, there were many men there. Dark, one lamp on a table. And they told me, "All of you who are Communists have to cross the Zeta within forty-eight hours."

We were supposed to report to people in Kosov Lug who would take us to the other side of the river.

"What is this about, did you talk to Bako, what are we going to do?" asked Cvejo, who had just shown up after following us.

"I've decided to go with Commissar Milosav Babic," I said. "I told Bako and Jaksa, but they said that he is not a commissar to them!"

"So that's how it is. Well then, I'm going with you," Cvejo said.

Confusion everywhere.

BAJO STANISIC, RELJA PILETIC AND JAKOV JOVOVIC

The Communists were preparing to attack Bajo Stanisic. I just couldn't understand that. I felt like I was drunk when I heard what they were preparing for. To go and kill Serbs...

One day, I think it was in February 1942, I decided to visit Bajo Stanisic, I heard that he was near Ostrog.

When we met I asked, "Colonel, Sir, do you remember me?"

"Whose son are you?"

He knew my father and my uncle, who was a general staff major in Belgrade.

"Jovo, son of Lazar Jovovic," I told him.

"I remember," Bajo said.

I attended Colonel Stanisic's school for officer training in Bileca. I was a cadet in the anti-tank school where we learned about the new Czech-made cannons, they were modern back then and good for anti-tank combat.

In the meantime, my father, because he was an old guerrilla, had been elected the commander of a nationalist company from Kotic, which was the first to be

organized. Everyone was splitting between nationalists and Communists. When the nationalist Kasic company was formed, several other companies followed, from Zeta to Susica.

Then Major Relja Piletic arrived from Podgorica. He demanded that we settle accounts with the Communists—even a child, if the child was red. When some of my cousins objected to that, heavy arguments broke out.

That was the first time I saw Jakov Jovovic. He was blond. He came with a horse cart, stood up on it and spoke. I didn't know he was such a good orator. He gave a speech which amazed even Major Piletic.

"Major, Sir, though we are of the same rank, I cannot allow you, in the place where I was born, to shout at my people from Kosov Lug," Jakov said.

After that, Jakov was nominated as commander of a battalion.

Bajo Stanisic was the commander of Bjelopavlici. After a while he was acknowledged even by the Herzegovinians. Thus Bajo became the commander of the entire area including Cetinje, Podgorica, and Niksic, and Jakov Jovovic became commander of the Bjelopavlici Brigade.

Then I met Perisic, who was the "Duke"* of Herzegovina.

When I went to Bajo I didn't have a rank or a position.

A BEARD PROTECTS YOUR HEAD

The Communists were soon driven out of Montenegro. That year, 1942, without the Communists around, was relatively peaceful.

The following year, 1943, I was assigned to the headquarters company commanded by Jakov Jovovic, where I was given the rank of sergeant. Having been a commander in Communist units, among the nationalists I could barely make sergeant.

The headquarters company was armed with automatic weapons and it had fierce fire power. There were thirty men, well-armed. We had plenty of hand grenades and some small mortar cannons, given to us by the English.

In 1943, just before the capitulation, the Italians captured Jakov Jovovic in

* After the final rupture between nationalists and Communists, General Draza Mihajlovic, leader of the Chetniks and War Minister of the Yugoslav government-in-exile, named a number of his lieutenants *vojvodai*, or "dukes," which corresponded with the leaders of the most prominent Chetnik units. A number of other Chetnik commanders would later claim the title "duke" for themselves.

Podgorica. He was set up by some “loan sharks” who collaborated with the Germans. And that headquarters company, in which there were many men from Cetinje—Jakov was married to a woman from Cetinje—went to liberate him.

At the time I was under Mount Ostrog, with Bajo Stanisic. There were a lot of soldiers there, from everywhere.

Jakov escaped from prison wearing a cassock, and he had a beard. When he was on his way out, he blessed the guards and escaped. The cassock was brought to him to prison by some woman.

Jakov was a capable man, a good fighter, orator and a real actor.

GENERAL BLAZO DJUKANOVIC WEARS A SHORT COAT

The Italians capitulated. General Blazo Djukanovic arrived from Cetinje to tell Bajo that he didn’t want to be a commander, that he left Cetinje when he heard Germans were coming and he couldn’t wait for them anymore.

Bajo told him, “You, general, will stay here and command.”

After the capitulation of Italy, we went to Bosnia. We were fighting in the Sutjeska Gorge and we nearly captured Tito. General Blazo Djukanovic also came with us to Bosnia. He was a little overweight. He was always wearing this short raincoat... When we went through Bosnia, I remember that well, General Djukanovic wore a short coat, and it was such a harsh winter and so full of misery, you couldn’t believe that a man could survive with such a wardrobe.

Blazo left Cetinje and decided to go with us without anyone demanding anything. Bajo Stanisic respected him and he didn’t make one decision without consulting Blazo.

I remember, once, going up this hill. As we were walking my foot got trapped between two rocks. I couldn’t pull it out, or I would break my leg. I didn’t know what to do, so I untied the laces and pulled my leg out. I lost my boot. And since I couldn’t walk half-barefooted, I took off the other boot too. I walked that way for several kilometers until we found a house and borrowed some shoes. And the snow was very deep. Today when I remember that, I don’t know how I endured, without being crippled or getting sick.

WHEN ROLJO EATS

When we received rations, we got our food and they told us, "That's for three days." There was a musician with us, he played a trumpet, and we called him Roljo, that was his nickname. And Roljo ate well, he ate everything that was supposed to last for the next three days. I shared some of mine with him.

Since he didn't have food the next day, Roljo started to beg. He came to me and said, "Give me some."

"Roljo, when you're spending, you're really spending. You ate it all at once, you won't get anything from me!"

He was very hungry... He endured for awhile, but the third day he couldn't take it, he had a nervous breakdown. Foam started coming out of his mouth.

One man gave him a drink of water, but Roljo told him no. "Give me some bread!"

When more food came and they told Roljo "That's for three days," he saved enough to last four.

BACEVIC ON THE LEFT, DJURISIC ON THE RIGHT

I fought at Neretva too.

I heard how these Communist historians say five thousand Chetniks were killed there. That isn't true. Those are Communist lies.

I remember how one Partizan told me before the end of the war: "Woe unto you if you lose, you'll be guilty, condemned for everything you've done and for everything you haven't!"

That's what happened in the end. Today when I hear what they wrote during the fifty-five years I was away, I can only laugh at that kind of rubbish.

At Neretva we had losses, but not in very large numbers.

At Neretva many Communists were killed. But they don't write about that.

At Neretva we Chetniks didn't see one German or Italian.

We fought against the Partizans.

I remember on our left side there was the squad of Chetniks from Herzegovina, commanded by Duke Bacevic,* and on our right side was Pavle

* Petar Bacovic (sometimes called "Bacevic"), Chetnik commander in Herzegovina. Bacovic was killed at the end of the war when his unit was massacred by the Ustase after promising safe conduct through their territory.

Djurisic.*

They accuse us of collaborating with the Italians at Neretva, but the Italians gave their weapons to the Partizans. If we were collaborators then they would have given those weapons to us, the Chetniks, not to Tito and the Partizans.

There are documents, among them a report that Biroli, who by order of his headquarters, gave weapons to the Partizans and Tito. That also happened in Podgorica in 1944, when Italians gave their weapons to the Partizans, and then they attacked us with Italian cannons and mortars.

And they really surprised us, because we knew they were a poor army and we didn't think they had those kinds of weapons.

A HILL FULL OF OUR CORPSES

Imagine this—we were near Kolasin once, and at night airplanes were flying over us and dropping weapons to the Partizans with parachutes. And we could clearly hear someone shouting in Serbian.

In the morning we went to see what kind of parachutes fell on the Partizan side. With my luck, I got to do that. About twenty of us left. We were ambushed by Partizans. They killed us in such way that only two of us survived. Me and one other Chetnik.

I have never in my life seen so many dead men in one place. They were killed just to get the weapons the Italians dropped for the Partizans.

This is how it happened. We were running down one hill, and Partizans all of a sudden started shooting at us with machine guns. They killed everyone. Only me and one other man survived, who was wounded. I carried him on my back, Vujo was his name.

The Chetnik brigade commanded by Jakov Jovovic was never beaten, not in a single battle, nowhere, it didn't even have any dead, only wounded.

Once near Neretva we captured fifty Communists, and when they surrendered one of them started to beg us, "Don't kill me, Serbian brothers, the Ustase killed my whole family and I went to the Partizans to save myself from the Ustase."

* Pavle Djurisic, an officer in the Royal Yugoslav Army and later Chetnik commander in Montenegro. Together with Petar Bacovic and others, he attempted to cross Ustase-held territory in the closing days of the war to reach the Allies, but was disarmed and killed.

Jakov asked him, "Are there any more Serbs here?"

"Yes!"

"Do you know all of them?" Jakov asked him again.

"Yes, I do!"

Then we separated the Serbs off to one side, the Croats on the other. We took the Serbs into our brigade. When they joined us we called them "Chetnik volunteers." Dujo took care of the Croats. He was a fanatic.

And we took those "volunteers" with us from Neretva and they were always at our side in battle. Later, Duke Djujic* asked for those "volunteers," and my father sent them to him, over the sea, to Sibenik.

ITALIANS AND PARTIZANS TOGETHER, AND WE ALONE

It's a lie that they, the Partizans, were victors at Neretva. Jakov Jovovic's Chetnik brigade didn't lose a single battle at Neretva. And the Partizans retreated all the time. The Herzegovinian Chetniks pushed the Partizans towards us, and we pushed them further, and when they saw they had no way out, they did a clever thing and fled in all directions in groups of three.

When they were running in small groups like that, it was hard to look for them and that way they could save themselves, by running at night and breaking through our positions any way they could.

In those battles neither we nor the Partizans respected wounded much, we killed and they killed too, whoever we found. "Battle for the Wounded." Yeah, right...

Do you know what really happened at Neretva?

Bajo Stanisic and Blazo Djukanovic were our commanders at Neretva, they were leading the Montenegrin squads, and Jakov Jovovic was the commander of Bjelopavlici Brigade.

We got an order from the General Staff and Draza to destroy the rest of the Communists who had escaped from him in Serbia, where they had been surrounded.

There were victims at Neretva. But the Partizans were just running away.

* Momcilo Djujic, a former trade unionist and Orthodox priest who became Chetnik commander in Dalmatia. Djujic succeeded in leading a contingent of some 10,000 Chetniks across Allied lines in the closing days of the war and later emigrated to the United States.

That they killed five thousand Chetniks—that's just a lie. And rubbish! Only some Chetniks from Montenegro were killed. And in our Bjelopavlici Brigade there were no dead, just wounded—Nesko, the son of Bajo Jovovic, seriously, and Father Ljubo Jovovic lightly.

Once again I want to say, and I would repeat it even in front of Communists and in front of God and the people: we fought the Partizans alone, nobody helped us, and the Partizans' allies at Neretva were the Italians, from whom they received their weapons.

Bajo Stanisic was in charge, but in every decision, Bajo consulted with Blazo. "What do you think, General, is this all right?"

The Partizans retreated from Neretva to northern Bosnia. Many of them were killed at Neretva, so many that it was horrible.

During our battles with the Partizans at Neretva, we didn't see any Germans, anywhere, and what Partizan "historians" write, those are just lies.

DUKE DJURISIC ON A WHITE HORSE

Bajo Stanisic was a good commander, but Pavle Djurisic was really a hero. He wasn't much of a speaker. Once I listened to him speak in front of a formation of soldiers...

A lot of men were in front of a church in Spuz, we were supposed to attack the Partizans somewhere around Piperi.

Pavle stood in front of us, lifted his rifle and exclaimed, "Heroic soldiers, I can't speak well, I speak with a rifle in my hands! Forward heroes! Follow me!"

Indeed, I watched him go into combat, he went mad, it was unbelievable!

He feared nothing, just went! First. Charging! Shooting! In front of everyone, on a white horse. And bullets missed him. He was shot only once, when he was returning from Albania. Even then they wouldn't have shot him if he hadn't been ambushed from behind, but they couldn't kill him, they just wounded him.

Pavle went through some fierce battles. Once, when we were attacked, he was standing, he took a position by a rock and shouted at us to move. Shots everywhere, shells fall, and he just stands there and shoots back. He wasn't even scratched.

I remember with Djordje Lasic, a great commander and hero, if a rifle fired

in combat, he was wounded. Lasic had hundreds of wounds on his body.

Jakov Jovovic was intelligent, an excellent speaker, authoritative. But Draza would get very angry with him. Jakov would every now and then visit Cetinje. Draza didn't like that, he hated officers who "engage in politics," and these departures of Jakov's seemed to Draza like some sort of politics.* And then one day he forbade him to leave his unit. He made it clear: if Jakov ever went to Cetinje again, he'll be stripped of his rank and command.

Later Draza Mihajlovic decided to replace Bajo Stanisic as chief of headquarters with Vlado Djukic, who was a General Staff officer.

A CAMP FOR CHILDREN IN LIVNO

I remember one horrible scene. When we went through Bosnia, we came across a camp. That was in Livno. In a field that had been fenced in with barbed wire. And inside of that fence there were children between five and seven years of age. They were naked. In that camp, Ustase doctors performed medical experiments on children. They were little Jews, children of Jews killed by the Ustase.

We saw those children... Their stomachs fell out and were hanging between their legs. Skeletons, living skeletons. Only their eyes were this big... They looked half mad, they just trudged around in circles. They were living skeletons of children, not children. That was in the Winter of 1943. For two days we saw how those children lived, it was horrible.

In 1944, there was a lot of fratricide, so much it's a disgrace to talk about it.

Once, an Italian told me that his people weren't like the crazy Balkan folk, edging to kill each other.

I always avoided talking about the details of the battles with the Communists, that's a disgrace... Brother against brother. But some men are not ashamed of anything. The crimes of the Communists were horrible... Those who have no fear God have no shame.

In 1944, the Communists entered Kosov Lug for the second time. They hadn't been there since February 1942. We and the Communists were alone now, the Italians were gone, they capitulated, the Germans were gone... My late father was at headquarters. I was in Danilovgrad, with my cousins. One morning we heard

* Cetinje, the historic capital of the Kingdom of Montenegro, was a stronghold for Montenegrin separatists and advocates for the deposed monarchy under King Nikola.

the news that the Communists had entered Kosov Lug from Zagrcce and Bandici.

My father asked Jakov what to do, and Jakov said, "Attack them. When you see my three tracer bullets you should start attacking!"

Jakov went first, with ten men. And we were supposed to follow behind them.

THREE TRACER BULLETS

I tried to think of how I could move through the Communists' positions. Maybe I could eavesdrop and learn the password and response.

I told Jakov to let me go first, because I could handle Communists easier.

And we set out, ten meters between us. In case something happened, we wouldn't all get killed this way.

I went forward. I found the Partizans quickly. What should I do now?

And one of the Partizans called out, nervously, "Pass! Pass quickly! What are you waiting for?"

He had no idea that I wasn't one of them. He couldn't believe that someone would dare move straight at them like that.

We passed.

That way, through the Partizan guards, all the way to the Susica.

I saw how they had stolen our cattle, pigs... They were singing, shouting. Most of them were drunk.

Ten of us, deep behind their positions. All with automatic weapons, we spread around... One tracer bullet flashed, a second, a third... When three tracer bullets were fired, Jakov pushed at the Partizans from the front. They started running at us, and we shot at them.

Then they started running away everywhere! They left both the cows and the pigs behind, just to get over the Susica alive. One of them couldn't swim and I think he drowned in the river.

We heard that the Germans were advancing from Savnik towards Niksic, and we left with two squads to ambush them.

We cut in front of them and fired. Then they surrounded us. They killed our commander, Grozdanic, who was a sergeant in headquarters company. They killed several others, too.

With my men I began to retreat. You couldn't attack the Germans from the front. Bajo Stanisic told us that a million times. You could only surprise the Germans, attack them in groups of three, as the Communists did.

SQUARE CAPTAINS UNDER MOUNT OSTROG

Bajo's headquarters was in the Lower Monastery in Ostrog. I was in the first tent next to headquarters. My father was there with several officers—captains popularly called “square captains.” There were four of them. The chief of headquarters was Vlado Djukic, a General Staff officer.

After some time an envoy from the General Staff of Draza Mihajlovic arrived, Dr. Jovo Toskovic.

We had two radios there, later I took one and gave it to Major Lasic.

When we were traveling to Lasic, through Piperi, we ran into the Communists. Some of us were on foot, some on horses. Scouts in front, the radio equipment on two horses.

We had one man in our unit who liked to throw grenades. We called him “Mortar,” he carried weapons for Vukola Vukotic, from Cetinje. Vukola was a lawyer I think, he was very popular in America, died only recently...

Vukola Vukotic shouted to Mortar, who carried his guns, “Mortar, give me my weapon, damn you!”

The Communists heard that and called out, “Comrade commander, the Chetniks have mortar cannons too!”

We entered a battle with the Communists. We fired with the automatic rifles given to us by the English. We passed through Piperi.

THE KING ON THE RADIO

We spent several days listening to the radio. We didn't know much about what was happening. My father sometimes told me bits of information... We were very surprised when we heard that the King was asking everyone to join Tito, and said that those who refused would bear the stigma of shame and treachery.

What was this? How was it possible? “The stigma of shame and treachery?”

One of our neighbors cried, “Nobody can bear the stigma of shame and treachery!”

During those days father allowed me to go about with Jakov, but later Bajo asked me to stay with him.

One day I found out that, by order of the General Staff, Duke Pavle Djurisić was authorized to send a mission to Italy, to make contact and negotiate with the Allies. Sicily and southern Italy were already occupied by the Allies. And Draža Mihajlović made a promise to the English. He guaranteed that they could invade our coast, because from Bar to Herceg Novi there was not a single Communist. We were supposed to arrange everything with the Allies, to secure a bridgehead for them, to be the advance guard for their invasion.

Jevrem Saulić was appointed as part of the delegation. He was a great Serbian intellectual from Nikšić. Also with them were two English officers who were sent from the General Staff and, I think, two American officers. Ratko Parežanin also went with them. He was a Ljotić supporter* who lived in Montenegro because he was married to a Montenegrin woman.

Parežanin used his position to send aid to Montenegro...

Ratko Parežanin had come in 1943. He was a good journalist and writer, he gave me a book called *The Death of King Alexander*. He was a good friend of Jakov Jovović.

THERE FAR AWAY, THERE IS SERBIA

I remember those difficult days, no help at all. The English didn't send us anything.

While the Italians were in the towns, at least they fed the people.

Now, nothing. Nowhere, nothing. And then Parežanin went to Serbia, returning quickly with aid.

Ljotić's supporters were well-organized, they had many intellectuals among them. They had the ideology to defend themselves from the Communists. And the best Serbian publication abroad was *Iskra*, edited by Ratko Parežanin.

* Followers of Dimitrije Ljotić, head of the Yugoslav National Movement (commonly known as the *Zbor*) that fought both the Chetniks and the Partisans. Ljotić was killed while fleeing Yugoslavia at the end of the war.

And later, Jasa Ljotic, until the Communists killed him, hanged him in some hotel or apartment in Germany.

We went to seek aid from Nedic.* Serbia was so far away! From Podgorica we went with a cart over Albania, we first came to Skoder, then to Kosovska Mitrovica. Pavle Djuriscic was captured and imprisoned then, but he somehow escaped and went to Sandzak. We continued our journey to Vrnjacka Banja.

Draza Mihajlovic sent a message that he wished to receive Jakov Jovovic, for the second time. Because there were still some misunderstandings between them. Others also went to see Draza: deputy governor of the Zeta region Dusan Vlahovic, Stevo Jovicevic, the father-in-law of Jakov, and adjutant of Pavle Djuriscic... I was glad that I would see Draza, because I had gone to Vasojevici to see him once, but I didn't make it.

We were received by Draza's chief of headquarters, Zaharije Ostojic, who was a Montenegrin. He asked me, "You are Jovovic?"

I said I was, and he asked if I'm related to Stevo Jovovic.

"I'm his nephew," I said, "from his own brother."

We entered, and Draza said, "So, you are the nephew of Stevo Jovovic. Stevo was my first commandant."

Stevo Jovovic was greatly appreciated both by Draza and Nedic, who appointed him to be an inspector of the Serbian Guard. Draza was full of praise for Stevo, who was very useful after he returned from captivity in Germany.

BELGRADE BOMBED BY THE ALLIES

It was the end of the war and we were supposed to save Serbdom.

How? With whom?

Someone named Piletic contacted the Russians, but they didn't want to talk, unless we joined with Tito.

During those days, in Belgrade, there were negotiations to smooth over differences and conflicts that arose between the Chetniks and Nedic's supporters.

Draza told us that Stevo Jovovic had paid his debt for Serbdom, by helping both the people and the army.

* General Milan Nedic, War Minister in a pre-war Yugoslav government and, under German occupation, puppet prime minister of Serbia starting in 1941. Nedic was captured by the Partizans at the end of the war, who claimed he committed suicide while in captivity.

I was told that Dr. Toskovic had recommended me to Draza for an officer's rank, because I was a good fighter. But I didn't know about that, and Toskovic had already been killed by then. Draza accepted the suggestion, although he often resented suggestions for promotions. But for me, they say, he offered the rank right away.

When we came to Belgrade, it was a horrible sight. Two days earlier Belgrade had been hit by Allied carpet-bombing.

We looked for Stevo Jovovic, but were told he had resigned and went into the forests with Draza. However, Stevo came by the next day and asked after my father. He invited us to his place, since all of the men gathered there. We met Pavle Jovovic, who was a parliamentary representative, bearer of Karadjordje Star, and was also a Minister of Agriculture. We also found Savo Radovic, a brother of Andrija Radovic, the president of the Montenegrin government. Also with them was Pavle Boskovic, who said he didn't remember me.

Jakov told them that he had asked to see Milan Nedic. Jakov asked us to go with him, but no one else. He knew Nedic would see him because of Stevo, whom he valued a lot.

NEDIC CRIES, WE CRY TOO

We were received by Nedic.

An old man, with a long, red face. White hair, short, half-bald. He held a speech in honor of our coming and said he cared a lot what people in Montenegro thought of him. He told us that in the first days after the capitulation they asked him to be the president of this enslaved Serbia, to save at least something, but he couldn't accept that.

When the Croats reached Zemun, he was the only one to defend the rest of Serbia. He, and Ljotic also, but we disagreed with him on that.

"I was an army general, I was chief of the General Staff, I was Minister of Defense, I was everything a mortal could be in Serbia. When they bombed Bitolj, as Minister of Defense I was removed from office. The Italians bombed Bitolj by mistake, instead of some town in Greece. I asked for an apology, so they dismissed me."

He continued to wail at us. "I was everything, except the King of Serbia and

Yugoslavia, since I was sworn to loyalty to the House of Karadjordjevic and if that was ever offered, I would never do that.”

He was aware of the imminent end, and how that end would look.

“I care a lot what Montenegrins think of me.”

Jakov stood up, looked up, remained silent for a moment... And then began to talk.

“They will remember how you told them: if they hold Mojkovac for 24 hours, they will do a lot for Serbdom...”*

Jakov talked with such emotion that Nedic cried, and I started crying too.

Then Nedic said, “I did everything to save Serbdom, but I couldn’t save them from the Communists. Maybe the people will thank me for that, but politicians certainly will not!”

WITH THE IMPRISONED PATRIARCH

When we finished with Nedic, Jakov asked to see Patriarch Dozic** who was at that time in Pancevo, in a monastery.

We went to see the Patriarch in civilian clothing, in a state automobile.

Nikolaj Velimirovic was with the patriarch. That was in June, July 1944.

The monastery was barricaded. When we came to the entrance, the guard didn’t let us in. Jakov started to yell at him, asked him if he was a Croat or a *Volksdeutscher*, insulted both his father and mother, started to threaten him.

“The days of freedom are coming, you’ll pay for this!”

But he didn’t let us in. We got in the car and went back to Belgrade.

We could see the patriarch the next day but only for a few hours. We came to the monastery again, that guard greeted us, and Jakov told me, “Look at that scoundrel!” And he started cursing again.

When we entered, Dozic began to tell us how he is the only head of a church who is imprisoned. But, frankly, at that moment, he looked more like an officer than the patriarch.

Jakov asked if we could help him escape.

* In World War I, the Montenegrin army held the Austro-Hungarian army at bay at Mojkovac, providing time for the Serbian army to retreat and later regroup.

** Patriarch Gavriilo Dozic, spiritual leader of the Serbian Orthodox Church. A Montenegrin, he was held under house arrest for several years before the Nazis sent him to Dachau.

Dozic replied that some Ljotic supporters had the same suggestion.

Nikolaj Velimirovic surprised me in a way. When we entered the monastery it was sunny. We went up the stairs, and he was waiting for us there. I never saw such long beard, his beard was white, and the sun was shining. At first I thought he had a golden beard.

He approached us to kiss us and said, "Lucky me, here come my Serbian children."

Patriarch Dozic gave us a cross and said, "This is a wooden cross, but when the day of liberty comes, come see me and we will replace that cross, not with a better one, but with a more free and proud one."

From his words and his gift I was simply hypnotized, I never had that kind of a feeling in life.

MAJOR LASIC WITHOUT TEETH

From Belgrade we went to Sandzak, but some soldiers with Turkish hats wouldn't let us pass. Jakov looked for Pavle Djuriscic to give him the message that he was recognized as the supreme commander of Montenegro and Sandzak.

From Sandzak we went to Kolasin, traveling by night. There we met Djordje Lasic and returned to Danilovgrad.

In 1944, the Germans bombed Podgorica. I think Lasic was killed during that bombing. He was a fierce warrior. Lasic was a great hero and commandant, but he didn't like to be called "duke."

There was not a place on his body where he wasn't wounded. His teeth were all broken. Lasic was a great hero, a great soldier and a great Serb.

Lasic wasn't killed by a bullet, but a bomb fell near him and his wife and they both died from the explosion. To me, Lasic was the best Serbian duke after Bajo Stanisic, but Bajo also didn't like to be called *vojvoda*.

Pavle Djuriscic came to Podgorica, and Jakov Jovovic recognized him as commander. Pavle Djuriscic was a great warrior and he had every right to be named commander of Montenegro and Sandzak.

PREPARE, PREPARE CHETNIKS

Towards the end of the war a mission was appointed that was supposed to arrange the invasion of the Allies on the Adriatic Coast. However, that first mission was a failure because the Germans discovered it and killed them all. A second mission was supposed to be appointed.

In Ostrog I heard that Jakov Jovovic was assigned to this new mission, to go to Boka Kotorska to meet with the nationalist leadership and give several speeches, to boost their morale and confidence in the nationalists and the Allies.

The same day, Dr. Jovo Toskovic, a great intellectual and historian and the envoy of Draza Mihajlovic, invited me to go with him to meet with Djordje Lasic. He liked me and valued me as a young man. From there, he would give us a contact to go to Serbia.

He sent me home to rest and get ready for the trip. We brought two pairs of boots, because there would be a lot of walking ahead.

Toskovic told me to report to him within three days. I accepted and went home to Kosic.

When I came home they told me that we should escort Jakov Jovovic, who was supposed to go to the coast. I escorted them to Zagaraci, to the house of my aunt, from where they went on without me.

I stayed with my aunt overnight. Sometime around three a.m, someone started pounding on the door and shouting.

“Blagoje! Blagoje!”

“What is it now?” I opened the door and saw Cvejo, breathless.

“A great battle! With Partizans from Zagaraci!”

I got ready and left with Cvejo. I passed my Italian prisoner, whom we called “Nero.” I captured him in battle and ever since then he had been in our unit.

Nero was already shooting. It was a fierce battle that lasted until morning. I couldn't imagine that any of us would be left alive. At dawn, we saw, nobody was even wounded.

NEVER CLOSER TO DEATH

And just when we thought the battle was over, the Partizans started throwing

grenades. They were throwing Italian grenades, the ones they got when the Italians armed them. Those grenades we didn't consider very dangerous, because they would explode whenever they would hit an obstacle. And there was no chance of a grenade reaching us without hitting a branch or a tree.

While grenades were exploding around us, I saw Nero and told him, "Don't be afraid, these are your Italian grenades, they won't kill you!"

He just laughed.

And just as we were talking, a grenade flew at us. A piece of shrapnel gouged my finger, and the next one landed right beside Nero. It crippled him in such way that his guts fell out. Nero was killed right there. I watched Nero die before my eyes, and I couldn't help him.

Then, behind a rock, a Partizan appeared. With his hands up. And with a machine gun.

"Comrade, I surrender!" he shouted.

I look at him. Nero was dead. That wound was hurting me. I didn't know what to do.

And while I was thinking what to do with the surrendering Partizan, he lifted his machine gun up. And pointed it straight at me. To kill me! I was frozen... And then... Nothing! The machine gun jammed on him. I stood like I was petrified. He was surprised.

Suddenly—a shot came.

I thought, "Someone is shooting at me!" Then I saw that Partizan fall. Dead. I looked around and saw he was shot by our men.

That Partizan had shot Misa Dabetic, took his machine gun and went on to kill us, thinking Misa was dead.

We found Misa wounded. I told him how the machine gun jammed on that Partizan. Miso just wondered and said, "Well, it never jammed on me!"

SMOKE ON OSTROG

We captured several Communists. Jakov and Cvejo went on to Boka Kotorska to ready the ground for the Allied landing. I came back home to prepare for the trip to Serbia, with Dr. Toskovic. When I came home, we saw a lot of smoke rising from the direction of Ostrog, fire could be seen too...

In that smoke and fire, General Blazo Djukanovic died with Bajo Stanisic, colonel and Chetnik duke. There was a song about them:

*An army is leaving from Niksic
The squad of Bajo Stanisic.
From Vinici of Obilici
Heroes of these lands
Like Blazo Djukanovic—a hero.*

Only one man survived, Blagoje from Vasojevici. When they were taken to be executed, he was lucky, he wasn't hit by a bullet, but fell down and pretended to be dead, even when they took off his uniform and boots. They threw him in a pit. He used the opportunity when the Partizans weren't paying attention, "resurrected" himself, and started running. They all shot at him, and again he wasn't hit... He was hiding in the forest for three days, and then our headquarters came. I heard from him how everything happened.

The situation had been hopeless. Ostrog's bells rang in vain, seeking help.

Nobody went to help the surrounded Chetniks.

The Partizans didn't offer Bajo Stanisic ordinary surrender terms, but to become one of them. They would give him a sector to command if he recognized their supreme headquarters. Bajo refused.

Then they promised they'd let the Chetniks go home, only if they surrender, not to spill fraternal blood. They came out and surrendered their weapons. The Partizans took them to Lower Ostrog, interrogated them—gently—and gave them dinner... And then in the middle of the night, they took all of them out—as if they had to, the Germans were advancing—and shot them all.

General Djukanovic surrendered, he didn't want the sanctity of Ostrog to be desecrated by a battle in which the Chetniks had no chance. Draza's envoy, Dr. Toskovic, surrendered with him. Over his corpse the Partizans celebrated the most, taunting, "Come see Draza's minister!"

And Bajo Stanisic was hit by a bullet while he was shooting, he died in a window of the monastery.

Three of his relatives didn't want to be captured alive. They committed suicide...

Blood was spilled beside the reliquary of Saint Vasilije, fraternal blood.

I spent more than a year at Ostrog with Bajo. And I was saved only by

chance. If I hadn't left home to prepare, I would have been killed like Dr. Toskovic, who was waiting for me at Ostrog to go to Serbia.

There is no death without judgment day.

UNCLE'S BEEN KILLED

In August of 1944, a great misery beset my house and family. I never spoke about our battles and the fratricide, but this I want to tell you.

On that miserable day I went over the Zeta, and with two, three men shot in the direction of the Partizans. I saw a large group of our men arriving, they were on large rubber boats that the English had thrown to us. The entire Kotic company was there, and some from headquarters company. I watched as my uncle, Dusan, was going forward, and when he came near me I told him to look out, to go slowly. He was to my right some ten meters, and two, three meters forward.

We came to a house when he said to me, quite calmly, "Blagoje, they shot me."

"Get down!" I saw them aiming at him.

"Don't leave me to the Communists!" he begged me.

"Come on, you know I won't!"

I watched him sitting, helplessly.

Another rifle fired. I saw he was hit again.

"Ah, another one shot me," he said, and fell.

I saw Dusan lying dead. Horrible scene.

CALM DOWN, FATHER'S BEEN KILLED TOO

At that moment my father arrived. I saw him give a bag to Bosko, son of Grujica Brajovic, and tell him, "Take good care of that, Bosko, my honor is in there!"

Later I saw that there were some papers in that bag, letters from General Ljubo Novakovic and a lot of correspondence with Bajo Stanisic, Blazo Djukanovic... Those letters were thrown away later by my family...

To get back to that horrible day.

I told my father that I would go first. To get out of there. He didn't let me. He said he would go first. He was on his knees and elbows, and moved that way, not getting up, and carrying a rock in front of him.

Partizans opened fire. I saw sparks flash out of that rock. Father hid behind it.

When he rose a little to move, a female voice from the other side shouted, "Watch out, Uncle Jovo, don't move at all!" A Partizan woman had recognized him.

"What was... Who said that? Blagoje—"

"Some Partizan woman!" I shouted. "Get down!"

He got down, waited a while... When he got up again that voice shouted, "Get down, Uncle Jovo!"

At that moment, just as he rose, a machine gun burst caught him.

Swept him away.

Woe unto me, Father!

I saw men were starting to abandon their positions. I shouted, "Fine, you can go, if you don't want to wait for nightfall, but I won't leave my father and uncle!"

Bosko Brajovic said, "I'm staying with my son!" Milan Brajovic said the same. Several other Brajovici stayed too.

I wanted to tell Savo, an active officer and the commander of the Koscic company, what had happened and I went in his direction. I met my brother Dimitrije, called "Mito." He told me that our uncle was killed.

"Calm down," I said, "father's been killed too!"

He screamed.

Not far from there I saw my brother Veljko, he was 12 years old, carrying a rifle.

"Who gave you that rifle?" I yelled.

The poor kid got scared, dropped the rifle... Then, old Captain Savo Jovovic arrived, I asked him to cover me and not to allow the Communists to shoot at me.

"I will pull out uncle and dad as soon as night falls," I told Savo.

I got back to my position—and everybody ran away! Only a few men stayed behind.

Night came. I ordered the men to prepare hand grenades.

Lets go!

I started to shout as loud as I could. "Forward, first battalion, to the right! Second battalion to the left! Throw grenades!"

We fired and went forward and managed to pull out both Uncle Dusan and my father.

We passed through some corn and met up with Savo Djurovic. I thanked him for his help. I carried my father and uncle over the Zeta and brought them home.

Partizans were shooting at us the whole time.

There was a large funeral, with many people. The column of people and soldiers stretched from Kotic to Danilovgrad. Pavle Djuricic was also at the funeral.

We came to the cemetery, and Father Ljubo looked around and said, "This many people never came to see anyone!"

Over the grave of my father, Professor Milos Jovovic spoke, one of the most educated people in our village. Milos was the editor of Chetnik Ravna Gora organ 707. His son, Ranko Jovovic, was a well-known Serbian poet.

ON ROUGH SEAS

Several days after the funeral, an order came from General Staff to appoint a mission for negotiations with the English. Dusan Vlahovic, the former deputy governor of the Zeta region, was appointed as president of the mission and Jakov Jovovic as his deputy, also Father Ljubo, and me with them as a representative of the Chetnik youth.

In the beginning of September 1944, the delegation left for negotiations to Italy, but not all of us went. From Kotor, Father Ljubo returned to Kotic. Later he went on a scamper to Kocovski Rog. He didn't return.

First we went to Podgorica, and there, in the old part of the town, to Chetnik headquarters, located in the house of Zarija Filipovic, a teacher. Jakov Jovovic was his close friend. We were supposed to go to supreme headquarters, to see Pavle Djuricic, but we were told that Duke Pavle Djuricic was in a hospital in Krusevac. He was wounded by Partizans when he was returning from negotiations. He asked the Albanians to let his units pass peacefully over Albania, to Greece. Pavle Djuricic was supposed to give us documents for the trip.

We left Podgorica, to Cetinje, and later to Kotor. We spent two days in Kotor. There we met Captain Peterson, who was part of the mission to General Draza Mihajlovic. We traveled in a small boat, *Tender* was its name. The night we

sailed out there was a great storm, so we had to turn back. The storm was ferocious. We sailed out again, somehow got out of Kotorska Bay, but we couldn't go any further, the sea took us somewhere near Dubrovnik. When we saw that we had no other options, we decided to go ashore.

We sailed toward the coast, and the man piloting the boat came out of the engine room and told Jakov, "Captain, water's flooded the engine!" And then he cursed God.

Everyone jumped up: who is cursing God?

Someone shouted, "Throw the heathen into the sea!"

In that miserable storm, bounced around by the sea, we had all become religious.

And they would have thrown him overboard, if Captain Jakov Jovovic hadn't given an order on the deck.

"People, he has to get us to shore with this boat, and when we get there you can kill him, but for now, let's save him and ourselves!"

When we reached the shore, standing on dry land, we all forgot about his cursing, and about God.

When the weather changed, we sailed out again. But, instead of Bari—we had to cut through waves—we arrived at Taranto.

That was an awful voyage. When we saw the Italian coast someone shouted, "There, land!"

Just as we jumped up from happiness, others shouted, "Come on, people, those are just clouds!"

It was like Columbus' expedition to America.

When we went ashore, an American captain was waiting and took us to their club.

We were immediately offered dinner and, dead tired, we quickly fell sleep.

The next day, the American officer told us that the course of politics among the Allies had changed, and that we, the Chetniks, were now under the jurisdiction of the English. He directed us to Bari.

Thus from the evil path of war, I crossed to the path of an émigré.

At that time I didn't know that I wouldn't see my homeland again for the next fifty-five long years.

PART TWO

I HAD ONE ROSE

THE AMERICANS SENT US to the English. Our delegation reported to a base in Bari, and there we held discussions. Jakov Jovovic pretended not to know Italian, they brought a Jew to be an interpreter. Jakov halted the negotiations—the interpreter was lying about everything!

The interpreter apologized, the English officer apologized, and thus our “negotiations” ended. The English took us to some camp, five, six kilometers outside of Bari, I think it was Carbonari.

From Yugoslavia they started slandering us, all kinds of lies about us—even that we Chetniks were preparing an attack on the English when they landed on Adriatic Coast. And in all of that misery, the Russian mission got involved. The Russians demanded that Jakov and other members of the delegation should be arrested.

It was already the end of 1944. For the six months I was in the camp, they kept interrogating me. They knew more about me than I did. They asked me about my childhood, then they reminded me of things I skipped. They knew all kinds of details. Where did get their information from?

HE WHO SINGS DOESN'T FEEL LIKE SINGING

After six months they released me. I went to a camp near Lecce, where the Royal Navy was located, looking for Jakov and the others. There I found a colonel from Niksic, I learned from him that Jakov was in Rome. The colonel gave me money for the trip. In Rome we looked for Jakov, we found him in some sort of prison. We kissed each other as I asked him, "What are you doing here?"

"They hid me from the Russian mission, to prevent the Russians from extraditing me to the Communists in Yugoslavia."

He gave me the address of a woman in Rome, where some money from our mission was left. I was thinking, "Who in all of this confusion would save your money?" But the woman counted all of it for me. She was some honorable woman.

I went to see Jakov, I told him I did what he asked. I asked him what would we do next, and Jakov—started to sing! What was wrong with him? Had he gone nuts? I listened, and he was singing so the guards wouldn't understand him. I sat next to him, we started singing together.

"Theeere iiis ooone ooof ooour miisions iin Rome, loook theeere fooor soooome Ci - Ciganovic, hey!"

"Aaall riight!"

After that, they wouldn't let us see Jakov, so we "sang" over the fence.

I went to say goodbye to Jakov, when someone shouted, "Jovovic, Jovovic!"

"That's me."

They arrested me on the spot and put me in a camp with Jakov. I was there for about a month.

One day they brought some people from Serbia, from Stojadinovic's government,* some secretaries, nice people it seemed. They got to like me. I wrote some patriotic lyrics on a wall of the barracks, they read it and said, "Only a Montenegrin could write this kind of patriotic poetry!"

We found out that one person in that group was a commander of the Banjica camp. A criminal, murderer. A real rebellion broke out in the camp.

"We are patriots and national fighters, we don't want to be in the same place with criminals and murderers!"

The English started to negotiate with us. We accepted everything, even extradition to Yugoslavia, even to stand trial, but to be with the villains of

* Milan Stojadinovic, Foreign Minister and Prime Minister of the Royal Government between 1935 and 1939. Stojadinovic held several posts in the Nedic puppet régime during the war, escaping afterward to Argentina.

Banjica—no way!

The English accepted our terms, and housed the two groups separately.

JOSIP BROZ AND ZIVKO TOPALOVIC

After a month they released me. I contacted our mission in Rome, headed by Adam Pribicevic, a good man and a great Serb, who helped me a lot, and not just me.

He was the brother of a Serbian politician from Croatia, Vlado Pribicevic, who was even a prime minister in some sort of Serb-Croat coalition.

Adam also had his party before the war, during the war he wrote a lot about the Ustase's crimes...

I also met Zivko Topalovic, the former president of the Socialist Party and the Socialist International. He was a very respectable man. He tried to contact Tito, who was supposed to receive him when he flew from Vis to Italy, and Zivko told me to get ready, to go with him as an escort. And we went to those negotiations, but Tito didn't wait, he had departed suddenly for the Soviet Union.

In Rome I also met an extraordinary man, Misa Popovic, a medical student, a dedicated revolutionary. Intelligent, educated, a great speaker, passionate, resourceful... He switched through all of our armies during the war. He was a Communist, and went from the Partizans to Chetniks, he was with Nedic, then with Ljotic.

"Money, money, money, and then the whole world!" Misa quoted Napoleon. And continued, "And I always said to Serbs: unity, unity, unity, and then the whole world!"

I got a job then in Rescamp 56 as a quartermaster, I saw to it that Misa got a job there as well.

He told me how, once, with Sekula Drljevic,* he went to see Ante Pavelic.

WHEN I DECIDED TO KILL PAVELIC

We heard that Pavelic too was in Italy, and Misa suggested that the two of us

* Sekula Drljevic, a leader in the Montenegrin separatist movement during the war.

should try to find him, and kill him.

Misa took me to some meetings, dance parties with the English. I met his wife, who worked for the Intelligence Service center in Rome. Through his wife Misa joined them too. Then they started recruiting me.

We talked about it, we asked if the English would help us find Pavelic, that we were prepared to kill him. Misa's wife told our story to some Jews she knew, since the center was crowded with Jews. They invited us over and asked if we could transport a Jewish woman from Austria across the border to Italy.

We made a deal: if we did that, then they would help us find Pavelic. We heard he was in the Vatican, but now they had moved him to a convent.

They accepted the proposal.

Wearing English uniforms, we got to the border, stayed around there, there were various armies there—English, French... We met some French soldiers, talked about the friendship between the Serbs and the French from the first war. Thus, the French agreed to help get our Jewish woman over the border, we should only have to look for them at the border crossing... That turned out pretty well, mostly because Misa spoke French fluently. All of that happened in Bolzano in 1947.

We found the Jewish woman in a hotel. She was the wife of some high official, and they tried to get her across the border twice before, and failed. And now, she didn't want to come with us, she had lost all confidence. We managed somehow to persuade her to come with us, everything went as planned, but some French policeman came by, or whatever he was. She was turned back, they wanted to arrest us, but those French soldiers saved us, they returned us to Italy. We were angry and bitter because we didn't make it, we sat in a bar at the Italian border. And everything would have finished well, but Misa was restless, got into an argument with some policemen. I couldn't calm him down, there was trouble, Misa wanted to fight with the policemen, they arrested us, they tried Misa...

"Fine," I thought, "now they'll take us to Rome, where the Intelligence Service will save us," but they locked us up in a local prison instead.

Damn! No more fooling around, now we're really in trouble.

Some woman came by there to clean up, I started to talk to her and showed her some money. If she goes to my friend Ljubo Kovacevic—we lived together—and told him about our situation, I would give her some money. Ljubo knew enough to get us back to the English. But, I told her to ask Ljubo his father's name and to tell it to me—to make sure she didn't trick me.

She came the next day, shouting, “Radonj, Radonj!”

Ljubo’s father’s name was Radonja. I gave her the money. The English intervened and released us.

However, the deal with those Jews was off, because we failed to complete our part of it. That is how my first attempt to track down Pavelic failed.

I wouldn’t step on his tail again until Argentina, through a certain DiFranchesci, a journalist.

But, lets back to Italy.

IN THE USTASE CAMP

After that affair, they took us to Sicily, by train to Calabria, then to the island of Lipari. On that island, in that same camp, the Ustase had been trained to destroy the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Lipari was very crowded, people from everywhere, difficult conditions.

On the second or third night I heard from somewhere, in the distance, from land, a train. And a song. Serbian. Some Serb was singing with a clear, strong voice coming over the sea. He was singing that old song from the Banat.

*I had one rose,
one rose, the flower of May.
I pinned it to my chest,
for the whole world to see.
But one night in May,
the wind blew, a storm blew,
It ripped away my rose’s petals
I was left with a naked stem.*

I listened, sorrow grabbed me by the throat... for my native village, for homeland.

Misa asked, “Can you hear this, Blagoje?”

I couldn’t answer, a groan came out of my chest, my eyes were full of tears.

I could still hear, from even greater distance:

“I had one rose...”

The whistle of a locomotive, a dark and a deaf night in foreign land...

SUGARCOATED HUNGER STRIKE

Fine. We decided to start a hunger strike. I said that we should buy a bag of sugar, secretly mix it with the water—we'd last longer that way. And I smuggled a letter to Jakov Jovovic, to inform the public of how many political prisoners there were on Lipari, under what kind of conditions we were living—that so many years after the war, in Europe, there were still concentration camps.

There were a lot of Ljotic supporters in that camp. Misa went to them, and there was a real Serbian scene. There, in the camp, we started to turn on each other, as if we didn't share the same fate. They attacked Draza, I defended him. Misa got involved in the argument.

"You Chetniks were a common mob and cannon fodder! Ljotic was a gentleman, a politician and an intellectual!"

He bit me for my soul. I never wanted to speak to him again after that.

Even though we didn't speak, one day Misa sent me a note that the English had intervened, that they would release the two of us, that an airplane was coming for us, to go to England, to learn the language there and that we would be assigned somewhere in the Intelligence Service.

I didn't want to go.

Misa sent me a note:

Blagoje Jovovic, if I was ever a friend to someone in my life, it was to you. I loved you as a comrade, as a brother, I never deceived you. And you don't have to trust me for anything, but just trust me on this. I, Misa Popovic, a ruined man, who was a member of the Party, because of whom his wife suffered when they interned her because of me, and my child died, I who left the Party, went to Duke Djujic, then to Nedic, then to Ljotic, who was with Sekula Drljevic... Believe me, Blagoje Jovovic, I am totally ruined, but believe me that I like you, don't be mad at me, please.

I replied:

You were my friend, but I don't want to see you ever again. You or your Intelligence Service!

And an airplane came. Misa left, I stayed in the camp.

I was stubborn, rough, young... I would have forgiven him now. Poor Misa, I don't know what happened to him later.

CHURCHILL WAS ANGRY WITH ME

Jakov Jovovic and his friends managed to do something after all. There was a lot of publicity in the press about the camp on Lipari, and they told me I would be released. What would we do then? We would be able to leave Italy, as immigrants. Whoever wants to. I also got a message from Jakov Jovovic, telling me I should go to Argentina, that I would travel with him, that I wouldn't have to wait my turn.

They released us. I went by boat to Rimini, there was some sort of athletic competition between the Allies. As if the English, again, considered us their allies. I applied for the high jump, I was always a good jumper. My result was about 170 centimeters.

Some Polish man was the best. Misin was his name. 175.

I watched the others jump, I saw it's important to bend your legs a little at one moment, then the jump is higher. I crossed myself and jumped. 178. First place.

The next day again. Competition in Riccona, with Polish, Bulgarians, Germans, Hungarians—everyone who was in captivity. That Polish man again. He jumped 173, and I 179!

An English major approached me. He asked me where I'm from. He spoke Serbian well.

I said that I was a Serb from Montenegro. He introduced himself to me. "Randolph Churchill."

The son of Winston Churchill! He said that he was in our country during the war. He introduced me to a Russian, also a major, an intelligence officer. They took me to have a drink. I sat with them. They started to quaff whiskey, they

offered me some, but I don't drink.

"What kind of a Serb are you when you don't drink?!" Churchill was angry with me.

You couldn't tell which one of them quaffed more, he or that Russian.

AND TITO WAS A GOOD BUDDY

I wanted to leave, but Churchill didn't let me.

"Why are you mad at me?"

"I know what you did in Yugoslavia!"

"My father is mad at me too," Major Churchill said.

He was on a mission to Draza, and they were strictly reserved with him, canny, official. He had the impression that they were hiding something from him. Later, with Tito, everything was different—whisky, singing, women... Tito was a good buddy!

"Don't tell me the Partizans didn't fight the Germans," he said. "I was in Drvar, Tito barely saved his neck there!"*

He made a toast to me. They were drinking. They were drinking so much that after an hour or two, they both passed out on the table. The Englishman snored, the Russian hiccuped, an empty bottle between them.

I asked the waiter when the next train for Rome left. I sneaked out.

"Goodbye, Major, butcher of the Serbs! I'm glad I met the man who sold my people out for a double whisky without ice!"

A PATRIOTIC MISSION FOR THE BEAUTIFUL CACA

In Rome I heard that Dr. Vlahovic had been arrested, from our mission, along with Bora Novakovic.

I paid a visit to them. They were very worried. Could I find out if they would be extradited to Tito, or if they would be released?

"If it's dangerous for us," Novakovic told me, "you just yell over the fence—

* Reference to a German operation against Partizan headquarters in Drvar when paratroopers nearly captured Tito, who escaped through the back of a cave.

'Jakov!' And if it's all right—'Mira!'"

"Mira? Who is Mira?"

"I'm Mira."

When he was a little boy, he had curly hair, he was as pretty as a girl, so they called him "Mira."

There was also a Chetnik major, Rakocevic. His wife was really beautiful.

Caca was her name. From Cetinje, of the Matanovici, her father had a pharmacy before the war. That major made the English go nuts. In the middle of a drinking party he would tell his wife to get on a table and show her legs. For Caca they sold the Commonwealth, Churchill and their queen in the bargain. I went to see Caca.

Caca made a lot of deals to help Serbs with the English.

Pretty Caca took me to see some colonel. The Englishman looked at me like a butcher, jealously, he had a crush on Caca like a schoolboy. She calmed him down, said that I was her cousin, from an aunt. Yeah, right—from a male aunt...

"So, how many Allied soldiers did this... cousin of yours kill?" the colonel asked cynically.

"Well, he was a Chetnik under Draza Mihajlovic, they didn't kill Allies!" Caca charmingly pouted at him. The Chetniks never had a prettier defender.

We found out from him that our men would be deported to Germany. Not good! Definitely not good!

THE GREAT ESCAPE

I sat down by the fence of the prison, holding a book and pretending to read. I only hoped that those moving around there didn't ask me anything. I saw "Mira" was being taken by the guards for a walk.

"Jakov!" I yelled.

A guard asked me in English what I was yelling about. I pretended not to understand. And Boro told me through the fence that they were taking him for a haircut, he would try to escape, it was over near the gate. They took him away. I waited, maybe I could help him.

It sounds like a naïve plan, but that prison was inside of a military academy, and at the gate there was always a crowd of people. If you can get in the crowd,

they can't shoot at you, and the gate was always crowded.

I saw Boro running through the gate. A guard was shouting behind him in Serbian, "Stop, I'll get court martialled because of you!"

"You should run too then!" Boro shouted back.

A patrol was running after him. I stood at the gate.

They caught me, and asked, "Novakovic?"

I nodded my head, they took my documents.

"Jovicic? Jovicic?!"

I just nodded my head, like an idiot. They pushed me away, and went to look for Boro... but Boro was already gone.

I went home, Boro was there, happy he escaped. Later I noticed that all my things were gone. The English had taken them. And my passport? Boro took out my passport, he saved it!

DOES SERBIA HAVE A SEA?

Later I stayed with Slavko Velasevic, from Danilovgrad. I was waiting for a boat to Argentina. A new life. I almost never went out, avoiding trouble.

The landlady had a young daughter. She walked through the house every morning, in a transparent nightgown, singing. We stayed together one morning, and... We were in bed when her brother walked in. He forgot something.

I thought, "There's going to be blood now..." But he just apologized and walked out. I thought I was going to fall into the ground out of shame.

I stayed there for about a month. We boarded a ship. Mr. Jakov Jovicic, and two companions—me and Slavko Velesevic. Slavko didn't give me a moment of peace, he kept teasing me about my love adventure.

They took us to some third class ship hall and fifty people were crammed inside. We met a painter, who paid for us to move to first class.

We sailed out of Genoa in September 1947. With us, to Argentina, into emigration, sailed one of Pavelic's ministers, Dr. Ivan Jelic.

He was taken to the same table in the dining room as us. Suddenly a heavy argument broke out. Jelic, when we were introduced to him, moaned, "O, my Serbian allies!"

Jakov wanted to beat him up. "You won't sit at the same table as us, you ser-

vant of the Fascists! How can we be allies? While you licked German butts in Zagreb saloons, I bled in combat against the Fascists and the Communists!"

The captain intervened, Domingo was his name. He threatened to put both of them in the brig, that he would leave them at the next port-of-call. Jakov calmed down a little.

Music was playing in the saloon. Jakov took a microphone and began to sing.

"There far away, far away from sea, there is my village..." And then as loud as he could: "*There is Serbia!*"

People had no idea what he was singing, they applauded. Jakov wrote the lyrics down for them in Spanish and Italian. And Jelic with a red face approached the captain to protest because Croatia was being insulted in song.

"How can that be?" The captain didn't understand.

"Well, Serbia never had a sea!"

"Huh?!" The captain shrugged his shoulders, he thought Jelic was ranting. As if he could understand our Balkan rubbish.

In Buenos Aires we were welcomed by our former ambassador, Domnikovic. Goodbye, Europe. *Buenos dias, Argentina!*

RUNNING AWAY FROM THE PAST

A man from Boka invited us to stay at his hotel until we could manage on our own. But we stayed there only one night, the hotel was full of Ustase. Did we sail across the ocean so that we could socialize with Ustase? We went to a boarding house, the owner was Montenegrin. It was, I remember, on the corner of Livadia and Moreno streets. My first Argentinean address.

That Montenegrin owned a chair factory, I got a job there instantly.

I met a Russian actor, we were drinking in a bar, and one of his friends approached me when he heard Serbian, he asked me if I could write. And he gave me a job in bookkeeping for his firm, where the most people were from Dalmatia. They were cutting marble. I wrote for a little money, they cut marble for a lot. I wanted to work with machines too. Afterwards I cemented marble on facades, made stairs... From one flight of stairs I made enough money for three months of living.

I met a poet and writer, Dusan Petkovic. He was a friend of Colonel

Kusovac, who used to be our military representative in Spain.

Kusovac knew a brother of Evita Peron well. Evita's brother offered Petkovic and me a job in the jungle for an electric company, 1,350 kilometers away from Buenos Aires.

We were introduced to Evita Peron then.

Petkovic asked, "Are there any Indians in that jungle?"

"There are, there are, Indians are good people!"

"Well, I guess you don't need Serbs for that job then!" Petkovic answered.

We turned it down, although the job paid well.

I found an ad in the papers for a sailor, six months apprenticeship and training. They took my first salary for a uniform.

Some Dalmatian worked as a waiter, so I asked him about his salary, I wanted to be a waiter too. There were all kinds of people in that business. Senior German officers were especially appreciated as waiters because of their elegance and manners... I worked in Mar Del Plata, every *temporada*. That's one season, which lasted six months.

I didn't want to take tips. Everybody found that strange, some guests took my address and they sent me tips by mail when they returned home from vacation. I earned a lot of money.

With the Zivkovic brothers I opened up a restaurant near a car junkyard, where thousands of people passed every day. We made a lot of money one season, and the other... nothing. They closed the entrance to the junkyard, connected it on the other side with a highway, a desert, nobody came in anymore.

I got a job on a river boat, which from the Plata River to the Parana River sailed to the capital of Paraguay. I sailed until November, then they said we had to go ashore. The boat wouldn't sail anymore, the water level had fallen.

Then I got a job as a clerk... I had already saved up some money and the three of us partners bought a hotel. I became a *hotelero*, I was doing fine.

And then the past caught up with me. You can't run away from the past. I heard Pavelic was in Argentina. My blood started to boil. I remembered how I planned with Misa to kill him.

PART THREE

TWO BULLETS FOR PAVELIC

I WAS A HOTELERO, A very successful one.

One day I bought a few newspapers and read an article by one of our journalists. That was Jose DiFranchesci, a Croat from Istria, he was a great Yugoslav and the president of the Association of Yugoslavs in Argentina.

DiFranchesci wrote that Pavelic was in Argentina, that he arrived dressed as a Franciscan priest, under a false name, that he was close to Peron, that he allied his Ustase with a criminal organization, and that he was doing dirty work for the régime—blackmail, terrorism, destroying the opposition.

In that article, Jose DiFranchesci wrote about how Pavelic was a parliamentary deputy in the former Yugoslavia, how he seized power as Mussolini's protégé, how he gave away Dalmatia to the Italians and Baranja to the Hungarians, how he killed more than 700,000 Serbs, 30,000 Jews... And he concluded by stating that Pavelic now lived in Buenos Aires, surrounded by Ustase bodyguards, a free man, that he brought a lot of money robbed from Serbs and Jews in Jasenovac.

When I read that, I could not calm down.

I went to my partners—the three of us owned the hotel together. I told them that I would be away for two or three days in Buenos Aires, to find my journalist.

I met DiFranchesci, I asked him how he found out that Pavelic was here, and he told me, "Well, that's not a secret, Pavelic moves freely and doesn't hide at all." He gave me another one of his articles.

I started reading.

One Yugoslav terrorist organization is being charged with organizing crimes throughout Argentina. That organization worked for the authorities of the now overthrown régime. Leaders of this organization are on the run and hiding.

He said, "This is about Pavelic's Ustase triads." I read further.

These are dark days in Buenos Aires, since its citizens have to fear each day because of terrorists and terrorist gangs that threaten the opposition parties. Many Yugoslav immigrants belong to these organizations. Veteran warriors, these people participated in World War II, they formed gangs, well-armed and well-trained, loyal to their leaders, in which strict military discipline rules, and which organize terrorist actions according to military tactics and strategies.

Further in the article, there was information about Ante Pavelic's activities in Argentina and his significance in helping the dictator Peron. I also read that the Croatian criminal was hiding for awhile under the name "Fabio," and that the documents he brought with him to Argentina bore that name.

I asked DiFranchesci where Pavelic was living.

He told me that he lived in a town 20 kilometers away from Buenos Aires, where, in one elite block, he had constructed buildings and luxuriant villas for himself and his men. All of this was confirmed by Jovo Hanjevic, an old émigré from Podgorica. He told to me how there's about a hundred big villas there, mostly the residences of pilots, and—the best he could—he described the position of Pavelic's own villa.

I decided to go there and check all that out myself.

But first, I had to prepare. I went back to Mar Del Plata and sold my share of the hotel—I knew I would need a lot of money.

THE CRIMINAL SURROUNDED BY PILOTS

I started to grow a mustache, I bought glasses and put them on, even though I never liked wearing them. And half-disguised, I went there, to that town, to see where Pavelic's house was located.

I walked around a little, then sat in a restaurant. I ordered a drink and started to talk with a waiter—"This is a pretty pilot town," and so on—and then I asked, "Are there any Croats around, is it true some Croats live nearby?" Of course, I asked him that in Spanish.

The owner of the restaurant approached me, very politely, and said, "Yes, there are three houses nearby."

He walked me out of the restaurant and showed me. He also added how some great Croatian man was living there, their leader from the world war. And he pointed out the house with his hand.

I started roaming around that block. I was walking from house to house, looking at the other buildings in the neighborhood. I came back two more days and I looked around.

All of the time I thought, "Look at this criminal, look how well he lives! The pretty house he built from Serbian and Jewish blood!"

ON THE CORNER OF CORIENTES AVENUE

I went back to DiFranchesci to talk with him a little more, and then I went to see Jovan Hanjevic. Hanjevic told me that he knew where the Croatian Ustase gathered, in a certain restaurant. And that Pavelic came in there almost every day. I asked he if he would be ready to show him to me.

We went to have a drink in that restaurant. Later I went there alone a couple of times and I was sure: indeed Ustase gathered there.

Jovan pointed at one of them and whispered, "That one is Pavelic!"

That same day I decided to buy a revolver. However, in Argentina, when you buy weapons, they immediately write down your name in a book and register you. I postponed the purchase, I didn't want my name on any list of armed men. I would find a weapon on the black market instead.

I rented a room in Buenos Aires. A man named Marjanovic offered me work,

so I became the manager of a nightclub. I worked there for several months, asking around about Pavelic, groping through the Croat émigrés... One evening the consul from the Yugoslav Embassy dropped in with his wife.

"Is that you, Veljko?"

It was him. My school buddy, Veljko Cipovic.

Every now and then, I went to the restaurant on the corner of Corientes and Kajao, where the Ustase gathered. It was a big, busy, modern restaurant.

FOR MONEY OR FOR THE PEOPLE

A few days later Hanjevic came to me and suggested that we should write to Chetniks in America and Canada.

"Why?"

"To let them know we are preparing to kill Pavelic and ask them to send us money!"

I told him that it was out of the question. I had money, I sold my share of the hotel. But he was persistent.

"We'll write to Serbian National Defense, they are all great patriots and rich men."

He mentioned Djujic, Jevdjevic, Jovan Djonovic... They would send us money.

I told him I wasn't going to do it for money. I wanted to kill the greatest butcher of the Serbs, I wanted to avenge Serbian victims, and I would do that because I'm a Serb, I would do that for my people. But not for money!

He kept on insisting—"We have to make money on Pavelic. What will we make money on if not this?"

To buy him for myself I offered him to get him an Argentine passport, because I had received Argentine citizenship in 1956.

He explained how he had volunteered in 1942 to go to war in Yugoslavia.

The government-in-exile was in Cairo, Hanjevic went there, saw how it was done, and quit. When he came back to Argentina, he barely had anything. His wife had married another man.

"I did all of that out of patriotism, and when I came back none of our people would even lend me ten dollars!"

He had a daughter, but she was a story herself. He was unhappy and bitter. He kept saying how he did everything for Serbdom, and he got nothing for it.

“Blagoje, I am supposed to do something for Serbdom again, I am supposed to take chances, which means that I should get something for it! If there’s no money I won’t do it!”

I WILL SLIT PAVELIC’S THROAT

Afterward, I went to see Vlado Ivanisevic, a man from Cetinje, a great nationalist and anti-Communist, whom I met in Italy, in Rome.

“Vlado, I’d like to talk to you.”

I told him I had found Pavelic, I was following him, I was planning to do something.

He understood everything. The two of us searched for Pavelic in 1950 and decided he should be killed. That’s why I went to him. But he surprised me.

“You know how it is... I have a wife and a daughter, if I get killed or locked away, who will support them? I don’t have any money, neither do you.”

Vlado worked in a construction yard, he lived hard and I understood him. Later he helped me a lot, with everything.

I went to see Milan Gacesa, a man from Lika. A good man, not very smart though. He liked to gamble, so I often lent him money. When he promised to pay me back, he gave it back the day he said he would. He told me how the Ustase killed his father, relatives, many friends. Later he went to take his revenge... He had dreams, hallucinations... As the experts would say, the consequences of war trauma.

“God forbid, if I would ever meet an Ustase, I would instantly... I would finish him off with a knife...” he would often say.

And now, when I told him that I knew where Pavelic is hiding, Milan jumped.

“I will slit his throat! I will throw his head into the Argentine government building!”

“Now, hold on for just a minute, Milan, this is the twentieth century, we are in a foreign country, it can’t be done like that...” I tried to calm him down.

“Have you ever killed a man with a knife?” he asked me.

I was shooting during the war and I was a good fighter, I don't know if I killed anyone... but with a knife? I can't even slit a chicken's throat.

I told him it would be easy to kill Pavelic, but it would take a lot of skill to kill him and not get caught. I gave him some money. We met a few times, and I promised him that after the assassination I would buy him an airline ticket—to hide in some neighboring country. I forgave him for what he owed me. Thus, Milan calmed down and started to listen to me...

THIS PAVELIC DOESN'T LOOK LIKE PAVELIC

I left my job in the nightclub, and started working at the Continental Insurance Company.

I was an agent. I insured factories, companies, cars, and when I was done with my work, I went to that restaurant and filled out all of the forms. And I looked for anything suspicious. The man I was told was Pavelic didn't look like Pavelic at all. I looked at Pavelic from old photographs: dark, young, strong. And this one was some old man, with gray hair, and a gray mustache. I'm looking at his ear in photographs and the man in front of me. By the shape of his ear I'd say—yeah, that's him, that loose lobe, that one roll. But then again... I had to be sure, I wouldn't want to kill the wrong man.

Milan told me, "I might be able to recognize him, but my sister would know for sure."

Milan's sister Mileva lived in Zagreb, she was married to a Croatian official, she saw Pavelic at a few receptions.

I took Milan to see Pavelic, would he be able to recognize him?

When he saw him he jumped as if he was mad! "Wait, you fool, you will ruin everything, calm down!"

I went outside—if the fool gave himself up, at least he wouldn't blow my cover.

The next day I took Mileva there. I didn't tell her anything. She looked around the restaurant.

"There, that man with gray hair!"

We had coffee. "Don't look over there," I tell Mileva. "Don't draw attention to us."

Fine!

Milan said he'll do it, he had a gun too, but the problem was my gun. Mileva said she had a revolver, lady-sized, she brought it in a white case. She would give it to me cheap, for the price she bought it.

I bought the gun, it was really cheap.

THE WAY MY SISTER SAYS

I walked around Pavelic's house with Milan, and we made a plan. We would kill him in front of his house, where he felt more at ease and where he was less cautious.

Then, the next day, Milan took me aside.

"You know, my sister says you have a lot of money. She told me to ask for five thousand dollars from you, to leave to my daughter in case something happens to me."

"Milan, I don't have five thousand dollars!"

"My sister said that if you don't have the money, we won't do business!"

"But, Milan..."

"There's no buts... Blagoje, it has to be the way my sister says!"

"Well, what else does your sister say?"

"That you got a lot of money from Chetniks in America, to kill Pavelic!"

I had that damn five thousand dollars, but I could see that "the way my sister says" would never end.

LJOTIC SUPPORTER WHO CAN'T SHOOT

I gave him some money in case the fool got angry with me. For all I knew, he could have turned me in, anything could have been expected from that fool!

I had to look for someone else. I considered Dusan Petkovic. Dusan was a Ljotic supporter.

I would have done it alone, but Pavelic was always accompanied by one of his officers. I needed a man who would shoot that officer and I would shoot Pavelic.

I asked Dusan.

“How, Blagoje, when I don’t know how to shoot at all?”

A few days later, in that Ustase restaurant, I was approached by a man who asked me, in Italian, if I was from Trieste.

I looked at him and snapped, “No, I’m from Udine. And who are you to interrogate me? Please leave me alone, can’t you see I’m busy!”

I was rude so he wouldn’t ask me anything else. The man left me to fill out my forms, but I could see—I would have to hurry up, I’d become suspicious, people would start asking questions, they’d find out who I was, if I hesitated too much, everything would go to hell.

NO HEROES FOR BATTLE

I went to a reception at Sava Ratkovic’s home.

Sava owned galleries and was a very rich man, he was into politics, he was a Peronista. He asked me to get into politics too, but I didn’t want that, I was fed up with politics even when I was back in Montenegro. Ratkovic was a minister in a province in Argentina, then a deputy in parliament. He had a lot of money, but he liked to drink a lot too.

When his guests left, I approached him.

“Sava, do you know who Ante Pavelic was?”

“Come on, brother...”

“Was he a criminal?”

“Why do you ask me such a thing? Of course, he was a butcher...”

“And what would you do to help punish that butcher of the Serbian people?”

“Whatever it takes!” he exclaimed, adding, “You know I’m crazy when I get drunk!”

Indeed, he was crazy when he was drunk.

I told him everything.

“Let’s go over there and beat him up good, let’s hit him with a bottle over the head... But to shoot him, to kill him—I can’t do that, I’m not that type! I’m already an old man...”

“All right, but if someone younger wanted to do it, would you lend him a revolver?”

"I would, Blagoje! But, my revolver is registered..."

I could see how it was—there were no heroes for battle.

A PRIEST WITH LADY-SIZED REVOLVER

A little disappointed, I went to see our priest, who was sent to Argentina by Patriarch Gavriilo Dozic when he was in Rome. Father Ljubo Jovovic had been assigned to that church, but he didn't accept the position, and stayed in Kosic.

The priest was young, just ordained. Most people in his parish were loan-sharks for King Nikola, who planted cotton. It was at the same time both a Russian and a Serbian Orthodox church. This church was consecrated to Holy Trinity, but they called it the "Russian Church" since the Czar had sent money for it to our people. Both a Serbian and a Russian priest served there.

"Father, I've decided to kill Pavelic!"

He behaved as if I'd told him "good day." He asked me immediately—did I have a gun?

Suddenly the Russian priest appeared, and Father introduced me to him. "This is the man who will kill Pavelic!" and he told him everything.

I felt uncomfortable. Already half of Argentina knew! None of our people can keep a secret.

The priest told me, "Don't worry, no other Russian will hear of this!"

Then he asked to see my revolver.

"Let me try it to see if it's any good."

The priest went down to the basement, where he had some dry wood and took me and the Russian priest there.

He took the revolver, aimed at a piece of wood, fired two bullets and said, "This revolver is no good at all!"

I asked why.

He showed me the wood. "The first bullet didn't even enter the wood, and the second... barely."

It was the lady-sized revolver, and I saw myself its barrel was a little burned out.

"Fine, if it's no good, do you, Father, have a better one?"

"No, I don't."

"All right, then." I told him not to worry. "I will shoot him from two or three meters away and this revolver will have to do since we don't have a better one. From close range every bullet kills! If God allows, I will walk up to him and shoot him in the head."

"Be calm and do it like a man!" the priest told me.

I liked a revolver better than a rifle. A rifle could always jam. And then everything would be over, everything would be ruined. But a revolver—if one bullet doesn't do it, the other will, and you can always finish him off.

BROTHER, I'M YOUR MAN

When I came out of the church I went quickly to the promenade and met Hanjevic there. An old man, he walked around there all the time to look at the young girls, which was why we called him "Balja's rooster."

Hanjevic approached me and said, "Blagoje, I found you a fateful comrade and a great friend for that business of yours."

"Who is it?" I asked him.

"Milo Krivokapic."

Milo Krivokapic lived with me for four years. A man from Cetinje, the son of Colonel Bajo Krivokapic. He lived in a colony of our people who planted cotton, but he didn't like to work. I knew he was a brave man.

We went to Milo's place and I told him everything. I asked him if he would be ready for action, and he agreed instantly. "Brother, I'm your man!"

However, I started to think about that a little, something about Milo was bothering me, and then I remembered the story of Jakov Jovovic. Jakov planned the assassination of Peko Dapcevic, when Peko came to Argentina. He gave Milo Krivokapic money and a gun to do it, but Milo went to the police and turned himself in.

The police arrested both of them but, since Jakov was a well-known and respectable citizen, and the Argentine authorities were anti-Communist, everything was covered up, and they released them both a couple of hours later.

I told Milo that I remembered how it was with Jakov and Peko Dapcevic. "Don't let that happen again!"

He swore to me. "No, brother, never... This Pavelic is a criminal and he

killed more Serbs than all Communists together... I support your idea of killing him, I will not betray you!"

I told him the plan and we went to the restaurant so that Milo could see Pavelic and his bodyguard, whom he would shoot.

"How are we going to do it?" Milo asked.

I explained that we couldn't do it in the restaurant. We would be caught. If we were follow him into the bathroom—a shot must not be heard there, and I can't slit his throat!

We couldn't kill him in the subway either, some of the passengers would get hurt.

"I thought, my good Milo, that we should do it in front of his home. He goes home by train and then by bus, and one part of the road from the station to his home goes through a park. There we'll do it! In front of the gate of his house! I will shoot Pavelic, and you will shoot the officer with him."

Milo was very enthusiastic about it. He accepted everything. He liked the plan.

For several days we went over the route on which Pavelic moved, from the restaurant to the train station, and from the train station to the bus station, and then we remained at the last station and scouted the route over which Pavelic moved with binoculars.

Later we followed Pavelic together. We would sit behind him and when he left we would go after him. We even planned where to run after we killed him. Milo accepted everything.

STORIES OF DRUNKEN USTASE

I was working on the details, every day I went to the restaurant, I listened to what the Ustase talked about. It's hard to believe how many disgusting things I heard from them.

They bragged about their horrible stories from war.

Two of them are sitting, and you can't tell which one is more drunk. The first one talks about how they killed Serbs throughout Slavonia and dumped them into the Sava River. The other starts in with a story how they met a Serbian woman who was pregnant. They asked her, "Are you carrying a boy or a girl?"

She said she doesn't know. "Would you like us to tell you?" They made a bet for ten bottles of beer whether it's a boy or a girl, they took a knife... You can't even imagine what disgusting things they talked about.

I almost went mad when I listened that.

Then how they threw people into pits in Herzegovina, how they raped...

I followed Pavelic, sat close to him and his bodyguard—Jure was his name—and listened to everything they said, they talked freely here, they knew nobody could understand them on the train.

Pavelic asked him where he was wounded, and Jure mentioned some place, in Slavonia I think. But how, when there was no fighting there?

"I entered a Serbian house and saw a woman there," Jure said, "pretty, a real lady. I ordered her into the bedroom. She didn't want to. I pushed her and said—'I won't touch your children.' And then she went.

"I threw her on a bed and it was good... I do it and leave. I came back the next day. In the yard I saw a young girl, fifteen or sixteen years old. Even prettier and taller than the lady. I take her hand and head straight to the bedroom. But, the lady screams—'Can't you see she's just a child?' Just as I undressed the girl and threw her on the bed, the lady came in with a rifle. She fires two bullets, hits my leg, breaks a bone... My soldiers killed her immediately, and took me to a hospital, but—my leg is shorter now."

Everything was turning over... I thought, "I will shorten your head as well!"

And then I heard, it was on April 5, 1957, that a great celebration of the anniversary of the Independent State of Croatia was being prepared.

Well, you won't celebrate it this year, not while I'm alive!

THE POGLAVNIK'S HYPNOTIZING GAZE

Milo and I went on our assignment, checking every detail, when Milo, shivering, suddenly tells me, "Brother, he hypnotized me!"

"What do you mean, Milo, when you didn't speak a word with him?"

"He confused me," he says. "I don't feel well, I'm all sort of confused..."

"How can that be?"

"Well, can't you see how stares at us, hypnotizes us?"

Indeed, Pavelic would scrutinize everyone who entered the train or bus. He

would always sit in a corner and fix his gaze on whoever passed by.

I tell Milo, "Fine! Don't look into his eyes anymore then."

I explained to him how I, when I enter, put my glasses on, first look at Pavelic, and then at everyone else, pass by and sit. "You do it that way too!"

I decided that today was the day. But Milo begged me to postpone it. He wasn't ready.

All right, fine, one day won't change anything. I told Milo to go home, and not to look at him anymore, and I went to follow Pavelic.

And in the bus I sat on the seat next to him. And he talked to his bodyguard how his greatest success was that at that celebration, on April 10th, there would be "representatives of two Orthodox states—Romania and Armenia." I followed Pavelic to his home and then ran back to Milo. I told him we had three more days and nights to do this. Milo says he's ready. Tomorrow evening? Fine.

SHOOT, KILL—THAT'S NOT SO EASY

The next day we got on the train, and then on the bus. We mingled among the people, it was very crowded. We stood in front of Pavelic on the bus. Milo whispered to me, "There, he's staring at me again!"

"Come on, he stares at everyone, Milo brother, don't look at him and everything will be fine."

"Something's ringing inside of my head and ears!" Milo said.

"Fine," I told him. "We'll leave it, Milo, for tomorrow, but tomorrow is the day before the last!"

The next day I told Milo, "Today is April 7th, remember well." And he was quiet, he avoided looking at me.

Lets go. April the Eighth. I told Milo, "Get in first!" I sat in a free seat and sent Milo to pay for the tickets, and saved him a seat next to mine.

When we were supposed to get out, I told Milo, "Lets go!"

And I took Milo to the exit of the bus, and there were some twenty people behind him waiting to get out. I got out and went after Pavelic. As I was walking, I turned around to say something to Milo.

He wasn't there. In that crowd, when he saw me get out, Milo stayed on the bus to another station.

I went mad, I was nervous. I didn't sleep well in those days, I had jitters, I could only think about how this assassination must succeed. I saw Milo was nowhere to be found, and I said to myself, "All right, I have one more night, tomorrow evening I'll go alone, whatever happens."

Later I saw Milo, who told me, "Brother, don't count on me, I really can't do it, I'm confused and I can only be a burden to you."

I was very angry. I even threatened him. "Be careful, Milo, don't let what happened with Jakov Jovovic and Peko Dapcevic happen again! To go along, and then spill everything to the police!"

And I bluffed, "If you turn me in, my cousin, Dujo, will kill you! Don't gamble with your head!"

We went our separate ways. That was on April 8th.

I went home knowing that the next evening was my last chance—April 9, 1957—and there was no more hiding from the word I gave to myself, even if I got killed.

D-DAY

The next day I went to the station, and who's there but Milo?

I was angry and asked, "Why did you come to demoralize me? I'm finishing the job tonight, I don't need you!"

"Tonight I won't look at Pavelic, I'll be behind him and I'll be with you," Milo told me, saying that tonight, everything will be fine.

I left, not even listening to Milo, the whole time pictures of today's events in the Ustase restaurant running through my head. They brought leaflets, signs, they were distributing posters, preparing everything, because tomorrow there would be a great celebration. And, I swore, Pavelic won't be alive.

We got onto the bus. We sat together again. Pavelic, if there wasn't a free seat in the back of the bus, would sit behind the driver. When we came to the last station, I told Milo to walk in front of me. This time, he got out amid that crowd of people. But when we came close to the road to Pavelic's house, Milo was gone!

The coward, where did he go?

I'd made up my mind and there was no turning back. I followed the two of them and I was thinking about how close to them I had to be, how much time I

had to shoot Pavelic, to shoot his bodyguard. And if I would be able to kill Pavelic with a single bullet.

I was walking, I got closer and closer to them, I could hear them talking. At that moment I crossed myself and prayed to God and Saint Vasilije of Ostrog.

Just as I crossed myself, I heard his bodyguard say, “Poglavnik, I’d like to drop by the club now, you’re close to home, I won’t be long.”

I could not believe God helped me so swiftly. And Saint Vasilije, too.

Fifty meters to Pavelic’s house.

PAVELIC FALLS AND INSULTS MY SERBIAN MOTHER

They go their separate ways, and I hide behind a big tree in the avenue. I can see Pavelic turn around, then continue walking, with a briefcase in his hand.

I follow him. At a fast pace. Almost running.

I was about seven, eight meters away. Pavelic sensed me, saw me... and started to shout.

“I’ll fuck your Jew Serb Communist mother!”

I hear a shot, I don’t know where it’s coming from.

I don’t stop. I run straight at Pavelic. I get two or three meters away from him and shoot.

Once. Twice. I shot him in the back, as he was running away. Twice.

He falls.

His briefcase lands in a garden.

He doesn’t move, I can’t believe he’s just pretending, if there are two bullets in him.

At that moment a thought occurs to me—that it might be better if he were to stay alive, because they would put him in a hospital, people would see him and then he would have to be put on trial.

Should I hit him over the head? Then I saw that briefcase. Documents? It would be good to get those... on the other hand, if there’s money in the briefcase, and I get caught and marked as a thief... And then I killed him because of money! I turn away from both Pavelic and the briefcase.

“Jure! Jure!” Someone’s shouting.

And I’m being shot at. I turn around and fire back. I fired three bullets.

I started running around buildings, through a winding street. People are coming out of their houses. Wondering, "What on earth what was that?"

Breathless, I shout, "Look at those idiots! Drunks shooting at everyone!"

I shout so that even those in their windows could hear me. "That man is either crazy or drunk!"

The revolver is in my pocket. I left one bullet, just in case.

I'm running.

Around Pavelic's house people are shooting and shouting.

I ran off the street, out into a field. I see Milo. He is standing and staring at me.

I continue running, and Milo is just standing and staring at me.

Later he told me how he was afraid to come after me, because he was afraid I'd shoot him, because he'd deceived me and left me alone.

Milo threw his revolver into a trashcan.

I didn't pay any attention to Milo. I'm running... And it was a really warm night. I run to the train station and see a train coming. I run as fast as I can.

I run into the station, but the train is already moving. One of station workers shouts not to get on the train, because it's already left the station. I leap off a stair and jump in.

A SHOE FULL OF BLOOD

When I entered I was all sweaty. I went into a compartment and, as there were no free seats, I stood.

A young woman addressed me. "Mister, you don't feel well?"

"Yes, madam," I replied and sat on her seat.

When I sat down, I took a handkerchief out of my pocket. I looked at it—blood.

What is this, where did this blood come from? I didn't feel any pain. I felt an itch on my left thigh. I took off my coat and went into a bathroom. I could see everything. A shoe full of blood. I took off the shoe and washed it out.

I took off my socks and threw them into the toilet bowl.

I tried to find out where I was bleeding from, but—there's nothing.

I mustn't draw attention anymore. What else could I do, but to go back and sit?

Where did all that blood come from? I thought maybe I had been cut by a wire while I was running.

I could see the Argentine countryside through the window, and in my head, like a movie, the events came back: Pavelic running down the street, me shooting, Pavelic still running, I shoot him again in the back, he falls... And then I remembered that other shot. When I started running after him, aimed my revolver at him, and Pavelic started swearing, I heard, from somewhere, another shot. His bodyguard probably heard, turned around, saw what was going on, and fired... I realized I was wounded then. But I didn't feel any pain. It couldn't be that bad, since I could walk.

So, it was all over!

I was strangely calm, indifferent about my fate. Did Gavrilo Princip feel this way, after he shot Archduke Ferdinand?

PART FOUR

BLAGOJE, YOU BITTER DEVIL

I ARRIVED BY TRAIN IN Buenos Aires, and went down to the subway. Nobody waited for me, nobody followed me. It seemed that everything went well. I went to see Dusan Zekovic at his house, in a poorer part of the city, where mostly Polish people lived. I used to keep my things in a room at Dusan's place.

Dusan immediately embraced me.

"Talk, Blagoje, you bitter devil!"

"Tonight, I did a great thing!"

He looked at me, saw my leg... "Where did all that blood come from? That needs to be bandaged!" He asked Dijana, a Dalmatian woman in the neighborhood, to do it. I told her I cut myself on a wire.

She cleaned my wound, put a bandage on it, and the bleeding stopped. I looked at my pants. There was a bullet hole, barely visible behind a big tear. I got up to leave.

"Where are you going now, Blagoje, for God's sake?" Dusan tried to stop me, but it was too late, I couldn't keep myself in one place for too long.

I visited Father Radojica Popovic right at dawn. Father opened the door and immediately asked, "What is it, Blagoje?"

"I did what I promised!"

He embraced me, left me breathless, I thought I was going to die the way he embraced me. And, out of happiness, tears came to his eyes.

In the morning I bought several newspapers, leafed through them couple of times to be sure. There was nothing about the assassination!

"Well, are you sure you killed him?" the priest asked.

"Don't worry, Father. Pavelic got two bullets from Blagoje!"

I was nervous, just like Father Radojica, only I didn't want to show him that. We both knew the revolver was of poor quality, but I couldn't believe Pavelic could survive two shots.

I went out to buy the evening editions. And in *Review* I saw a photograph: Pavelic, wounded, on a bed, surrounded by Croats. It was a long article. In the introduction I read:

Ante Pavelic, indicted for war crimes, describes his assassination and shows two bullet wounds in a photograph, with one bullet still lodged in his spine.

The criminal survived! Damn!

I read further.

Ante Pavelic was wounded two nights ago near his home, in the town of Lomos de Palomar, by an unknown man, who shot five times.

Pavelic received us today at his house. At the door we were welcomed by a gentleman who said, "Our past and our present is Dr. Ante Pavelic, our leader!"

Two days ago was the sixteenth anniversary of the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, a country created by Hitler and whose leader was Ante Pavelic, a Nazi. This leader of the Croats, for years in exile, built his secret organization for the destruction of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and in 1941, when Belgrade and Zagreb were occupied by Germany, at the peak of Hitler's power, he came back to Croatia where, under the patronage of Hitler and Mussolini, he fulfilled his dream of a Croatian state, that lasted as long as Hitler's power over Europe.

Italian writer Malaparte in his book Kaputt describes how he was received by Pavelic on one occasion and that his faithful Ustase brought their Poglavnik a

basket of oysters from Dalmatia.

Those were, in fact, human eyes!

And as we remember what Malaparte wrote, this same Pavelic, surrounded by his family, friends and his faithful warriors, greets us with a pleasant voice, mixing Spanish with a little bit of Italian.

Pavelic looks old, he's about sixty, with gray hair, a little bit of brown in his mustache. He lifted himself a little from the bed, then moved back a little and, to our question if this was the first attempt on his life, he replied:

"No, there was also an attempt in 1930, in Munich."

"Do you suspect anyone?"

Pavelic replied that he doesn't know who is behind these attempts to murder him, but he said he's pretty sure that in both attempts the Yugoslav Communists were involved.

Pavelic's bodyguard didn't mention the celebration that was supposed to take place on Sunday, which was intended to commemorate the day of establishment of the Independent State of Croatia. He told us, "Croats aren't Nazis, as some say. We are Ustase, patriots and anti-Communists!"

* * * * *

The first information received, that Pavelic was hit by two bullets, proved to be correct.

Information we reported that the wounds were caused by bullets that reached his spine, and with one bullet still lodged inside, was also correct.

Pavelic tells us about the attempt on his life and lies spread by the Yugoslav Embassy about him.

While he gets himself in a more comfortable position in bed, he tells us that his wounds don't trouble him.

Neither the Croatian leader nor the police could tell us anything about the assassin.

Then the paper repeated that there's a warrant for Pavelic's arrest, that he is

indicted for many war crimes, and added

Even though the assassin failed, one thing is certain: the attempt on Pavelic's life confirms that Pavelic lives in Argentina and that the Argentinean government will not be able to hide from that fact anymore.

It finished with a question: "Will Pavelic be extradited to Belgrade?"

The journalist didn't jump to conclusions about who shot the leader of the Croatian émigrés, and wrote that "Pavelic had many enemies, even among his closest associates—Croats."

The journalist asked Pavelic what connections he had with a criminal group called "National Alliance" and what connections he had with Peron.

Pavelic replied, "Ever since I came to this country I have never intervened, not in one case, not wanting to interfere in the internal affairs in Argentina—and I wouldn't be here today if I had done that. I never had any business with the Peronistas!"

He refuted "these sorts of lies" written by some newspapers, and added, "Would I be here, if I had done the things they accuse me of?"

The journalist asked Pavelic if he knew Kella, the leader of the Peronistas, and Pavelic replied, "Only by name. I never had any contact with him."

The journalist concluded, "We said goodbye to Pavelic. We had a feeling he wasn't disturbed much by the fact that he was wounded, that he thought that everything had ended well for him."

The article also mentioned how "this unexpected event pulled Pavelic out of anonymity. There has been renewed attention on certain memories which could become an indelible burden for Pavelic. This past can hardly be forgotten, because Pavelic is one of history's great persons of infamy."

THE BULLET IN PAVELIC'S SPINE

I took the papers straight to Father Radojica. I showed him the photograph of Pavelic lying on a bed, wounded. Out of happiness, Father Radojica started to shout, "We did it, we did it!"

Because all of the newspapers would write about it, the public would be alerted, and they would have to turn the criminal over to justice. I did something for my people after all.

The priest asked me what would I do, where would I go.

I told him that Milos Brajovic was in the hospital and that I would go there, to stay beside him, where no one would look for me. Milos was in a private hospital, he had a difficult surgery.

I went to Milos. I bought many different newspapers—all they wrote about was the attempted assassination. They were guessing who shot him, but nobody knew for sure.

They wrote how the wounds were not entirely harmless, that the bullet in Pavelic's spine could damage his spinal cord, that surgery was necessary, but surgeons could not perform it, because Pavelic was a severe diabetic.

"That Serbian bullet in your spine, Poglavnik, won't be still for long!"

Articles like that, day in and day out. In the end I read that Pavelic fled Argentina, and that he was probably hiding in Spain, in a Catholic convent.

A MESSAGE FROM RANKOVIC

One day Father Radojica came for me and told me that people from the Yugoslav Embassy had come to see him. Who? Cipovic, my school buddy—Veljko the consul. He came to see me when I ran that nightclub, he liked to drink and joked how it was his professional handicap. "The more I drink, the more I know!"

He was eyeing me when I grew a mustache and long hair, and he wondered about that. "Man, why did you deform yourself?"

"Well, I feel like it!"

"Damn, you really look ugly like that, like a German!" and started to quiz me aggressively about it.

I told him, "You'll read about it in papers someday."

Radojica told me that Cipovic had come to the church, asking, "Where's Blagoje? I can't find him anywhere."

"How would I know where Blagoje is?"

"Just tell him I know why he grew his hair and mustache," and he said he needed to see me immediately.

I didn't want to see him, I still didn't know what to do, where I would go, nor how I would manage.

The priest came again. Cipovic knew everything, he said that a dispatch came from Yugoslavia, Rankovic* ordered him to contact me, to offer me passage to Yugoslavia.

I asked, "Which Rankovic? Is that the one who is Tito's number one criminal?"

WHEN YUGOSLAVIA PAYS

I met the consul anyway. Cipovic came in a taxi, which was really expensive.

"Drive, drive, when Yugoslavia pays!" I welcomed him with these words.

"Where's your mustache and long hair?" he asked me, and laughed.

He had a passport for me, to take me to Chile, where I would get another passport from the Yugoslav Embassy. Then I would board an airplane for Yugoslavia.

Why?

"Rankovic's orders!"

How does Rankovic know?

Well, Cipovic sent a telegram—to brag, he said. He was proud Pavelic was shot by a Montenegrin.

I told him I didn't want to go anywhere just then and that I wanted to stay where I was.

Cipovic asked me to meet him again, he showed me a new dispatch, he promised I would be given a medal, that I would get the rank of colonel, that I would be given a hotel in Boka, that I would be a director.

I didn't want any of that, period!

Cipovic was recalled to Yugoslavia, and some Vucekovic Tomo was appointed as a consul at the embassy.

He too offered golden hills and valleys.

I was sure nobody was looking for me, I was safe for the time being, so I refused.

An offer from the French Embassy also appeared, they were looking for the

* Aleksandar Rankovic-Leka, a member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party and, after the war, long-time chief of the secret police.

man who shot Pavelic, to move him to a safe place. I thanked them too. After that, every year I went to receptions at the French Embassy, they sent me invitations regularly for their national holidays. “You have friends at the embassy,” they said, “and you are friend of France. France always supported the idea that Pavelic should be prosecuted for war crimes.”

I was also contacted by Serbian National Defense, from North America, and they offered me the job as their treasurer, for life. I refused that too.

I received letters from all parts of the world. Djonovic, Soc and some other people wrote to me, but those letters didn't come directly to me, but addressed to Vlado Ivanisevic, a great Serb from Cetinje, and a certain number of letters were addressed to my good friend, a man of trust, Kujacic from Trebinje.

Stojadinovic too offered for me to live in Mexico through his connections.

“Yeah, so they can kill me with a pickaxe, like Trotsky?”

He laughed and asked if I would go to Switzerland.

Stojadinovic was once prime minister of the Royal Yugoslav government, he was a world class economist, he published the *Economist* newspaper in Buenos Aires. His daughter married Dusan Radonjic, from Cetinje. Radonjic inherited the newspaper after Stojadinovic's death.

That man proved himself a great Serbophobe. I wrote him a letter, cancelled my subscription, Radonjic's *Economist* smeared both Serbs and Serbia.

People were worried about me, many people knew what I did, they all thought the Ustase would go after me, to avenge their Poglavnik...

THE MYSTERIOUS DEATH OF FATHER RADOJICA

I wasn't worried about myself—I had a plan to move to safety. However, I was worried about Father Radojica. Croats accused him of organizing the attempt on Pavelic's life. I'd written a letter to Archbishop Dionisije, urging him to move Father Radojica somewhere else. Archbishop Dionisije blessed the transfer, but everything was delayed—we didn't have a *peso* back then, not even for an airline ticket.

One evening Kujacic and I went to see Father Radojica, we asked him to walk us to a train station to talk some more along the way. Kujacic, a man from Trebinje, was a writer, he wrote one excellent play, I think it was called *Devastated*

Home.

And he wanted to write a book about me too. He showed me letters from some Chetniks, from America. One letter said, “Those two bullets fired at Pavelic did more for Serbdom than our whole divided and quarrelsome community.”

I didn’t want them to write a book about me, and I asked Kujacic not to use my name in his text, but if he really had to, he should put the initials “B.J.”

And so, we talked about everything with the priest... Father Radojica said he had heavy rheumatism, he could hardly walk, he was overweight, and he couldn’t walk us further to the train station.

We agreed to meet the next day.

That next day—wait, wait, Father is not here. We had agreed to meet in a Russian church.

I was tired waiting for him so I went downtown. I met Novakovic, he was the owner of a bar, we asked after each other’s health. I joked with him, and he stopped talking, and then asked, “You don’t know?”

“Don’t know what?”

“Well... Father was killed!”

What do you mean, killed? Novakovic explained to me that Father Radojica had fallen under a train at the station... And Novakovic told me that everybody said that Croats had pushed him under a train, that it was the Ustase’s revenge for Pavelic.

The official version was that Father Radojica tried to get on a train, but was constrained by his rheumatism, sciatica, or whatever—he tried to hurry, and fell underneath it.

AMONG ORDINARY AND RED CROATS

I went to Father Radojica’s funeral. Serbs were grumbling about something, they turned their heads away from me. Croats will kill them all because of me, the Argentine authorities will banish all of us because of me... And I thought I would be the new Gavrilo Princip. Serbian business...

At the funeral I met a lawyer named Kuveljic. He suggested we go to a Catholic church, to hear what the Croats there were saying about the attempted assassination. To see what they were planning.

“Are you afraid?” Kuveljic asked.

“Lets go!” I told him. I really wasn’t afraid.

Some Croat was giving a speech, how Serbia was actually always Croatia, how Montenegro was from times immemorial “Red Croatia,” and Montenegrins “Red Croats.”

I swallowed that bitter pill, and remained silent. Kuveljic asked to speak. He was even more crazy than I was! He asked the Croats if they knew who shot the Poglavnik. They all started yelling. Some shouted, “We know, a Dalmatian did it!”

“No!” others shouted, “it was done by a Montenegrin!”

One of them stood up. “If I knew who he was, I’d rip out his throat with my teeth...”

Many of them swore to avenge their leader.

I was watching. They were all elderly men, with their lives already gone—the poor bastards, who could they avenge?

WHO WAS AT PAVELIC’S FUNERAL

I stayed there for awhile, then I went to Sao Curacao Island, near Venezuela, and boarded a ship, a semi-tourist, transatlantic ship, the *Tazio*. I liked it, it had a very nice library. As the Dalmatians would say, “My darling, I went to the sailors.”

On the ship I heard that Pavelic, as a consequence of his wounds, died in a Franciscan convent, in Spain. There were only a few people at his funeral.

Great conflicts broke out among the Ustase. Even Luburic* didn’t come to the Poglavnik’s funeral. There was a rumor that they quarreled over some money—even though he was tied to his bed, Pavelic didn’t want to consign the treasury of the organization to Maks Luburic. Rumors started to circulate that Luburic organized the assassination, because of money... If there’s a people worse than Serbs, they are.

Later, in Mar Del Plata, at a hockey club, I met a certain Croat. After awhile we became friends. He was Kvaternik’s** nephew. Whenever I asked him some-

* Vjekoslav “Maks” Luburic, leader of one of the Ustase security organizations during the war and founder and the first commandant of the Jasenovac concentration camp. After the war he led the Croatian National Resistance, one of the longest-lasting and most violent Ustase successor organizations.

** Probably a nephew of Slavko Kvaternik, head of the regular army in the Independent State of Croatia until 1943, executed after the war by the Partizans. His son, Eugen, was a founder of the Ustase and a rival of Luburic’s as the head of a security organization. Eugen was also executed after the war.

thing about Pavelic, he would just wave with his hand, didn't want to talk—I could see he didn't like him.

Once I asked him, "Do you know who killed Pavelic?"

"If you want us to remain friends, don't ever ask me that!" he snapped.

He too probably heard stories about me, but he didn't care much for Pavelic.

WHY FATHER DRAGANIC LIKED MONTENEGRINS

Many Croats in emigration were at the Poglavnik's side for money. He paid them, helped them, and promised them even more. Croats talked about how he had a lot of money, and when Pavelic, after his death, didn't leave a *peso* to anyone, many were very disappointed.

Us, the Montenegrins, Croats liked. They talked about everything with us, quite openly. Once, in Italy, I met the famous priest Draganic,* who organized the transport of Ustase across the ocean, through the Vatican's "Ratlines," and who took good care of Pavelic, hid him, supplied him with a fake passport... That Draganic... his mouth was full of praise of Montenegrins. A cunning man, from the Vatican school.

To a certain Croat named Kajic, who always spat on Pavelic—"There, what kind of a disgrace Pavelic made for us honorable Croats!"—I asked, "Did you know Pavelic was killed by a Montenegrin?"

"A Montenegrin? No, I don't believe a Montenegrin would do something like that."

* Probably Father Krunoslav Draganovic, chief operative on the Vatican Ratline from the monastery of San Girolamo, Rome.

EPILOGUE

ROSARIO, ARGENTINA. JUNE 2, 1999. Blagoje Jovovic has died. In the name of the Serbian community, in an obituary in the *Freedom* newspaper, Vladimir Ivanisevic said his goodbyes to Blagoje.

In all his life, Blagoje Jovovic proved to be faithful and sincere Serbian patriot, a worthy descendant of Duke Bjeli Pavle. Because of his heart, all honorable and patriotic Serbs who knew him compare him to Gavril Princip. Serbian history has yet to write about Blagoje...

Our friend Blagoje was born in the village of Kosic, near Danilovgrad, in 1922, in the clan of the Bjelopavlici, to the well-known, patriarchal family of Jovovici, from the union of his father, Jovo, and his mother, Radusa Delibasic. Raised in the spirit of Saint Sava, Kosovo and the Serbian people, Blagoje lived with these qualities until the final moments of his life.

The Argentine part of Blagoje's biography followed: a capable merchant, industrious, materially wealthy, a founder and great benefactor of the Saint Sava Church, one of the founders of the Draza Mihajlovic Association of Veterans, a member of the board of directors of the Njegos Association... And in the end, our

brotherly condolences to his wife Glada, his son Gavriilo, his daughters Marija and Gabrijela, his sister Ana, his brother-in-law Hector...

Blagoje died only few months after his visit—his first and last—to his birthplace.

“Only Providence sent Blagoje to visit us, for us to meet him and for him to meet us,” people said in his native Kotic, at Blagoje’s wake.

And one of the Jovovici, Strahinja, in his speech said, “Blagoje hasn’t died. Blagoje has moved on to eternity. Blagoje has moved on to a place that belongs to him in Serbian history, beside Obilic and Princip.”

Milos Obilic. Gavriilo Princip. Blagoje Jovovic.

This book about Blagoje Jovovic is a debt paid by those who heard his life story: the story of the man who fulfilled the oath he made to himself and Serbdom, the story of the man who killed the greatest butcher in Serbian history.

Seven-hundred thousand souls martyred in Jasenovac will pray the Lord to forgive Blagoje’s sins, and to grant him a heavenly indulgence.

And we—the living—can we forget him in our prayers? We—who are taught hypocrisy, to turn cowards into heroes, and heroes into villains?

The End

CROAT LEADER IN HOSPITAL

Dr. Jelic in 2d Day of Hunger Strike on Ellis Island

Dr. Branimir Jelic, a leader in the Croatian independence movement, was in the hospital yesterday at Ellis Island after the second day of a hunger strike over his detention there.

Dr. Jelic has been held since Feb. 3 because his passport apparently was not in order, according to Byron H. Uhl, Director of Immigration.

Mr. Uhl said he believed Dr. Jelic arrived here from Germany. He said the doctor started the hunger strike Wednesday and that on Thursday night, when he complained of being "weak," was taken to the hospital.

The latest report from the hospital was that Dr. Jelic was taking liquid nourishment and that, if this continued, he would soon be back on a normal diet, Mr. Uhl said.

The immigration official denied, however, that force had been used. The entry of Dr. Jelic into this country is now before officials in Washington.

Filing Information:

Title: News Excerpt: Croat Leader in Hospital

Source: New York Times, February 18, 1939.

Date: February 18, 1939

Added: May 18, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/foundation/text/fou000>

1.txt

CROAT LEADER IN HOSPITAL

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DR. JELIC WINS IN COURT

Berlin Physician Gains Right to Apply to Enter U.S. Again

Dr. Branimir Jelic, a well-to-do Berlin physician, won the right to another chance for permission to enter this country as a visitor under a decision handed down yesterday by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. Dr. Jelic came here in February from Hungary, but has been excluded on the ground that he had not shown himself to be here purely as a visitor.

The decision under which Dr. Jelic will either be allowed to enter or at least receive another hearing was written by Judge Charles E. Clark, with Judge Thomas W. Swan concurring and Judge Harris B. Chase dissenting. The court referred to a letter from Yugoslav authorities saying that Dr. Jelic had come here to arouse discontent among Yugoslavians, but held that he was entitled to a fair hearing on that and other points.

Filing Information:

Title: News Excerpt: Dr. Jelic Wins in Court

Source: New York Times, July 18, 1939.

Date: July 18, 1939

Added: May 18, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/foundation/text/fou0002.txt>

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"THE VICTORIOUS AXIS"

This pamphlet titled "The Victorious Axis" was printed in Italy and smuggled into Yugoslavia. It is typical of the Ustase's attitude toward Vladko Macek and the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) following the latter's signing of the Sporazum, or agreement with the monarchy on forming an autonomous Croatia within Yugoslavia, in August, 1939. During the same month the Sporazum was signed, Pavelic once again came into favour in official circles in Italy and began receiving a healthy stipend from the Fascist government to pay for attack propaganda such as this. "Democratic" as used here is a pejorative; though some would later claim otherwise, the Ustase in 1941 were under no illusions regarding their own fascist and anti-Semitic orientation.

Today, when the victory of totalitarian Italy and Germany is practically complete, mentioned gentlemen (that is, from the leadership of Croatian Peasant Party) still lead double lives: on one side they "sympathize" with the totalitarian states, and on the other they support full military mobilization and persecute Croatian nationalists - they even keep them in prisons! We ask: against whom is this mobilization directed? It proves that those democratic gentlemen still keep hoping that "maybe something will change at the last moment." Versailles has fallen and with it must fall everything that was created there! And in Versailles our dungeon, Yugoslavia, was created. Now it is time for Croats to fulfil our rights and to stop... once and for all... to be prey, a colony for Serbs, an asylum for various newcomers and the "promised land" for the Jews!

.... By the force of events they suddenly became friends of the Axis, at whom they up to recently growled like curs, and if the Axis would show their weakness they would most readily leave them immediately. They are bread-fighters, career-hunters, vultures, to whom the national ideal is only a pretext to achieve their egoistical goals. Can one be a

genuine Croat and at the same time call the one who recently butchered his folk a brother, the same one who keeps in "preparation" hundreds of thousands Croatian sons, ready to send them to the slaughterhouse for the so-called western democracies, creators and protectors of the greatest dungeon of Croats: Yugoslavia.

(filing information):

Title: "The Victorious Axis"

Source: Pobjeda Osovine (The Victorious Axis), March 1941.

Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen, pp 530-531. Zagreb, 1948. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: March 1941 Added: March 9, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/hss/text/hss0001.txt>

CROATIAN FRATERNAL UNION AFFAIRS

As a means to build up pro-Allied sentiment among America's various Eastern European immigrant communities, a "Slav Congress" was held, with delegations arriving from the most prominent groups. Office of Strategic Services informant "SK" attended and reported on internal dissension behind the scenes. It should be noted that the administration at the time wanted all groups attending the congress to form a united front, aimed at the Axis powers, and to put their disagreements aside for the duration of the war. They were aware, however, of similar efforts being made in Moscow (culminating in Stalin's absurdly anachronistic "Pan-Slavic Institute") and sought to protect the delegates from possible Soviet agents. The following report indicates some internal dissension in the ranks of the Croatian Fraternal Union, one of the most venerable Croatian-American organizations. Many decades later, the CFU would itself become a target of Ustase extremists in America who saw the CFU as unwelcome competition.

S.K.
Yugo.

April 23, 1942
Detroit, Mich.

Re: Croatian Frat. Un. Affairs

It is reported, that the 2 Lodges of the C.F.U. in Detroit, are against the proposed referendum to oust J.D. Butkovich, Pres. of the C.F.U. They agree, that Butkovich has been detrimental as a whole to the organization, but maintain that the time is not ripe to force the issue and that Butkovich should be dispensed with in the regular manner at the coming election in 1943. Concerning Milan Petrak, ed. of the "Zajednicar", they do not place him in the same category with Butkovich.

Petrak is coming as a delegate to the Slav congress and the Croat leaders here intend to put him on the carpet and demand that he come out more in a Yugoslav spirit in future. They consider Petrak as an ablest [sic] Croatian editor and are loath to dispose of him. They are under the impression that they will manage to show him the right way towards the Serbo-Croatian unity.

However, if Petrak fails to reciprocate, then they will proceed to displace him. Since the F.B.I. raids on the Cratian [sic] Homedefenders, these Croats have been fully impressed and are now thoroughly cowed and rendered hors de combat.

The agents have also questioned the local leaders of the Serb. Natl. Def. Council as to their activities and since then this crowd has laid low publicly but conducts its propaganda on the sly.

The Macedonian Bulgarians have not shown any open activity, but for that matter they never did as their actions were always conducted with underground perfect methods for years. The only way to find out their activities is to get to one of their numbers, which is a hard task as the culprit literally pays with his head if found out. Its an old custom of the IMRO.

A large part of the Ukrainians are still showing a sympathy to the Nazi cause by their hatred of the Russians regardless of communists, but defend their stand by a claim of being good Americans. Majority of them are from the former Austrian Galicia and equally hate the Poles. One part, from Ukraine proper, are strongly pro-Soviet and a schism exists between the two extremes.

SK/Y

Source: NARA.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/oss/text/oss003.txt>

S.K.
Yugo.

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Detroit, Mich.

841

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SK/Y

THE CROATIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

This is one of the most tantalizing documents we've come across: an internal CIA report of the Krizari operation. However, the last part and several other pages of the report are missing, and the "Best Copy Available" as released by the CIA is in terrible condition. It took a great deal of work to reconstruct the text from the poor facsimile, but we have managed to do so as far as we are capable. "Mate" Frkovic probably refers to Ivica Frkovic, minister in the NDH from 1941 until 1945, and trusted Pavelic lieutenant as far as Argentina. Lovro Susic followed an identical path. "Kavran," we feel, refers to Bozidar Kavran, a pre-war Ustase who served at Ustase HQ throughout the war. He was captured by the Yugoslavs in a disastrous Krizari operation in 1948, tried and executed. We have not managed to positively identify "ROSANDIC" yet, and the name may be a cryptonym. These individuals were senior officials organizing the Krizari from after the war until about 1948. Of the other names, note that some names are obviously cryptonyms (particularly "Monsignore"), others appear to be. Krunoslav Draganovic makes an appearance in the latter part of the document; the author of this report almost delights that the Croatian ratline operative would be to some degree cut-out of knowledge about the Krizari by the author's confidant, "Monsignore." How accurately this reflects the true state of affairs, with different American officials apparently opening conniving against each other throughout, is unclear.

Subject: Croatian Resistance Movement, Activities of [illegible] ROSANDIC, Mate FRKOVIC, [illegible], Lovro SUSIC, MONSIGNORE, et. al.

Place Acquired: [censored]

Evaluation: [censored]

Source: [censored]

Report No: [censored]

Date of Info: June 1947.

May 1948

Date Acquired: June 1948

Date of Report: 14 June 1948

I. Introductory Note:

1. For the purposes of the present report the term "Croatian Resistance Movement" is intended to apply only to that organization which is functioning under the leadership of ROSANDIC-FRKOVIC-KAVRAN-SUSIC, et al, and whose origins are outlined in the paragraphs below. This report, which constitutes only an outline introduction to the various facets of Croatian resistance as they are visible [censored] will be followed by more [illegible]. At that time a more precise terminology designed to define the ROSANDIC-FRKOVIC organization in its relationship to the over-all opposition effort, will be evolved.

II. Origins of the CRM

2. ROSANDIC AND FRKOVIC Confide Intentions [censored]:

During [censored] June 1947, Mate FRKOVIC and [censored] ROSANDIC confided their intention of proceeding to Croatia for the purpose of organizing the Croatian resistance movement. One of their most important tasks, they believe, will be that of attempting to discourage members of the resistance from undertaking premature attacks and operations which could only expose them to the danger of reprisals.

3. ROSANDIC and FRKOVIC Agree to Maintain Contact with Source:

At their meetings, a conventional language for maintenance of correspondence between ROSANDIC-FRKOVIC and Source was set up, and the two agreed that they would be glad to consider any suggestions which Source might care to present to them.

4. [censored] ROSANDIC and FRKOVIC:

Leaving Rome on 29 June 1947, [censored] Mate FRKOVIC and [illegible] ROSANDIC to the Italo-American border on the first leg of their journey from Italy to Croatia where they intend to organize the Croatian resistance movement.

5. In Austria, FRKOVIC and ROSANDIC intend to meet with Vance MIHAJLOV, "invisible" leader of the Macedonian resistance. Before the war MIHAJLOV collaborated with Ante PAVELIC, as chief of the VMRO (Macedonian Revolutionary Organization), which is struggling for Macedonia's independence and political autonomy. FRKOVIC and ROSANDIC will inform [censored] before MIHAJLOV is in effective contact with his country, and they stated they would arrange an appointment with MIHAJLOV [censored] should the latter desire such a meeting.

[several pages are missing from this document, as it jumps ahead to midway through heading VI, subheading 31.]

[first sentence cut off]

[illegible] would bring with him the necessary funds to affect the transfer, and that these funds should be entrusted to the group's leader (Lt.) Zvonko [illegible].

b) [illegible] is first to accompany his group to a house in the country (location unknown) where its members will be conditioned physically, and where they will prepare for the journey ahead of them. CJEAKOVIC does not know whether the group will proceed to Yugoslavia from Italy or whether it will travel via Austria.

c) It is reported that Luka VUKELIC (35 years old, ex-employee of the Croatian Secretariat of State for Security and Public Order) will also be a member of the group, but first he wishes to secure himself that the enterprise is favorably regarded by the Americans.

d) A fourth who has confessed to membership in the group is Drag. FERKOVIC (30 years old, a housepainter by trade) who is furious because of CJEAKOVIC's utter disregard for security.

e) Milovan MANHOTER (a functionary of the short-lived 1943 TITO-partisan administration of SUSAK) recently changed his mind about leaving with the group as he had previously intended; he is aware, however, of the project as it is outlined here. MANHOTER is a friend of Stjepan MAJSEC who is undoubtedly a British agent, but is of much doubtful moral character that he would be quite capable of collaborating with OZNA.

f) A sixth individual, Franje MILOS, 45 years old, politically reliable from the anti-Communist point of view, has also reversed a previous decision to be a member of the departing group.

VII. DRAGANOVIC Attempts to Establish Liaison with CRM.

32. DRAGANOVIC Reports to American Embassy.

It has been determined that (Dr.) Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC is in contact with at least one functionary of the American Embassy in Rome to whom he furnishes reports on Croatian matters. These reports are compiled on the basis of information which DRAGANOVIC gathers from refugees escaping from Yugoslavia. It is felt that DRAGANOVIC's reports on the Yugoslav internal situation, insofar as Croatian resistance is concerned, reflect his own profound [illegible] in the field of political science rather than current reality. Valuable from the academic point of view of analysis and interpretation of certain facts and trends, his reports undoubtedly fall short of presenting a true picture of current attempts at opposition in Croatia.

33. DRAGANOVIC Approaches MONSIGNORE

Recently DRAGANOVIC has attempted to establish a contact with local CRM leaders, probably because his American Embassy acquaintance has requested information as to Croatian resistance activities, and has naturally turned to MONSIGNORE. The latter, [censored] so that reluctantly decided to inform DRAGANOVIC that a quite well-organized CRM

actually exists. It was felt necessary to extend this degree of confidence to DRAGANOVIC in order to assure that the latter would not in any way impede the Italy-Austria flow of personnel necessary for CRM cadres.

34. [cut off from top of page]

Therefore, the only valid CRM informations which DRAGANOVIC can now supply to his American Embassy contact are those furnished him by MONSIGNORE. The latter, [illegible], will not submit any material to DRAGANOVIC without first consulting with [illegible] and obtaining his approval. Thus arises the somewhat ridiculous situation in which one [censored] submits to another (DRAGANOVIC's [censored] materials which might be construed as "chicken feed".

VIII. Unidentified American Agency in Austria Seeks Rome CRM Contact.

35. DIETRICH Attempts to Contact MONSIGNORE.

As regards its eventual significance, the case of Herber DIETRICH may be considered analogous to that of DRAGANOVIC. DIETRICH, an American stationed with an American unit in Vienna, has recently been to Rome, apparently for the express purpose of contacting MONSIGNORE in an effort to obtain information on the CRM.

36. [censored] Requested to Furnish "Security Check" on DIETRICH

A recent letter from Mate FRKOVIC requests [censored] to submit an opinion as to the background and reliability of DIETRICH, which would indicate that DIETRICH is in contact with the CRM's Austrian representatives. Here again is a point of [censored] control over the operations of another [censored] it can logically be assumed that the type, amount and quality of informations supplied to DIETRICH by the CRM in Austria will depend on [censored] advice.

IX. PERNAR and the "Independent HSS Resistance Movement"

37. "American Contact" of JESIK-MUSE.

A third similar situation arises in the case of Most (Reverend Father) Pavao JESIK and Panimir (or Darko) MUSE who are allegedly in contact with a high-ranking American officer. MUSE arrived in Rome from Spalato (Split) for the purpose of informing (Dr.) Ivan PERNAR of HSS organization in the District of Spalato and its participation in the Croatian resistance. PERNAR placed MUSE in contact with JESIK who considers himself a loyal HSS representative, but who is merely a good and honest priest completely innocent of any comprehension of political realities [censored] has been acquainted with JESK for at least twelve years).

38. MUSE to Return to Yugoslavia

Through PERNAR, the father of the idea, and JESIK it is to be demonstrated to the Americans that HSS, too, controls an independent resistance organization within Croatia. To implement this project MUSE must be returned to Croatia from whence he will maintain a contact with JESIK and the American officer mentioned above. The only manner in which MUSE can return and activate his contact, however, is by seeking the aid of the CRM organization represented in Rome by MONSIGNORE.

39. MONSIGNORE Delays MUSE Mission.

In the meantime MONSIGNORE is deliberately delaying the return of MUSE because certain elements in the latter's case leave more doubt as to his

[the rest of this document is missing]

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0008.txt>

Approved for Release
Date FEB 1968

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

10. On 10/20/78, [redacted] advised that [redacted] had been given the necessary funds to effect the transfer, and that these funds would be entrusted to the group's leader.

- b) PUJIC is first to accompany his group to a base in the country (location unknown) where its members will be conditioned physically, and where they will prepare for the journey ahead of them. GRANOVIC does not know whether the group will proceed to Yugoslavia from Italy or whether it will travel via Austria.
- c) It is reported that LOJAKOVIC (35 years old, ex-employee of the Croatian Secretariat of State for Security and Public Order) will also be a member of the group, but first he wishes to assure himself that the enterprise is favorably regarded by the Americans.
- d) A fourth who has consented to membership in the group is DRAG KERNJIC (30 years old, a housepainter by trade) who in former times of Captain C's often displayed a quality.
- e) MILIVOJE MATIC (a functionary of the short-lived 1941 TITO-partisan administration of SRNAK) recently changed his mind about leaving with the group as he had previously intended; he is aware, however, of the project as it is outlined here. MATIC is a friend of Stjepan MATIC who is undoubtedly a British agent, but is of such doubtful moral character that he would be quite capable of collaborating with OZNA.
- f) A sixth individual, FRANJIC, 45 years old, politically reliable from the anti-Communist point of view, has also revised a previous decision to be a member of the departing group.

VI. THREATS Attempts to Establish Liaison with GDI

12. MEMORIALS: Reports to American Society

It has been determined that Dr. Kravtsov (DRUGOVIC) is in contact with at least one functionary of the American Embassy in Rome to whom he furnishes reports on Croatian matters. These reports are compiled on the basis of information which DRUGOVIC gathers from refugees escaping from Yugoslavia. It is felt that DRUGOVIC's reports on this Yugoslav internal situation, Jugoslavians Croatian violence is concerned, reflect his own profound conviction in the field of political science rather than current reality. Valuable from the academic point of view of analysis and interpretation of certain facts and trends, his reports undoubtedly fall short of presenting a true picture of current attempts at opposition in Croatia.

33. DISAGREED ANSWERING QUESTIONS.

Recently BRAGANCA has attempted to establish a contact with local GRU contacts, probably because his American Embassy acquaintance has requested information as to Croatian resistance activities, and has naturally turned to BRAGANCA. The latter, [redacted] so strict rules, finally decided to inform BRAGANCA that a quite well-organized GRU actually exists. It was felt necessary to extend this degree of confidence to BRAGANCA in order to assure that the latter would not in any way impede the Italy-Austria flow of personnel necessary for GRU to force

Classification: ~~SECRET~~ CONFIDENTIAL
OFFICIALS ONLY



Therefore, the only valid GDM information which MUGENOVIC can now supply to his American contact are those furnished him by MUGENOVIC. The latter, in turn, will not submit any material to MUGENOVIC without first consulting MUGENOVIC and obtaining his approval. Thus unless the somewhat ridiculous situation in which MUGENOVIC's materials which might be considered as "chicken feed".

VIII. Unidentified American Agent in Austria Seeks Rear GDM Contact.

35. MUGENOVIC Attempts to Contact MUGENOVIC.

As regards its eventual significance, the case of Herbert MUGENOVIC may be considered analogous to that of MUGENOVIC. MUGENOVIC, an American stationed with an American unit in Vienna, has recently been in Rome, apparently for the express purpose of contacting MUGENOVIC in an effort to obtain information on the GDM.

36. MUGENOVIC's Request to MUGENOVIC's Contact on MUGENOVIC.

A recent letter from MUGENOVIC requests MUGENOVIC to submit an opinion as to the background and reliability of MUGENOVIC, which would indicate that MUGENOVIC is in contact with the GDM's Austrian representatives. Here again is a point of MUGENOVIC control over the operations of another MUGENOVIC. It can logically be assumed that the type, amount and quality of information supplied to MUGENOVIC by the GDM in Austria will depend on MUGENOVIC's advice.

IX. MUGENOVIC and the Independent GDM Resistance Movement.

37. "American Contact" of JESSIE MUGENOVIC.

A third similar situation arises in the case of JESSIE MUGENOVIC (Pavlov) and JESSIE MUGENOVIC (or JESSIE MUGENOVIC) who are allegedly in contact with a MUGENOVIC American officer. MUGENOVIC arrived in Rome from Spalato (Split) for the purpose of information (or) JESSIE MUGENOVIC of GDM organization in the District of Spalato and its participation in the Croatian resistance. JESSIE MUGENOVIC played a role in contact with JESSIE MUGENOVIC who considers himself a loyal GDM representative, but who is surely a good and honest priest completely innocent of any conception of political realities. JESSIE MUGENOVIC has been acquainted with JESSIE MUGENOVIC for at least twelve years).

38. MUGENOVIC's Return to Yugoslavia.

Through JESSIE MUGENOVIC, the father of the idea, and JESSIE MUGENOVIC it is to be demonstrated to the Americans that GDM, too, controls an independent resistance organization within Croatia. To implement this project MUGENOVIC must be returned to Croatia from whence he will maintain a contact with JESSIE MUGENOVIC and the American officer mentioned above. The only manner in which MUGENOVIC can return and activate his contact, however, is by seeking the aid of the GDM organization represented in Rome by MUGENOVIC.

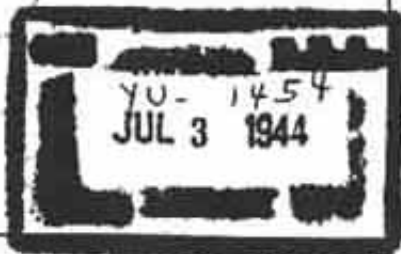
39. MUGENOVIC's Delay in MUGENOVIC.

In the meantime MUGENOVIC is deliberately delaying the return of MUGENOVIC because certain elements in the latter's case leave some doubt as to his

Classification: SECRET CONTROL
U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY



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COPY

05

FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES
MEMORANDUM BY THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

NUMBER 198

28 JUNE 1944

RELIGIOUS-POLITICAL FORCES ADD TO
THE YUGOSLAV COMPLICATION

- I. *Serbian Orthodox Bishop Dionisije breaks with extreme Serb nationalism, disassociates himself from Mihailovich, favors federated Yugoslavia under a king, and despite dread of atheistic Communism looks toward Moscow to fend against disorder in the Balkans and for support against a Roman Catholic organization of Central Europe, which he fears would truncate Yugoslavia.*
- II. *Some Roman Catholic priests have revived a movement among Croatian-Americans for an independent Croatia; they openly approve the Hitler quisling, Ante Pavelich, because they believe he has given the idea of Croatian independence a demonstration of reality; an analogous movement appears among the Slovenian-Americans; and ground is thus provided for Serbian Orthodox fear of a new Austro-Hungarian Roman Catholic imperialism.*
- III. *The Communist line is still to denounce the Croatian Peasant Party leader, Vladimir Machek, as a reactionary and collaborationist, but the bulk of Croatian-Americans holds true to the Machek tradition, and except for the Catholic-led Croatian nationalists and the extreme Serb nationalists, are following with sympathetic interest Ivan S. Machek's effort to form a new Yugoslav Government under King Peter. While Croatian nationalists talk of independence, Serbian nationalists, desperate in all other directions, now dream of Moscow as deus ex machina.*

SECRET

[REDACTED] Reverse for Declassification Action

NY-PNB-INT-30
BTK 7

— intro —

EDITOR'S NOTE

BY CALI RUCHALA • [HTTP://WWW.PAVELICPAPERS.COM](http://www.pavelicpapers.com)

THE FOLLOWING REPORT was prepared by the United States Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in June of 1944. This report summarizes the positions taken by various South Slavic-American organizations on issues of import of the day: the formation of a new Yugoslav Government-in-Exile under Ivan Subasic, the increasing likelihood of a Soviet presence in Eastern Europe, and so on. It also contains considerable background information on several Croatian-American organizations, from the venerable Croatian Fraternal Union, to the *Domobranici*, a movement organized in the 1930s by Ustase co-founder Branimir "Branko" Jelic as the official American branch of the Ustase.

Section One is concerned with what the OSS considered excessive nationalism among Serbian-Americans, and the latter community's reaction to the simultaneous dismissal of Chetnik leader General Draza Mihajlovic from the Ministry of War in the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile and the recall of the Yugoslav Ambassador to Washington.

Section Two is concerned with the emergence of the Supreme Council of American Croats in May of 1944, and the group's connections with the pre-war Ustase. Included is a recital of the history of Croatian nationalist organizations in the United States, and a passing mention of sentiments among Slovene-Americans.

Section Three is concerned with the all-important Soviet interest in Yugoslav affairs, viewed through the prism of leftist South Slavic newspapers based in the United States and their attitude toward a new Yugoslav government led by Ivan Subasic.

This report is reproduced in its entirety. Every effort has been made to republish this document in its true and original format, with errors in the original noted in an appendix which follows the text.

Cali Ruchala
January 19, 2003

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- I. *Serbian Orthodox Bishop Dionisije breaks with extreme Serb nationalism, disassociates himself from Mihailovich, favors federated Yugoslavia under a king, and despite dread of atheistic Communism looks toward Moscow to fend against disorder in the Balkans and for support against a Roman Catholic organization of Central Europe, which he fears would truncate Yugoslavia.*
- II. *Some Roman Catholic Priests have revived a movement among Croatian-Americans for an independent Croatia; they openly approve the Hitler quisling, Ante Pavelich, because they believe he has given the idea of Croatian independence a demonstration of reality; an analogous movement appears among the Slovene-Americans; and ground is thus provided for Serbian Orthodox fear of a new Austro-Hungarian Roman Catholic imperialism.*
- III. *The Communist line is still to denounce the Croatian Peasant Party leader, Vladimir Machek, as a reactionary and collaborationist, but the bulk of Croatian-Americans hold true to the Machek tradition, and except for the Catholic-led Croatian nationalists and the extreme Serbian nationalists, are following with sympathetic interest Ivan Subasich's effort to form a new Yugoslav Government under King Peter. While Croatian nationalists talk of independence, Serbian nationalists, desperate in all other directions, now dream of Moscow as deus ex machina.*

S E C R E T

THE ever complicated Yugoslav sector of the foreign political scene in the United States has risen to a new pitch of complication, in which a confrontation of Roman Catholic *vs.* Orthodox takes shadowy form. These are principal factors —

- (1) A readjustment of political position by the Orthodox Bishop of North America, Dionisije;
- (2) A revived Croatian independence move led by Roman Catholic clergy;
- (3) The efforts of Ban Ivan Subasich to form a new Yugoslav Government in the midst of mounting Communist attacks on Subasich's old chief, Vladimir Machek.

Bishop Dionisije's readjustment of position includes divorcement from the extreme nationalist campaign which has been carried on in the United States by the Serbian National Defense Council, and, coincidentally with the recall of Ambassador Fotich, a decision to end the public support heretofore given by the Bishop to General Draza Mihailovich. The Bishop is out clearly now for a federated Yugoslavia under the monarchy, and he opines that preservation of the monarchic principle would make it possible to have a Croat such as Ivan Subasich as prime minister. To implement his break with the Serbian nationalist campaign in the United States, the Bishop is establishing a new organization, the Serbian Patriarchate Fund, to carry on the humanitarian work from which he asserts the Serbian National Defense was seduced by political machinations.

Concurrently, a number of Roman Catholic leaders among the Croatian-Americans are moving definitely against any reconstitution of Yugoslavia. They are out for an independent Croatia and are quite open in their approval of the Croatian quisling, Ante Pavelich, because they believe that at whatever cost he has imparted to the idea of Croatian independence a demonstration of reality. They are again presenting to the American public the case for an independent Croatia which was first heard of many years ago.

This initiative by individual Roman Catholic clerics in the United States has stirred in the mind of Bishop Dionisije, as well as others, the old notion of a Roman Catholic political bulwark crossing Central Europe. The Bishop seems not to doubt the existence of a Vatican design for a new Roman *limes*, which with Poland on the north would include Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Croatia, and Slovenia, and it implies to him a Habsburg restoration and a new Austro-Hungarian imperialism and a ruinous cutting across of the Southern Slavs

by political-religious strife. His Orthodox distrust of the Western Church is fired again. He dreads "atheistic Communism" still, but he wonders if Moscow is any more what it has been. He has plainly come to think of Moscow as the emerging champion perhaps of the East against the West and *deus ex machina* in the tangled drama of the Southern Slavs.

The Bishop and the rest of the Yugoslav-American community meanwhile watch the efforts of Ivan Subasich to form a new Yugoslav Government under King Peter. Extreme Right and Left are hostile to Subasich or at best tolerant, but the middle-of-the-road bulk of the community wish him all success. Subasich's friends have been impressed by the swift fulfillment of the promise he gave them before leaving the United States to dismiss General Draza Mihailovich as Minister of War and Constantin Fotich as Ambassador in Washington as soon as the King entrusted him with power, but they are disturbed by the still mounting Communist attack upon Subasich's old chief, Machek. Meanwhile Serb-American nationalists, in all other directions desperate, see signs that Moscow may be preparing an accommodation with Mihailovich. For them also Moscow takes on the shadowy form of *deus ex machina*.

I.

Bishop Dionisije expressed his views and stated his plans during a talk with this Branch in New York 12 June. It was his earnest wish, he said, that any sort of hostile confrontation between Orthodox and Roman Catholic interests should be avoided, but recognizing that such an untoward development might come nonetheless, he was quite frankly giving thought to the solidarity which exists among the national churches of the Orthodox communion—Russian, Serbian, Greek, and so on—and to the vast power of the new Russia. He spoke also of the special tie which binds the Orthodox communion with the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. He has not failed to follow the journey of the Archbishop of York to Moscow last September to pay his respects very promptly to the newly elevated Patriarch of Russia, and he had watched with the greatest interest, of course, the ensuing visit of that socially minded Anglican leader to the United States in April.

Orthodox-Episcopal Cooperation

The sense of brotherhood existing between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States had been concretely demonstrated on 11 June. The Bishop had come to

New York to take part in the consecration of the Serbian Cathedral of St. Sava. Until then a pro-Cathedral, it becomes the first Serbian Cathedral in the United States and the Bishop's new See. The edifice, which is at 15 West 25th Street, was originally built as a chapel for Trinity parish of the Protestant Episcopal Church at a cost of \$200,000 or more. Bishop Dionisije and his colleagues in the Serbian Orthodox diocese of North American felt it to be a substantial expression of brotherhood that Trinity parish relinquished the property to them for \$30,000.

Bishop William T. Manning of the Protestant Episcopal Church had been another principal participant in the dedication. The ceremony symbolized, Manning later declared, the "close relation of the Protestant Episcopal and Holy Orthodox Churches." Also participating were Bishop Polizoides, representing Archbishop Athenagoras of the Greek Orthodox Church; Bishop Makarij of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Reverend Edward N. West, canon sacrist of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine; five archpriests and three priests representing Serbian congregations from coast to coast, and the Very Reverend Dushan J. Shoukletovich, formerly rector of St. Sava's Church, now elevated to the deanship of the cathedral. Fourteen hundred New York Serbian-Americans and 600 representatives of Serbian societies and congregations all over the country were present. Outwardly the occasion was a success, but for the more fervid Serbian nationalists it was reduced to something of an anti-climax by the failure of Bishop Dionisije to mention the name of General Draza Mihailovich and by the news that day of Ambassador Fotich's recall.

*Bishop Drops
Mihailovich*

Bishop Dionisije's address was the only one at the dedication ceremonies which bore political references. As originally written the address had contained a complimentary allusion to General Draza Mihailovich, the

Bishop told this Branch, but the passage was struck out at the last moment, coincidentally with the receipt of word that Ambassador Fotich had been recalled.

"The whole world knows," said the Bishop in the course of the retained portions of his address, "how great were the sufferings of the Serbian people and of the Serbian Orthodox Church whose property, church buildings, and monasteries in the so-called 'Independent State of Croatia' were confiscated and plundered, and in many cases destroyed, or burned and drenched with Serbian blood. It is everywhere known how at least three of our bishops were

murdered by the Ustashi, as were also about a million Serbs, including hundreds of priests, many of whom were exiled with hundreds of thousands of other Serbs, from their parishes, their homes, and their native land. It is also well known how the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, His Holiness Patriarch Gabriel, dearly paid for his resistance to the Germans and for that very reason is at the present time suffering in prison in one of our monasteries.

“And yet again, the whole world knows how Hitler and Pavelich, the leader of the Ustashi in the ‘Independent State of Croatia,’ attempted to crush Serbian Church unity in Yugoslavia through the organization of the remaining Serbs into a so-called ‘Croatian Orthodox Church’ by a dissident of the Russian Orthodox Church, Bishop Germogen as head. All of these deplorable conditions put the Serbs as well as the Greeks, the Russians, and other liberty-loving peoples where they must pass between ‘Scylla and Charybdis,’ and the Serbs through their untold suffering are yet fighting against Nazism, Fascism, and atheistic Communism to pass their ‘Scylla and Charybdis,’ waiting the coming day of their liberation. So the Serbian people, as well as all other enslaved peoples, on the eve of the Allied invasion of Europe hope that their dearly bought liberty will soon return and that they may, under the beneficent rays of the sun of liberty, heal their deeply inflicted wounds and renew their youth and their national and their Church unity.”

Special note may be taken of the elevation of Father Shoukletovich to be dean of the new cathedral. Father Shoukletovich represents the Orthodox Church militant, and spoke in this vein very clearly (as previously reported by this Branch) in a talk 8 May before the European Christian Forum in New York. He emphasized on that occasion his acceptance of Russia’s new pre-eminence, not alone in a political and military sense but also in the realm of Eastern Christianity and in opposition to Rome. He prophesied that all the Orthodox Churches would gradually turn toward Moscow and he foresaw disappointments for the Roman Church in Poland, where the people (he said) would break away from that Church if it continued to maintain an anti-Russian attitude.

*The Bishop’s
New Line* In calling on this Branch Monday 12 June Bishop Dionisije was accompanied by Dushan Silashki, an American citizen of Serbian extraction, who is a practicing lawyer in Akron, Ohio, and chancellor of the Serbian North American diocese; and also by Bozidar Martinovich, an American citizen of Serbian-Montenegrin

background, and a prosperous business man of Chicago. It was evident that the Bishop and his advisers wished to make definitely known their decision to break with the Serbian National Defense, to set up a new organization to carry on the work of Serbian relief, and in general to set out on a new line.

The Bishop is a public functionary of the Yugoslav State and receives a monthly stipend through the Yugoslav Embassy. Naturally there has been coordination between Bishop and Ambassador, and the Bishop has been associated in the public mind with the inspiration and support which the Ambassador is widely charged with having injected into the nationalist Serb campaign against the idea of Yugoslavia. Like the Ambassador, Dionisije has not denied that he is "first of all a Serb," but like the Ambassador he has also maintained pretty consistently the view that "it will be difficult to have a Yugoslavia but still more difficult not to have a Yugoslavia."

The Bishop's conversion to a forthright support of the Yugoslav idea and his corresponding estrangement from extreme Serb nationalism has been going on for some time. It was perhaps only by coincidence that the precise occasion for the Bishop's full shift to the Yugoslav idea was Ambassador Fotich's eclipse. It seemed plain when he talked with this Branch 12 June that deeper motivations had been in play. These relate as already indicated, to Russia, to the new position of the Orthodox Church in Russia, and to the Bishop's fears of a countervailing Roman Catholic political activity.

*What of the
New Russia?*

It was on the ecclesiastical aspect of international relations that the conversation with the Bishop and his two friends first bore. The Bishop confirmed the existence of a close communion between the Orthodox Churches on the one hand and the Anglican and American Episcopal Churches on the other. When it was remarked that current events showed the Anglican Church leaders to be cultivating relations especially with the Russian Patriarchate, while the American Episcopal Church continued to direct its special friendliness toward the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Bishop answered that the Orthodox Churches exemplified but one religion and one should not forget their essential solidarity.

However, the Bishop was frank in expressing uncertainty and wonderment respecting new developments in Russia. The Bishop speaks Russian, and one senses on his part a timeless respect for Russia as a cultural and religious force, but he still dreads "atheistic Communism." In his address at the St. Sava dedication (quoted above) he had recalled that the Serbs were "yet fighting

against Nazism, Fascism, and atheistic Communism to pass their 'Scylla and Charybdis,' waiting the coming day of liberation." What he had in mind, he said during the talk 12 June, was the danger that, when the Nazis were once driven out, atheistic Communism would ravage Yugoslavia in the persons of Tito and his followers in the Partisan Liberation Front.

But the Bishop was by no means convinced that Moscow (as distinguished from Tito) should any more be identified with atheistic Communism. Communism, he remarked, was not necessarily atheistic. The Soviet Union was demonstrating this. The church there was now being allowed its adherents and activities. The Soviet Government had seen that religion was a powerful patriotic and national influence, buttressing the armies, and had accordingly given it recognition. So he readily concluded that the "disciplined and orderly" troops of the Soviet Army might work good for Yugoslavia while the "marauding" bands of Tito certainly would not.

*Serbian Nationalism
Overplayed Here*

A principal point which the Bishop plainly wished to make during the talk 12 June was his present conviction that Serbian nationalism had overplayed itself in the United States. He said that the Serbian National Defense

had been perverted to inappropriate and unwise courses. He recalled that back in Serbia the Serbian National Defense dated from the 13th century, when St. Sava dedicated it to humanitarian purposes. The organization in the United States was intended to serve the same ends but had been turned away therefrom and to political use under the malign inspiration of the late Yovan Duchich, formerly Yugoslav Minister in Spain, and his brother, Michael Duchich, prosperous dairyman of Gary, Indiana.

*A New Relief
Organization*

The diocese now intended, Chancellor Silashki interjected, to dissociate itself entirely from the Serbian National Defense and to establish a new organ, the Serbian Patriarchate Fund, which would care for the humanitarian

duties to which the Defense should all along have restricted itself. A communication was being prepared on the subject for transmission to the State Department, and the necessary steps would be taken with regard to the President's War Relief Board.*

It is probable that this break on the part of the diocese with the Serbian

* See "Political Issues in Yugoslav War Relief," FN Number B-204 of June 1944.

National Defense and the Bishop's withdrawal from the support of Mihailovich will surprise the Yugoslav community when they become known. The *New York Times* (12 June 1944) reported a "spokesman" as saying that the gathering at the dedication of St. Sava's Cathedral was "99.44 per cent pro-Mihailovich." When talking with this Branch the Bishop and his associates deprecated the mistaken zeal of the individual who had taken it on himself to offer the press this information; but the "spokesman," whoever he was, would certainly feel himself to be justified by precedent facts in doing so.

How deeply convictions run, and how intense feeling on the issues of Yugoslav politics has come to be in the United States, was shown in the course of the Bishop's visit to New York. As reported in the *New York Times* of 12 June, Philip L. Markovich, an active worker of long standing in the Serbian National Defense, took the occasion to assail the Bishop first orally and then physically. Markovich was arrested for disorderly conduct and a police guard was provided for the Bishop. It is recalled that Markovich was in court some months ago for writing a threatening letter to Sava Kosanovich, former Yugoslav Minister of State, who has been active in the United States on the pro-Yugoslav and leftist side, and it is to the leftist side that Markovich probably now feels that even the Bishop has gone over.

*For a Federated Yugoslavia
Under a King*

The Bishop next declared his views on the future of the Southern Slavs. He favored the principle of a federated Yugoslavia. The old Serbian centralism must be avoided for the future; the monarchy, however, was indispensable. A republic would inevitably bring on social strife and separatism. A King would be a symbol and point of unity above the nationalities, reconciling disparate elements with each other and rallying loyalty as a president could hardly do.

Indeed the cohesive influence of monarchy would be such, the Bishop thought, that it would not be necessary always to have a Serb to head the government. A Croatian such as Ban Subasich would be available. Of Subasich personally the Bishop spoke in a mildly friendly way. He understood, he said, that Subasich was a man of good character and "a faithful Catholic." Events now disqualified Mihailovich, the Bishop felt, and new Serbian leaders must be discovered. If Subasich could find new Serbians and draw them to his leadership in a new Yugoslav government under the King, why then "God bless him."

*Russia and the
Political-Religious
Struggle*

The Bishop did not speak of a direct intervention by Soviet Russia in the Yugoslav complex, but his forthright support of the Yugoslav idea as against Serbian nationalism, his reference to the "disciplined and orderly" Soviet troops, and the general tenor of his discourse made evident a rising hope in his heart and mind that the new powerful Russia, which had given religion a place along with recedent atheism, might become *deus ex machina*; and it was no less plain that he thought hopefully of American friendship and help for the Yugoslavs and sensed, in the church ties already referred to, a promise of eventual cooperation between his country's two big brothers.

More specifically, and quite frankly, the Bishop adverted to the need for Russian support to offset influences which the Bishop believed to emanate from the Vatican. He firmly asserted his belief that these influences were promoting a plan for Roman Catholic control in the zone reaching across Central Europe. Poland was the anchor on the north. Then came Slovakia, Hungary, parts of Transylvania and the Ukraine, Austria, parts of Bavaria, Croatia, and Slovenia. Consolidation of these elements under Roman Catholic leadership could spell for the Bishop only a Habsburg restoration. New forms of Austro-Hungarian imperialism would inevitably follow.

In the Bishop's opinion two bulwarks were needed against this danger. One was the union of the Southern Slavs. Certainly, in the face of such a danger, a new federated Yugoslavia was imperatively needed; and beyond that it was desirable, if feasible, to include Bulgaria and Macedonia as well. The second bulwark had to be found externally. The Yugoslavs must cultivate the most cordial relations with Czechoslovakia and Poland, and above all with Russia. Only by these means would it be possible, the Bishop declared, to obviate a political-religious struggle across the face of Europe. Such a struggle would be ruinous. Yugoslavia would be at a cross-meeting and peak of all the strains and stress. War would be an inevitable consequence.

II.

The movement for Croatian independence under Roman Catholic leadership is of long standing in the United States. It came to a new expression with the creation this past May of the Supreme Council of American Croats, as briefly recorded in FN Number 186 of 9 May 1944, "New Yugoslav Conflict

Shows Itself Here." Leaders in the new organization are Monsignor Michael G. Domladovac of Akron, Ohio, the Reverend Ivan Stipanovic of Youngstown, Ohio, and Ivan Kresich, editor of the conservative Croatian-language newspaper, *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska* of New York. The program flatly condemns the recreation of Yugoslavia and instead calls for an independent Croatia. Spokesmen for the Council are unabashed in publicly approving the Croatian Nazi quisling, Ante Pavelich.

To make the position clear it is necessary to recall that agitation for the creation of a South Slav state began in the United States during the Balkan War of 1912, when Croatia was still a part of Hungary. Much the greater number of Croatian-Americans at that time favored the liberation of the homeland from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and union with the other South Slavs, but there was a minority under Catholic clerical leadership which held to the Austro-Hungarian allegiance. The Supreme Council of American Croats is in the latter line of descent.

After Yugoslavia was formed and, with the Pasich ministry, had passed under Serbian domination, the nationalist feeling of the Croats in Croatia bodied forth in the Croatian Peasant Party, led first by Stephen Radich and then Vladimir Machek. The present head of "Independent" Croatia, Ante Pavelich, and his followers were in their early career members of the Croatian Peasant Party. After 1930 Pavelich fled Yugoslavia for Italy, where Mussolini is thought to have financed his campaign for Croatian independence. Machek meanwhile carried on at home for greater autonomy within the framework of the existing Yugoslavia.

In the United States, the Pavelich-inspired separatist movement came to life first in the Croatian Circle, which had headquarters in New York and for its official organ the newspaper *Hrvatski List*, now the *Hrvatski List i Danica Harvatska*. Ivan Kresich was already editor and publisher. The movement gathered increased vigor in 1933, when Dr. Branimir Jelich arrived in this country and organized the *Hrvatski Domobran* (Croatian Home Defenders) as a branch of the Ustashi movement in Croatia. The *Domobran* was understood to be directly under the control of Ante Pavelich, who continued to operate from Italy and had become known as the *poglavnik* (duce or leader). Dr. Jelich placed Ante Doshen, an adventurer and a leader in the Croatian Circle, in charge of the *Domobran*. *Domobran* advocated a separate

Domobran Movement
in the United States

independent Croatia, glorified fascism, and is believed to have worked closely with the local Nazis.

The Croatians in the United States, who are counted well over a hundred thousand, were much influenced by the *Domobran* movement. When the United States entered the war the nearly all-embracing Croatian Fraternal Union was deeply split between those who rejected the fascist-inclined Croatian independence movement and those who supported that movement as represented in the *Domobran*. The latter category included at the time some of the Union's most prominent leaders and numerous Catholic secular clergy and members of the Franciscan Order coming from monasteries in Croatia and Dalmatia.

Soon after President Roosevelt's "state of emergency" proclamation in the spring of 1941, the *Domobran* was officially disbanded, but its adherents continued to support the idea of an independent Croatia and to regard with sympathetic approval the puppet Croatia sustained by Hitler. In April 1943 these elements organized a short-lived bloc known as the Croatian National Unionists. Now many of the *Domobranci* have admittedly passed into the Supreme Council of American Croats and have gained there a large measure of control.

*The Independence
Program*

The Supreme Council of American Croats has put forth its argument in a resolution voted at Cleveland and published in *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska* 13 May. As the reasoned statement of a position it warrants some quotation. After expressing loyalty to the American Constitution and the Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States, it recites:

"We American citizens have parents, sisters, brothers and other relatives in Croatia. Everyone who would not be interested in the people of his native land would be a traitor, a traitor to his blood. As Americans we have enjoyed all betterments in all walks of life. We wish to see the same truly democratic way of life realized in our native land, Croatia."

The creators of the European map in 1919, the resolution continues, disregarding the will of the Croat nation and failing to apply the principle of self-determination, "hammered together the State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes." "The Croat people never recognized this state as legal since it was created without their consent."

The victorious American troops will come as liberators to Croatia, the statement proceeds, and will find the Croat nation avid for liberty. "The

Croat Nation abroad, and we here in America, will be overjoyed if it is given the opportunity which was denied to it at the end of the last war, the opportunity to create its own State, separated from the Slovenes and the Serbs." Otherwise there cannot be lasting peace.

The Croat nation should not be "pushed into a non-existent 'Yugoslav Nation'." London, the resolution asserts, is "much more careful in this matter than Washington." "When London speaks, it always mentions the peoples of former Yugoslavia. We do not know why Washington mentions a 'Yugoslav Nation' which does not exist. Slovenes, Croats and Serbs are three historic nations and none of them wish or desire to be included in a geographic division which excludes the historic existence of these three nations.

"Therefore, we American citizens, clearly advise our America, official Washington and the Allies—the Croat Nation will never be anyone's slave or servant. We condemn all of those so-called Croats, who by using various tricks, try to mislead the Croat people into a new slavery and under a new yoke. That slavery may be either race or class."

However, the resolution concludes: "If it happens that the free and independent Croat State by her expression of sovereignty decides in a democratic way to enter into an equal union with other states, such a decision and the historic responsibility rests with the Croat State and the Croat Nation."

*The Council and
its Leaders*

On 30 May the *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska* carried an article signed by the Reverend Ivan Stipanovic, president of the Supreme Council of American Croats, appealing to Croatian-

Americans to support his organization and calling on them to give aid to their brothers in the homeland. He wrote of the want and distress of the Croat people and announced that American Bishops had contributed \$55,000 toward relief in Croatia. He appealed to Croatian-Americans to give to the cause also. The proceeds would of course be distributed through Church channels.

Father Stipanovic is an old campaigner for Croatian independence. In September 1933, at a time when the Ustashi movement was being organized in Croatia, he signed a memorial to the League of Nations urging the separation of Croatia from Yugoslavia. Ivan Kresich, editor of *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska*, was another signer of this 1933 memorial, and Kresich's tri-weekly newspaper has never desisted from its drive toward the independence goal.

Monsignor Domladovac, the third important figure in the Supreme Council of American Croats, is editor of *Nasa Nada*, official organ of the Croatian Catholic Union. In the 9 May issue of *Nasa Nada* Monsignor Domladovac published a straightforward editorial entitled, "A Few Words About Pavelich."

"I am not ashamed . . .," wrote Domladovac, "because Pavelich hepled to liberate Croatia from the Belgrade leeches It is known that I never associated with political parties in the United States but as a Croat I raise my voice because so many Croatian-Americans denounce those who are following Pavelich in the old country. No matter what he is, he is still a Croat. How can we over here know better than he and his followers, the conditions in which they find themselves? Why do you favor the partisans even though you know that they are suckled by Russian Communism. I know that you know what Communism stands for. Still you follow the Partisans. You know well that we Americans often follow a policy devoid of idealism and principle, inspired only by opportunism.

"Our Administration has done many things in this war which are against your and my Christian morality. Our Government maintained relations with the Vichy government . . . but we invaded North Africa. This was un-Christian, this was opportunism. Not long ago our Government demanded that a sovereign state, Eire, should expel all diplomats who were not on our side. This, too, was against our morality. Why such an uproar against Pavelich and his followers? If as Christians and Americans we cannot accept Pavelich's opportunism, then leave him in peace, because he only does what all the others do.

"In conclusion I say: 'Translate this into English and send it to Washington, to the Department of Justice.'"

*Aspects of the
Domobran Movement*

Anyone reading the above can understand how the *Domobran* movement, now reincarnate in the Supreme Council of American Croats, has revolted liberal and leftist elements, and those particularly who see the only salvation for the Southern Slavs in their continued union. The close identification of the movement with elements of the Catholic Church has offered a particular point of attack. On 30 May the liberal and sometimes anti-clerical Croatian-language *Hrvatski Svijet* of New York denounced the Supreme Council as "a clerical-fascist group whose first appeal contains all the dangerous elements of the separatist and black clerical venom which nurtured the Ustashi activities in America before Pearl Harbor."

Viewed more sympathetically, the *Domobran* movement may be seen to represent, first, the urge of a small people possessing a particular historical and cultural background to express themselves politically in their own way—a wish which may not be feasible but is certainly respectable. Secondly, it is the positive expression of a religious faith and a consciousness of communion which are certainly no less respectable. In the latter aspect the movement is envisaged by the unfriendly as part of a suppositious Vatican plan for a Catholic organization of Central Europe. The Orthodox Bishop Dionisije's outspoken conviction that such a project exists has been mentioned in the preceding section, but plainly this is not a matter susceptible of proof.

A fillip was given to speculation on this subject in Yugoslav and Central European circles in the United States at the beginning of 1944 when the News Service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington issued a press release which was published, among other places, in *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska* 15 January. Its subject was Yugoslavia with a question mark. Yugoslavia had failed (it was argued by this statement from an authoritative Catholic quarter) because of its national and religious divisions. The Catholic Croats and Slovenes were wondering what the outcome of World War II would mean for them; "the aspiration"—the NCWC press release asserted—"of the people of Croatia and the Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slavonia, Srem, Dalmatia, Banovina, and Istria—all historically and ethnologically a part of the original Croatia—is a free and sovereign State." The hope was expressed that in order to prevent unnecessary bloodshed and retaliation, the United Nations would occupy the Balkans and that affairs in Croatia would be administered "solely by officials of the United States." "The Croats would prefer," it was declared, "that such officials be American Croatian Catholics."

That is the positive aspect of the *Domobran* movement. On the negative side it may be noted that this Catholic-led Croatian independence movement is, first, uncompromisingly anti-Serbian and, secondly, anti-Orthodox. Since the Serb and his religion are deemed to be inseparable, practically Serb and Orthodox melt into one symbol of a Serbian oppression which must be withstood. Explaining the failure of Yugoslavia, the NCWC press release continued: "With the Serbian Church the established Church—although theoretically there was religious freedom for all—and the former King of Serbia the

head of the Government and residing in Belgrade, the former Serbian Capital, other population groups in Yugoslavia regarded themselves as very much in the minority and tolerated for economic reasons, rather than accepted on an equal footing culturally, socially and nationally."

No less, therefore, than in the political speculations of Orthodox leaders such as Bishop Dionisije and Father Shoukletovich the problems of the South Slavs and the other peoples of Central Europe may array themselves in the minds of Croatian Catholic leaders along an Orthodox-Catholic confrontation—ecclesiastical East vs. ecclesiastical West, that is, the line cutting midway through Yugoslavia.

*Situation Among
Slovenian-Americans*

Americans of Slovenian origin are about equally numerous with their Croatian-American cousins. Among them also there is a clerical right wing, but since no serious movement exists for

Slovenian independence, this right wing is simply aligning itself against Tito and the Partisans and in favor of King Peter and General Draza Mihailovich. In doing so it is at odds with the Socialist elements in the principal Slovenian-American organization, the Slovenian-American National Council (SANC). These elements, under the lead of Louis Adamic, put SANC behind Tito and the Partisans, and SANC has for this reason come under attack by the clerical right, heard chiefly through a priest, Reverend Bernard Ambrozic.

Father Ambrozic writes in the Cleveland daily, *Ameriska Domovina*. He condemns the republicanism of the Partisans and strongly supports the monarchy. "It is not right," he has written, "to spit on the people because they haven't toppled the throne from their hearts and plans. Hold on! History doesn't travel by leaps and bounds."

With Louis Adamic giving most of his attention in recent times to the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans, and now fallen ill, the conservative view tends to gain among the Slovenian-Americans and may show itself rather strongly when SANC holds its annual convention in July. *Ameriska Domovina* has already printed a statement of the Union of Slovenian Parishes warning Slovenian-American Catholics against participation in the SANC convention, "since the Catholic Party has broken off relations with SANC."

III.

While, as related to the two preceding sections, religious-political leaders gain definiteness on the Yugoslav-American scene, liberal, Socialist, and Communist leaders join with them in watching the progress of Ivan Subasich in his efforts, as Prime Minister designate, to bring a new Yugoslav Government into being under King Peter.

The Croatian nationalists who follow the lead of Monsignor Domladovac, Father Stipanovic, and the Supreme Council of American Croats, are against Subasich. Though a devoted and trusted lieutenant of the Croatian Peasant Party leader, Machek, Subasich has always been suspect among these extreme Croatian nationalists because he has believed in Yugoslavia and has had his contacts in Belgrade. When Subasich was reported to have told reporters in London that he was "in the first place a Yugoslav and in the second a Croat," the old animosity was refired. The conservative-clerical *Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska* devoted a burning editorial on 3 June to denunciation of Subasich on this score, and a few days later attacked him again for "appeasing the Serbs."

The views of the liberal and moderate Socialist middle-ground bulk of the Croatian-American community are heard in *Zajednicar*, organ of the Croatian Fraternal Union, and in *Hrvatski Svijet* of New York. Both these papers support and applaud Subasich. In an editorial 7 June *Zajednicar* delineated the special difficulties of Subasich's position. His success or failure would not turn on Yugoslav factors alone; great international forces were in play. Admittedly, wrote *Zajednicar*, King Peter in naming Subasich Prime Minister had acted only after a good deal of pressure from Great Britain, and possibly the United States and Russia. Many dangers lurked for Subasich in the dark corners of world diplomacy. It was also dangerous business, *Zajednicar* apprehended, to "step across the line and meet King Peter and his men," as Subasich was doing; but *Zajednicar* wished him well and sincerely hoped he would succeed.

*Subasich Redeems
His Promises*

The numerous friends Subasich won while in the United States have been impressed and pleased by the swift fulfillment of the gauge he left with a group of them at

the time of his departure for London.* He promised that his first act, in case the King entrusted him with power, would be to remove General Draza Mihailovich as Minister of War and Constantin Fotich as Ambassador in Washington.*

Since Ambassador Fotich had become identified in the minds of Yugoslav-Americans with the aggressive Pan-Serb agitation of the Serbian National Defense (from which, as previously reported in this paper, the Ambassador's lieutenant, Bishop Dionisije, has now turned away), as well as with the Serb National Federation and the Pittsburgh Serbian-language newspaper *Amerikanski Srbobran*, Fotich's recall has elicited wide approval in the Yugoslav-American community, except of course among the Serbian nationalists. On 14 June the Serb National Federation telegraphed a protest to King Peter against the dismissal of Mihailovich and Fotich and the telegram was printed the next day, in both Serbian and English, on the *Srbobran's* front page. The dismissals, the message charged, were an attack upon the honor of the Serb people; the only effect would be "to strengthen the influence of the Communist and Croatian Ustashi criminals."

*What Will Russia
Do About Subasich?*

The big question mark of this particular moment of Yugoslav history is enfolded in the Communist attitude, still veiled, toward Subasich. So far the two Communist newspapers—the Serbian-language *Slobodna Rec* and the Croatian-language *Narodni Glasnik*, both of Pittsburgh—have shown a good-natured indulgence toward Subasich's efforts to construct a government. *Slobodna Rec* (6 June) could not see what all the commotion was about. The Government of Yugoslavia, it wrote, "was formed long ago. It is in Yugoslavia. . . . If the King and Dr. Subasich really want to have these Ministeres provided with portfolios . . . he should give them to the members of the existing Yugoslav government of Marshal Tito. Simple and practical. No pain, no delay, no difficulties."

But what will the definitive attitude of the Communists, and Russia, in due course show itself to be? The mounting sense of expectancy in this regard goes back to last March, when, as related by this Branch in FN Number 186 of 9 May 1944, the Communist papers in the United States began publication of denunciatory items directed against Subasich's revered and life-long political chief and mentor, Vladimir Machek, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party.

* See FN Number 186 of 9 May 1944, "New Yugoslav Conflict Shows Itself Here."

These were received through the Moscow press agency, Inter-Continent News, and originated with Partisan sources in Dalmatia. The question inevitably occurred to all, would not Subasich in due time be bracketed with his chief in this political fusillade?

The firing on Machek has continued with increasing precision. The June issue of *Free World* contained an article on Yugoslavia ascribed to Marshal Tito. It is known that the Free World Association received the text by cable from the All-Slav Congress in Moscow. In this article Tito names Machek along with Dragesha Cvetkovich as having played leading roles in the "shameful" adherence of Yugoslavia to "the Axis regime of the traitor Prince Paul." Here seemed to be something close to a Russian official endorsement of the three-months-old Communist-line impeachment of Machek as a "fascist" and a "traitor."

Still further evidence of Tito's complete hostility to Machek, coupled with at least a waiting attitude on official Moscow's part, is seen in the press dispatch datelined Moscow and carried first (3 June) in *Novosti* in Toronto and then in some part in *Slobodna Rec* (8 June) and *Narodni Glasnik* (6 June). In this dispatch, marked as originating with the Press Bureau of the All-Slav Congress, General Djilas, a Serb-Montenegrin Communist, who is chief of Tito's military mission to Moscow, is quoted as branding Machek a traitor, specifically because even before war was declared he (Machek) was insisting that Yugoslavia must take the Axis side, and because when he was in the Government he opened concentration camps throughout the country and arrested and placed there "those Yugoslav patriots who demanded the defense of the country," that is, the Communists, among others. When Germany attacked, Djilas is reported to have said further, these patriots were not liberated and so were caught by the Germans and brutally beaten to death. This denunciation of Machek has recalled to some of Subasich's friends, with a touch of gooseflesh, that it was Subasich who had directly in hand the measures (much exaggerated, according to Subasich's friends) which are now described by Djilas.

In this setting the expectancy grows that something definite may come out of Moscow pretty soon. The nationalist Serbs, who have been deepening in despondency since Tito's rise and Subasich's triumph over Fotich, turn their eyes toward Moscow now as a last hope, as all the baffled and disconsolate tend to do these days; and what they, and not few others, are saying came

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into print with the 15 June issue of the *Srbobran*. The *Srbobran* notes that compared with Britain, Russia has all along given only lukewarm help to Tito. The Russians have now cooled off still further in their attitude toward Tito, *Srbobran* believes. The Russian representatives at Tito's headquarters, it remarks, were not politicians but soldiers and they were not impressed by Tito's "legions." Signs are not lacking for the *Srbobran* that the Russians are casting eyes at Mihailovich.

— appendix —

ERRATA

page 6, line 1: read “businessman” for “business man”

page 10, line 28: read “Hrvatska” for “Harvatska”

page 13, line 5: read “helped” for “hepled”

page 15, line 1: read “former” for “fromer”

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1/19/03

OSS MEMORANDUM ON YUGOSLAV GROUPS IN THE US

The following report was prepared by the United States Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in June of 1944. This report summarizes the positions taken by various South Slavic-American organizations on issues of import of the day: the formation of a new Yugoslav Government-in-Exile under Ivan Subasic, the increasing likelihood of a Soviet presence in Eastern Europe, and so on. It also contains considerable background information on several Croatian-American organizations, from the venerable Croatian Fraternal Union, to the Domobranici, a movement organized in the 1930s by Ustase co-founder Branimir "Branko" Jelic as the official American branch of the Ustase. This file is also reproduced in its original format in a PDF file (177k), available for download.

FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

Memorandum by the Foreign Nationalities Branch to the
Director of Strategic Services

Number 198, 28 June 1944

RELIGIOUS-POLITICAL FORCES ADD TO THE YUGOSLAV COMPLICATION

1. Serbian Orthodox Bishop Dionisije breaks with extreme Serb nationalism, disassociates himself from Mihailovich, favors federated Yugoslavia under a king, and despite dread of atheistic Communism looks toward Moscow to fend against disorder in the Balkans and for support against a Roman Catholic organization of Central Europe, which he fears would truncate Yugoslavia.

2. Some Roman Catholic Priests have revived a movement among Croatian-Americans for an independent Croatia; they openly approve the Hitler quisling, Ante Pavelich, because they believe he has given the idea of Croatian independence a demonstration of reality; an analogous movement appears among the Slovene-Americans; and ground is thus provided for Serbian Orthodox fear of a new Austro-Hungarian Roman Catholic imperialism.

3. The Communist line is still to denounce the Croatian Peasant Party leader, Vladimir Machek, as a reactionary and collaborationist, but the bulk of Croatian-Americans hold true to the Machek tradition, and except for the Catholic-led Croatian nationalists and the extreme Serbian nationalists, are following with sympathetic interest Ivan Subasich's effort to form a new Yugoslav Government under King Peter. While Croatian nationalists talk of independence, Serbian nationalists, desperate in all other directions, now dream of Moscow as *deus ex machina*.

THE ever complicated Yugoslav sector of the foreign political scene in the United States has risen to a new pitch of complication, in which a confrontation of Roman Catholic vs. Orthodox takes shadowy form. These are principal factors -

- (1) A readjustment of political position by the Orthodox Bishop of North America, Dionisije;
- (2) A revived Croatian independence move led by Roman Catholic clergy;
- (3) The efforts of Ban Ivan Subasich to form a new Yugoslav Government in the midst of mounting Communist attacks on Subasich's old chief, Vladimir Machek.

Bishop Dionisije's readjustment of position includes divorcement from the extreme nationalist campaign which has been carried on in the United States by the Serbian National Defense Council, and, coincidentally with the recall of Ambassador Fotich, a decision to end the public support heretofore given by the Bishop to General Draza Mihailovich. The Bishop is out clearly now for a federated Yugoslavia under the monarchy, and he opines that preservation of the

monarchic principle would make it possible to have a Croat such as Ivan Subasich as prime minister. To implement his break with the Serbian nationalist campaign in the United States, the Bishop is establishing a new organization, the Serbian Patriarchate Fund, to carry on the humanitarian work from which he asserts the Serbian National Defense was seduced by political machinations.

Concurrently, a number of Roman Catholic leaders among the Croatian-Americans are moving definitely against any reconstitution of Yugoslavia. They are out for an independent Croatia and are quite open in their approval of the Croatian quisling, Ante Pavelich, because they believe that at whatever cost he has imparted to the idea of Croatian independence a demonstration of reality. They are again presenting to the American public the case for an independent Croatia which was first heard of many years ago.

This initiative by individual Roman Catholic clerics in the United States has stirred in the mind of Bishop Dionisije, as well as others, the old notion of a Roman Catholic political bulwark crossing Central Europe. The Bishop seems not to doubt the existence of a Vatican design for a new Roman limes, which with Poland on the north would include Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Croatia, and Slovenia, and it implies to him a Habsburg restoration and a new Austro-Hungarian imperialism and a ruinous cutting across of the Southern Slavs by political-religious strife. His Orthodox distrust of the Western Church is fired again. He dreads "atheistic Communism" still, but he wonders if Moscow is any more what it has been. He has plainly come to think of Moscow as the emerging champion perhaps of the East against the West and deus ex machina in the tangled drama of the Southern Slavs.

The Bishop and the rest of the Yugoslav-American community meanwhile watch the efforts of Ivan Subasich to form a new Yugoslav Government under King Peter. Extreme Right and Left are hostile to Subasich or at best tolerant, but the middle-of-the-road bulk of the community wish him all success. Subasich's friends have been impressed by the swift fulfillment of the promise he gave them before leaving the United States to dismiss General Draza Mihailovich as Minister of War and Constantin Fotich as Ambassador in

Washington as soon as the King entrusted him with power, but they are disturbed by the still mounting Communist attack upon Subasich's old chief, Machek. Meanwhile Serb-American nationalists, in all other directions desperate, see signs that Moscow may be preparing an accommodation with Mihailovich. For them also Moscow takes on the shadowy form of deus ex machina.

I.

Bishop Dionisije expressed his views and stated his plans during a talk with this Branch in New York 12 June. It was his earnest wish, he said, that any sort of hostile confrontation between Orthodox and Roman Catholic interests should be avoided, but recognizing that such an untoward development might come nonetheless, he was quite frankly giving thought to the solidarity which exists among the national churches of the Orthodox communion - Russian, Serbian, Greek, and so on - and to the vast power of the new Russia. He spoke also of the special tie which binds the Orthodox communion with the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. He has not failed to follow the journey of the Archbishop of York to Moscow last September to pay his respects very promptly to the newly elevated Patriarch of Russia, and he had watched with the greatest interest, of course, the ensuing visit of that socially minded Anglican leader to the United States in April.

The sense of brotherhood existing between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States had been concretely demonstrated on 11 June. The Bishop had come to New York to take part in the consecration of the Serbian Cathedral of St. Sava. Until then a pro-Cathedral, it becomes the first Serbian Cathedral in the United States and the Bishop's new See. The edifice, which is at 15 West 25th Street, was originally built as a chapel for Trinity parish of the Protestant Episcopal Church at a cost of \$200,000 or more. Bishop Dionisije and his colleagues in the Serbian Orthodox diocese of North American felt it to be a substantial expression of brotherhood that

Trinity parish relinquished the property to them for \$30,000.

Bishop William T. Manning of the Protestant Episcopal Church had been another principal participant in the dedication. The ceremony symbolized, Manning later declared, the "close relation of the Protestant Episcopal and Holy Orthodox Churches." Also participating were Bishop Polizoides, representing Archbishop Athenagoras of the Greek Orthodox Church; Bishop Makarij of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Reverend Edward N. West, canon sacrist of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine; five archpriests and three priests representing Serbian congregations from coast to coast, and the Very Reverend Dushan J. Shoukletovich, formerly rector of St. Sava's Church, now elevated to the deanship of the cathedral. Fourteen hundred New York Serbian-Americans and 600 representatives of Serbian societies and congregations all over the country were present. Outwardly the occasion was a success, but for the more fervid Serbian nationalists it was reduced to something of an anti-climax by the failure of Bishop Dionisije to mention the name of General Draza Mihailovich and by the news that day of Ambassador Fotich's recall.

Bishop Dionisije's address was the only one at the dedication ceremonies which bore political references. As originally written the address had contained a complimentary allusion to General Draza Mihailovich, the Bishop told this Branch, but the passage was struck out at the last moment, coincidentally with the receipt of word that Ambassador Fotich had been recalled.

"The whole world knows," said the Bishop in the course of the retained portions of his address, "how great were the sufferings of the Serbian people and of the Serbian Orthodox Church whose property, church buildings, and monasteries in the so-called 'Independent State of Croatia' were confiscated and plundered, and in many cases destroyed, or burned and drenched with Serbian blood. It is everywhere known how at least three of our bishops were murdered by the Ustashi, as were also about a million Serbs, including hundreds of priests, many of whom were exiled with hundreds of thousands of other Serbs, from their parishes, their homes, and their native land. It is also well known how the head of the

Serbian Orthodox Church, His Holiness Patriarch Gabriel, dearly paid for his resistance to the Germans and for that very reason is at the present time suffering in prison in one of our monasteries.

"And yet again, the whole world knows how Hitler and Pavelich, the leader of the Ustashi in the 'Independent State of Croatia,' attempted to crush Serbian Church unity in Yugoslavia through the organization of the remaining Serbs into a so-called 'Croatian Orthodox Church' by a dissident of the Russian Orthodox Church, Bishop Germogen as head. All of these deplorable conditions put the Serbs as well as the Greeks, the Russians, and other liberty-loving peoples where they must pass between 'Scylla and Charybdis,' and the Serbs through their untold suffering are yet fighting against Nazism, Fascism, and atheistic Communism to pass their 'Scylla and Charybdis,' waiting the coming day of their liberation. So the Serbian people, as well as all other enslaved peoples, on the eve of the Allied invasion of Europe hope that their dearly bought liberty will soon return and that they may, under the beneficent rays of the sun of liberty, heal their deeply inflicted wounds and renew their youth and their national and their Church unity."

Special note may be taken of the elevation of Father Shoukletovich to be dean of the new cathedral. Father Shoukletovich represents the Orthodox Church militant, and spoke in this vein very clearly (as previously reported by this Branch) in a talk 8 May before the European Christian Forum in New York. He emphasized on that occasion his acceptance of Russia's new pre-eminence, not alone in a political and military sense but also in the realm of Eastern Christianity and in opposition to Rome. He prophesied that all the Orthodox Churches would gradually turn toward Moscow and he foresaw disappointments for the Roman Church in Poland, where the people (he said) would break away from that Church if it continued to maintain an anti-Russian attitude.

In calling on this Branch Monday 12 June Bishop Dionisije was accompanied by Dushan Silashki, an American citizen of Serbian extraction, who is a practicing lawyer in Akron, Ohio, and chancellor of the Serbian North American diocese; and also by Bozidar Martinovich, an American citizen of

Serbian-Montenegrin background, and a prosperous business man [sic] of Chicago. It was evident that the Bishop and his advisers wished to make definitely known their decision to break with the Serbian National Defense, to set up a new organization to carry on the work of Serbian relief, and in general to set out on a new line.

The Bishop is a public functionary of the Yugoslav State and receives a monthly stipend through the Yugoslav Embassy. Naturally there has been coordination between Bishop and Ambassador, and the Bishop has been associated in the public mind with the inspiration and support which the Ambassador is widely charged with having injected into the nationalist Serb campaign against the idea of Yugoslavia. Like the Ambassador, Dionisije has not denied that he is "first of all a Serb," but like the Ambassador he has also maintained pretty consistently the view that "it will be difficult to have a Yugoslavia but still more difficult not to have a Yugoslavia."

The Bishop's conversion to a forthright support of the Yugoslav idea and his corresponding estrangement from extreme Serb nationalism has been going on for some time. It was perhaps only by coincidence that the precise occasion for the Bishop's full shift to the Yugoslav idea was Ambassador Fotich's eclipse. It seemed plain when he talked with this Branch 12 June that deeper motivations had been in play. These relate as already indicated, to Russia, to the new position of the Orthodox Church in Russia, and to the Bishop's fears of a countervailing Roman Catholic political activity.

It was on the ecclesiastical aspect of international relations that the conversation with the Bishop and his two friends first bore. The Bishop confirmed the existence of a close communion between the Orthodox Churches on the one hand and the Anglican and American Episcopal Churches on the other. When it was remarked that current events showed the Anglican Church leaders to be cultivating relations especially with the Russian Patriarchate, while the American Episcopal Church continued to direct its special friendliness toward the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Bishop answered that the Orthodox Churches exemplified but one religion and one

should not forget their essential solidarity.

However, the Bishop was frank in expressing uncertainty and wonderment respecting new developments in Russia. The Bishop speaks Russian, and one senses on his part a timeless respect for Russia as a cultural and religious force, but he still dreads "atheistic Communism." In his address at the St. Sava dedication (quoted above) he had recalled that the Serbs were "yet fighting against Nazism, Fascism, and atheistic Communism to pass their 'Scylla and Charybdis,' waiting the coming day of liberation." What he had in mind, he said during the talk 12 June, was the danger that, when the Nazis were once driven out, atheistic Communism would ravage Yugoslavia in the persons of Tito and his followers in the Partisan Liberation Front.

But the Bishop was by no means convinced that Moscow (as distinguished from Tito) should any more be identified with atheistic Communism. Communism, he remarked, was not necessarily atheistic. The Soviet Union was demonstrating this. The church there was now being allowed its adherents and activities. The Soviet Government had seen that religion was a powerful patriotic and national influence, buttressing the armies, and had accordingly given it recognition. So he readily concluded that the "disciplined and orderly" troops of the Soviet Army might work good for Yugoslavia while the "marauding" bands of Tito certainly would not.

A principal point which the Bishop plainly wished to make during the talk 12 June was his present conviction that Serbian nationalism had overplayed itself in the United States. He said that the Serbian National Defense had been perverted to inappropriate and unwise courses. He recalled that back in Serbia the Serbian National Defense dated from the 13th century, when St. Sava dedicated it to humanitarian purposes. The organization in the United States was intended to serve the same ends but had been turned away therefrom and to political use under the malign inspiration of the late Yovan Duchich, formerly Yugoslav Minister in Spain, and his brother, Michael Duchich, prosperous dairyman of Gary, Indiana.

The diocese now intended, Chancellor Silashki interjected, to

dissociate itself entirely from the Serbian National Defense and to establish a new organ, the Serbian Patriarchate Fund, which would care for the humanitarian duties to which the Defense should all along have restricted itself. A communication was being prepared on the subject for transmission to the State Department, and the necessary steps would be taken with regard to the President's War Relief Board.

It is probable that this break on the part of the diocese with the Serbian National Defense and the Bishop's withdrawal from the support of Mihailovich will surprise the Yugoslav community when they become known. The New York Times (12 June 1944) reported a "spokesman" as saying that the gathering at the dedication of St. Sava's Cathedral was "99.44 per cent pro-Mihailovich." When talking with this Branch the Bishop and his associates deprecated the mistaken zeal of the individual who had taken it on himself to offer the press this information; but the "spokesman," whoever he was, would certainly feel himself to be justified by precedent facts in doing so.

How deeply convictions run, and how intense feeling on the issues of Yugoslav politics has come to be in the United States, was shown in the course of the Bishop's visit to New York. As reported in the New York Times of 12 June, Philip L. Markovich, an active worker of long standing in the Serbian National Defense, took the occasion to assail the Bishop first orally and then physically. Markovich was arrested for disorderly conduct and a police guard was provided for the Bishop. It is recalled that Markovich was in court some months ago for writing a threatening letter to Sava Kosanovich, former Yugoslav Minister of State, who has been active in the United States on the pro-Yugoslav and leftist side, and it is to the leftist side that Markovich probably now feels that even the Bishop has gone over.

The Bishop next declared his views on the future of the Southern Slavs. He favored the principle of a federated Yugoslavia. The old Serbian centralism must be avoided for the future; the monarchy, however, was indispensable. A republic would inevitably bring on social strife and separatism. A King would be a symbol and point of unity above

the nationalities, reconciling disparate elements with each other and rallying loyalty as a president could hardly do.

Indeed the cohesive influence of monarchy would be such, the Bishop thought, that it would not be necessary always to have a Serb to head the government. A Croatian such as Ban Subasich would be available. Of Subasich personally the Bishop spoke in a mildly friendly way. He understood, he said, that Subasich was a man of good character and "a faithful Catholic." Events now disqualified Mihailovich, the Bishop felt, and new Serbian leaders must be discovered. If Subasich could find new Serbians and draw them to his leadership in a new Yugoslav government under the King, why then "God bless him."

The Bishop did not speak of a direct intervention by Soviet Russia in the Yugoslav complex, but his forthright support of the Yugoslav idea as against Serbian nationalism, his reference to the "disciplined and orderly" Soviet troops, and the general tenor of his discourse made evident a rising hope in his heart and mind that the new powerful Russia, which had given religion a place along with recedent atheism, might become deus ex machina; and it was no less plain that he thought hopefully of American friendship and help for the Yugoslavs and sensed, in the church ties already referred to, a promise of eventual cooperation between his country's two big brothers.

More specifically, and quite frankly, the Bishop adverted to the need for Russian support to offset influences which the Bishop believed to emanate from the Vatican. He firmly asserted his belief that these influences were promoting a plan for Roman Catholic control in the zone reaching across Central Europe. Poland was the anchor on the north. Then came Slovakia, Hungary, parts of Transylvania and the Ukraine, Austria, parts of Bavaria, Croatia, and Slovenia. Consolidation of these elements under Roman Catholic leadership could spell for the Bishop only a Habsburg restoration. New forms of Austro-Hungarian imperialism would inevitably follow.

In the Bishop's opinion two bulwarks were needed against this danger. One was the union of the Southern Slavs. Certainly,

in the face of such a danger, a new federated Yugoslavia was imperatively needed; and beyond that it was desirable, if feasible, to include Bulgaria and Macedonia as well. The second bulwark had to be found externally. The Yugoslavs must cultivate the most cordial relations with Czechoslovakia and Poland, and above all with Russia. Only by these means would it be possible, the Bishop declared, to obviate a political-religious struggle across the face of Europe. Such a struggle would be ruinous. Yugoslavia would be at a cross-meeting and peak of all the strains and stress. War would be an inevitable consequence.

II.

The movement for Croatian independence under Roman Catholic leadership is of long standing in the United States. It came to a new expression with the creation this past May of the Supreme Council of American Croats, as briefly recorded in FN Number 186 of 9 May 1944, "New Yugoslav Conflict Shows Itself Here." Leaders in the new organization are Monsignor Michael G. Domladovac of Akron, Ohio, the Reverend Ivan Stipanovic of Youngstown, Ohio, and Ivan Kresich, editor of the conservative Croatian-language newspaper, Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska of New York. The program flatly condemns the recreation of Yugoslavia and instead calls for an independent Croatia. Spokesmen for the Council are unabashed in publicly approving the Croatian Nazi quisling, Ante Pavelich.

To make the position clear it is necessary to recall that agitation for the creation of a South Slav state began in the United States during the Balkan War of 1912, when Croatia was still a part of Hungary. Much the greater number of Croatian-Americans at that time favored the liberation of the homeland from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and union with the other South Slavs, but there was a minority under Catholic clerical leadership which held to the Austro-Hungarian allegiance. The Supreme Council of American Croats is in the latter line of descent.

After Yugoslavia was formed and, with the Pasich ministry, had passed under Serbian domination, the nationalist feeling

of the Croats in Croatia bodied forth in the Croatian Peasant Party, led first by Stephen Radich and then Vladimir Machek. The present head of "Independent" Croatia, Ante Pavelich, and his followers were in their early career members of the Croatian Peasant Party. After 1930 Pavelich fled Yugoslavia for Italy, where Mussolini is thought to have financed his campaign for Croatian independence. Machek meanwhile carried on at home for greater autonomy within the framework of the existing Yugoslavia.

In the United States, the Pavelich-inspired separatist movement came to life first in the Croatian Circle, which had headquarters in New York and for its official organ the newspaper Hrvatski List, now the Hrvatski List i Danica Harvatska. [sic] Ivan Kresich was already editor and publisher. The movement gathered increased vigor in 1933, when Dr. Branimir Jelich arrived in this country and organized the Hrvatski Domobran (Croatian Home Defenders) as a branch of the Ustashi movement in Croatia. The Domobran was understood to be directly under the control of Ante Pavelich, who continued to operate from Italy and had become known as the poglavnik (duce or leader). Dr. Jelich placed Ante Doshen, an adventurer and a leader in the Croatian Circle, in charge of the Domobran. Domobran advocated a separate independent Croatia, glorified fascism, and is believed to have worked closely with the local Nazis.

The Croatians in the United States, who are counted well over a hundred thousand, were much influenced by the Domobran movement. When the United States entered the war the nearly all-embracing Croatian Fraternal Union was deeply split between those who rejected the fascist-inclined Croatian independence movement and those who supported that movement as represented in the Domobran. The latter category included at the time some of the Union's most prominent leaders and numerous Catholic secular clergy and members of the Franciscan Order coming from monasteries in Croatia and Dalmatia.

Soon after President Roosevelt's "state of emergency" proclamation in the spring of 1941, the Domobran was officially disbanded, but its adherents continued to support the idea of an independent Croatia and to regard with

sympathetic approval the puppet Croatia sustained by Hitler. In April 1943 these elements organized a short-lived bloc known as the Croatian National Unionists. Now many of the Domobranci have admittedly passed into the Supreme Council of American Croats and have gained there a large measure of control. The Supreme Council of American Croats has put forth its argument in a resolution voted at Cleveland and published in Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska 13 May. As the reasoned statement of a position it warrants some quotation. After expressing loyalty to the American Constitution and the Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States, it recites:

"We American citizens have parents, sisters, brothers and other relatives in Croatia. Everyone who would not be interested in the people of his native land would be a traitor, a traitor to his blood. As Americans we have enjoyed all betterments in all walks of life. We wish to see the same truly democratic way of life realized in our native land, Croatia."

The creators of the European map in 1919, the resolution continues, disregarding the will of the Croat nation and failing to apply the principle of self-determination, "hammered together the State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes." "The Croat people never recognized this state as legal since it was created without their consent."

The victorious American troops will come as liberators to Croatia, the statement proceeds, and will find the Croat nation avid for liberty. "The Croat Nation abroad, and we here in America, will be overjoyed if it is given the opportunity which was denied to it at the end of the last war, the opportunity to create its own State, separated from the Slovenes and the Serbs." Otherwise there cannot be lasting peace.

The Croat nation should not be "pushed into a non-existent 'Yugoslav Nation'." London, the resolution asserts, is "much more careful in this matter than Washington." "When London speaks, it always mentions the peoples of former Yugoslavia. We do not know why Washington mentions a 'Yugoslav Nation' which does not exist. Slovenes, Croats and Serbs are three

historic nations and none of them wish or desire to be included in a geographic division which excludes the historic existence of these three nations.

"Therefore, we American citizens, clearly advise our America, official Washington and the Allies - the Croat Nation will never be anyone's slave or servant. We condemn all of those so-called Croats, who by using various tricks, try to mislead the Croat people into a new slavery and under a new yoke. That slavery may be either race or class."

However, the resolution concludes: "If it happens that the free and independent Croat State by her expression of sovereignty decides in a democratic way to enter into an equal union with other states, such a decision and the historic responsibility rests with the Croat State and the Croat Nation."

On 30 May the Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska carried an article signed by the Reverend Ivan Stipanovic, president of the Supreme Council of American Croats, appealing to Croatian-Americans to support his organization and calling on them to give aid to their brothers in the homeland. He wrote of the want and distress of the Croat people and announced that American Bishops had contributed \$55,000 toward relief in Croatia. He appealed to Croatian-Americans to give to the cause also. The proceeds would of course be distributed through Church channels.

Father Stipanovic is an old campaigner for Croatian independence. In September 1933, at a time when the Ustashi movement was being organized in Croatia, he signed a memorial to the League of Nations urging the separation of Croatia from Yugoslavia. Ivan Kresich, editor of Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska, was another signer of this 1933 memorial, and Kresich's tri-weekly newspaper has never desisted from its drive toward the independence goal.

Monsignor Domladovac, the third important figure in the Supreme Council of American Croats, is editor of Nasa Nada, official organ of the Croatian Catholic Union. In the 9 May issue of Nasa Nada Monsignor Domladovac published a straightforward editorial entitled, "A Few Words About

Pavelich."

"I am not ashamed . . . ," wrote Domladovac, "because Pavelich hepled [sic] to liberate Croatia from the Belgrade leeches It is known that I never associated with political parties in the United States but as a Croat I raise my voice because so many Croatian-Americans denounce those who are following Pavelich in the old country. No matter what he is, he is still a Croat. How can we over here know better than he and his followers, the conditions in which they find themselves? Why do you favor the partisans even though you know that they are suckled by Russian Communism. I know that you know what Communism stands for. Still you follow the Partisans. You know well that we Americans often follow a policy devoid of idealism and principle, inspired only by opportunism.

"Our Administration has done many things in this war which are against your and my Christian morality. Our Government maintained relations with the Vichy government . . . but we invaded North Africa. This was un-Christian, this was opportunism. Not long ago our Government demanded that a sovereign state, Eire, should expel all diplomats who were not on our side. This, too, was against our morality. Why such an uproar against Pavelich and his followers? If as Christians and Americans we cannot accept Pavelich's opportunism, then leave him in peace, because he only does what all the others do.

"In conclusion I say: 'Translate this into English and send it to Washington, to the Department of Justice.'"

Anyone reading the above can understand how the Domobran movement, now reincarnate in the Supreme Council of American Croats, has revolted liberal and leftist elements, and those particularly who see the only salvation for the Southern Slavs in their continued union. The close identification of the movement with elements of the Catholic Church has offered a particular point of attack. On 30 May the liberal and sometimes anti-clerical Croatian-language Hrvatski Svijet of New York denounced the Supreme Council as "a clerical-fascist group whose first appeal contains all the dangerous elements of the separatist and black clerical venom which nurtured the

Ustashi activities in America before Pearl Harbor."

Viewed more sympathetically, the Domobran movement may be seen to represent, first, the urge of a small people possessing a particular historical and cultural background to express themselves politically in their own way - a wish which may not be feasible but is certainly respectable. Secondly, it is the positive expression of a religious faith and a consciousness of communion which are certainly no less respectable. In the latter aspect the movement is envisaged by the unfriendly as part of a suppositious Vatican plan for a Catholic organization of Central Europe. The Orthodox Bishop Dionisije's outspoken conviction that such a project exists has been mentioned in the preceding section, but plainly this is not a matter susceptible of proof.

A fillip was given to speculation on this subject in Yugoslav and Central European circles in the United States at the beginning of 1944 when the News Service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington issued a press release which was published, among other places, in Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska 15 January. Its subject was Yugoslavia with a question mark. Yugoslavia had failed (it was argued by this statement from an authoritative Catholic quarter) because of its national and religious divisions. The Catholic Croats and Slovenes were wondering what the outcome of World War II would mean for them; "the aspiration" - the NCWC press release asserted - "of the people of Croatia and the Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slavonia, Srem, Dalmatia, Banovina, and Istria - all historically and ethnologically a part of the original Croatia - is a free and sovereign State." The hope was expressed that in order to prevent unnecessary bloodshed and retaliation, the United Nations would occupy the Balkans and that affairs in Croatia would be administered "solely by officials of the United States." "The Croats would prefer," it was declared, "that such officials be American Croatian Catholics.

That is the positive aspect of the Domobran movement. On the negative side it may be noted that this Catholic-led Croatian independence movement is, first, uncompromisingly anti-Serbian and, secondly, anti-Orthodox. Since the Serb and his religion are deemed to be inseparable, practically Serb and

Orthodox melt into one symbol of a Serbian oppression which must be withstood. Explaining the failure of Yugoslavia, the NCWC press release continued:

"With the Serbian Church the established Church - although theoretically there was religious freedom for all - and the former King of Serbia the head of the Government and residing in Belgrade, the former [sic] Serbian Capital, other population groups in Yugoslavia regarded themselves as very much in the minority and tolerated for economic reasons, rather than accepted on an equal footing culturally, socially and nationally."

No less, therefore, than in the political speculations of Orthodox leaders such as Bishop Dionisije and Father Shoukletovich the problems of the South Slavs and the other peoples of Central Europe may array themselves in the minds of Croatian Catholic leaders along an Orthodox-Catholic confrontation - ecclesiastical East vs. ecclesiastical West, that is, the line cutting midway through Yugoslavia.

Americans of Slovenian origin are about equally numerous with their Croatian-American cousins. Among them also there is a clerical right wing, but since no serious movement exists for Slovenian independence, this right wing is simply aligning itself against Tito and the Partisans and in favor of King Peter and General Draza Mihailovich. In doing so it is at odds with the Socialist elements in the principal Slovenian-American organization, the Slovenian-American National Council (SANC). These elements, under the lead of Louis Adamic, put SANC behind Tito and the Partisans, and SANC has for this reason come under attack by the clerical right, heard chiefly through a priest, Reverend Bernard Ambrozic.

Father Ambrozic writes in the Cleveland daily, *Ameriska Domovina*. He condemns the republicanism of the Partisans and strongly supports the monarchy. "It is not right," he has written, "to spit on the people because they haven't toppled the throne from their hearts and plans. Hold on! History doesn't travel by leaps and bounds."

With Louis Adamic giving most of his attention in recent times to the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans, and

now fallen ill, the conservative view tends to gain among the Slovenian-Americans and may show itself rather strongly when SANC holds its annual convention in July. Ameriska Domovina has already printed a statement of the Union of Slovenian Parishes warning Slovenian-American Catholics against participation in the SANC convention, "since the Catholic Party has broken off relations with SANC."

III.

While, as related to the two preceding sections, religious-political leaders gain definiteness on the Yugoslav-American scene, liberal, Socialist, and Communist leaders join with them in watching the progress of Ivan Subasich in his efforts, as Prime Minister designate, to bring a new Yugoslav Government into being under King Peter.

The Croatian nationalists who follow the lead of Monsignor Domladovac, Father Stipanovic, and the Supreme Council of American Croats, are against Subasich. Though a devoted and trusted lieutenant of the Croatian Peasant Party leader, Machek, Subasich has always been suspect among these extreme Croatian nationalists because he has believed in Yugoslavia and has had his contacts in Belgrade. When Subasich was reported to have told reporters in London that he was "in the first place a Yugoslav and in the second a Croat," the old animosity was refired. The conservative-clerical Hrvatski List i Danica Hrvatska devoted a burning editorial on 3 June to denunciation of Subasich on this score, and a few days later attacked him again for "appeasing the Serbs."

The views of the liberal and moderate Socialist middle-ground bulk of the Croatian-American community are heard in Zajednicar, organ of the Croatian Fraternal Union, and in Hrvatski Svijet of New York. Both these papers support and applaud Subasich. In an editorial 7 June Zajednicar delineated the special difficulties of Subasich's position. His success or failure would not turn on Yugoslav factors alone; great international forces were in play. Admittedly, wrote Zajednicar, King Peter in naming Subasich Prime Minister had acted only after a good deal of pressure from

Great Britain, and possibly the United States and Russia. Many dangers lurked for Subasich in the dark corners of world diplomacy. It was also dangerous business, Zajednicar apprehended, to "step across the line and meet King Peter and his men," as Subasich was doing; but Zajednicar wished him well and sincerely hoped he would succeed.

The numerous friends Subasich won while in the United States have been impressed and pleased by the swift fulfillment of the gauge he left with a group of them at the time of his departure for London. He promised that his first act, in case the King entrusted him with power, would be to remove General Draza Mihailovich as Minister of War and Constantin Fotich as Ambassador in Washington.

Since Ambassador Fotich had become identified in the minds of Yugoslav-Americans with the aggressive Pan-Serb agitation of the Serbian National Defense (from which, as previously reported in this paper, the Ambassador's lieutenant, Bishop Dionisije, has now turned away), as well as with the Serb National Federation and the Pittsburgh Serbian-language newspaper Amerikanski Srbobran, Fotich's recall has elicited wide approval in the Yugoslav-American community, except of course among the Serbian nationalists. On 14 June the Serb National Federation telegraphed a protest to King Peter against the dismissal of Mihailovich and Fotich and the telegram was printed the next day, in both Serbian and English, on the Srbobran's front page. The dismissals, the message charged, were an attack upon the honor of the Serb people; the only effect would be "to strengthen the influence of the Communist and Croatian Ustashi criminals."

The big question mark of this particular moment of Yugoslav history is enfolded in the Communist attitude, still veiled, toward Subasich. So far the two Communist newspapers - the Serbian-language Slobodna Rec and the Croatian-language Narodni Glasnik, both of Pittsburgh - have shown a good-natured indulgence toward Subasich's efforts to construct a government. Slobodna Rec (6 June) could not see what all the commotion was about. The Government of Yugoslavia, it wrote, "was formed long ago. It is in Yugoslavia. . . . If the King and Dr. Subasich really want to have these Ministeres provided with portfolios . . . he should give them to the

members of the existing Yugoslav government of Marshal Tito. Simple and practical. No pain, no delay, no difficulties."

But what will the definitive attitude of the Communists, and Russia, in due course show itself to be? The mounting sense of expectancy in this regard goes back to last March, when, as related by this Branch in FN Number 186 of 9 May 1944, the Communist papers in the United States began publication of denunciatory items directed against Subasich's revered and life-long political chief and mentor, Vladimir Machek, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party. These were received through the Moscow press agency, Inter-Continent News, and originated with Partisan sources in Dalmatia. The question inevitably occurred to all, would not Subasich in due time be bracketed with his chief in this political fusillade?

The firing on Machek has continued with increasing precision. The June issue of Free World contained an article on Yugoslavia ascribed to Marshal Tito. It is known that the Free World Association received the text by cable from the All-Slav Congress in Moscow. In this article Tito names Machek along with Dragesha Cvetkovich as having played leading roles in the "shameful" adherence of Yugoslavia to "the Axis regime of the traitor Prince Paul." Here seemed to be something close to a Russian official endorsement of the three-months-old Communist-line impeachment of Machek as a "fascist" and a "traitor."

Still further evidence of Tito's complete hostility to Machek, coupled with at least a waiting attitude on official Moscow's part, is seen in the press dispatch datelined Moscow and carried first (3 June) in Novosti in Toronto and then in some part in Slobodna Rec (8 June) and Narodni Glasnik (6 June). In this dispatch, marked as originating with the Press Bureau of the All-Slav Congress, General Djilas, a Serb-Montenegrin Communist, who is chief of Tito's military mission to Moscow, is quoted as branding Machek a traitor, specifically because even before war was declared he (Machek) was insisting that Yugoslavia must take the Axis side, and because when he was in the Government he opened concentration camps throughout the country and arrested and placed there "those Yugoslav patriots who demanded the defense of the country," that is, the Communists, among others. When Germany

attacked, Djilas is reported to have said further, these patriots were not liberated and so were caught by the Germans and brutally beaten to death. This denunciation of Machek has recalled to some of Subasich's friends, with a touch of gooseflesh, that it was Subasich who had directly in hand the measures (much exaggerated, according to Subasich's friends) which are now described by Djilas.

In this setting the expectancy grows that something definite may come out of Moscow pretty soon. The nationalist Serbs, who have been deepening in despondency since Tito's rise and Subasich's triumph over Fotich, turn their eyes toward Moscow now as a last hope, as all the baffled and disconsolate tend to do these days; and what they, and not few others, are saying came into print with the 15 June issue of the Srbobran. The Srbobran notes that compared with Britain, Russia has all along given only lukewarm help to Tito. The Russians have now cooled off still further in their attitude toward Tito, Srbobran believes. The Russian representatives at Tito's headquarters, it remarks, were not politicians but soldiers and they were not impressed by Tito's "legions." Signs are not lacking for the Srbobran that the Russians are casting eyes at Mihailovich.

Source: NARA.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/oss/text/oss011.txt>

"Pavelic's Cossacked Agents"

Another OSS report from agent S. Karan on yet another group with ties to Pavelic or the suppressed Ustase "Home Defender" organization in America, and their operations after the Independent State of Croatia declared war on the United States after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

S.K.
Yugo.

May 19, 1942
Chicago, Ill.

RE: Rev. Spiro Andrianich,
Croat. Cath. Church of
"Sacred Heart"
So. Chicago

The above subject has sent out invitations to nearly all Croatian organizations of Greater Chicago, to have their representatives get in touch with him. The purpose is to form a "American Croatian Alliance of South Chicago", committee [sic]. This committee would then set a plan of action for further work. As a start, the committee would arrange a picnic to be held for the benefit of the American Red Cross.

Vincent Knaus, is temporary chairman and P.J. Starchevich an organizer. Both of these men, same as Rev. Andrianich, are dye-in-the-wool adherents of Dr. Pavelich, Fuehrer of "Free Croatia". This all was apparently planned and put into operation by the connivance of several other pro Pavelich Croatian friars. Since the start of this war, most of these Croatian Cath. friars have applied the medium of their faith among the Amer. Croats, to prevent them from forming any anti Axis, or pro Allied organization and had always supported the "Croatian Homedefenders" up to their disbandement and final dispersal.

As reported previously, about two months ago, about 54 Croatian Organizations, formed an anti Pavelich-Axis group and an active American, pro-Allied organization, under the

name and title of, Amer. Croatian Natl. Alliance of America. The Pavelich band of agents were thrown into a real panic in realization that they were losing their politico-spiritual grip on these Croats. Working fast, they connived upon the idea to form an organization similar in name to that of the Amer. Croatian Natl. Alliance and thereby confuse the laymen on one hand and neutralize [sic] this patriotic organization, on the other. By throwing the bait "for the American Red Cross", these conspirators figured laconically, that the Croatian societies would not dare to refuse an invitation to help the American Red Cross. This is what really happened. Even one Croat red organization answered this invitation and the secretary later sheepishly remarked, that his crowd was afraid of being smeared unpatriotic by "these Hitlerites" if they did not answer the call for the Red Cross. On the other hand, if all these Croat organizations do form a committee to put this picnic over "for the Red Cross", they will at the same time unwillingly build another 5th column channel [sic] for the enterprising Rev. Andrianich and his Pavelich friars.

Mr. Bazdarich, pres. of the Amer. Croat. Natl. Alliance was immediately advised of Rev. Andrianich's move. Bazdarich was very much surprised and hastened with his attorney to speed the granting of charter for his organization, before Rev. Andrianich beat him to it with his charter. Bazdarich and his organization also took quick action to forestall the design and intent of this, Pavelich band's move among the Amer. Croats.

This way, Andrianich would also cover his crowd with a patriotic cloak and continue his subversive work among the Croats by staging patriotic benefit functions. Knaus and Dr. Starchevich are active local republican party workers and advertise Rev. Andrianich as a good catholic priest. City alderman Rowan, De. of the 10th Ward, also caters to Rev. Andrianich, under impression that this priest can sway a number of his Croats in elections. On the other hand, this priest allows it to be known that "he has good political connections" for his followers and himself and therefor his prestige ascends with the general run of the laymen. Of course Alder. Rowan, or any other Amer. politician, is unaware that they are being adroitly used by Andrianich for their alien [sic] 5th column act when they cater to him for

votes. These local politicians are even ignorant of the fact, that up to Dec. 7th 1941, Andrianich and his cohorts had put themselves on record by speech and action as, pro-Axis, anti-democratic, anti-Administration and anti-war.

It is important to note, that this preist [sic] and these 2 men, Knaus and Starchevich, are intellectually so far above the average level of their followers, that they are well capable of leading or misleading them in any chosen path without being caught red handed, and thereby impress them of their power of immunity from deserved prosecution.

Their intention also is to curb the growing popularity and influence of Ban Subasich that is being fostered by the Amer. Croat. Natl. Alliance and other Croatian organizations who are trying to shake the grip of these cassocked Pavelich's agents [sic].

SK:Y

Source: NARA.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/oss/text/oss010.txt>

S.K.
Yugo.

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Chicago, Ill.

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Croat. Cath. Church of
"Sacred Heart"
So. Chicago

2120

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S.K.

(2)

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It is important to note, that this priest and these 2 men, Knaus and Starchevich, are intellectually so far above the average level of their followers, that they are well capable of leading or misleading them in any chosen path without being caught red handed, and thereby impress them of their power of immunity from deserved prosecution.

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SK:Y

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE USTASE ABROAD

Declassified by the CIA in February 1998, this document is a summary of information gleaned from Yugoslav sources about the extent of the Ustase organization in Italy, Austria, France and America as of October, 1946. By the broken English of certain passages, it is almost certain that this was not written by an American officer, and represents either a memorandum passed on by the Yugoslavs, by Chetnik or Royalist remnants in Europe, or, possibly an intercept or debriefing from a source within either of the above. Context, including the mild comments toward some Ustase leaders in Italy, however, probably precludes the author or source of this document being a member of the Yugoslav government. The key phrase of this document is the author's observation that "The contact of this organisation is on a wide basis and it seems that they are working without stopping."

SUBJECT: THE ORGANISATION OF THE USTASIES ABROAD

SOURCE: MAJOR Svetozar BOGICEVICH - LONDON

SUB-SOURCE: GENERAL Miodrag DAMIJANOVICH - ITALY

DATE RECEIVED: 4 NOVEMBER, 1946.

DATE OF INFORMATION: OCTOBER, 1946

At the head of the organisation continues to be "Poglavnik" (Fuehrer) of the Independent State of Croatia, Dr. Ante PAVELICH - criminal of war.

Considering various informations PAVELICH after having left Yugoslavia was living in Austria in a villa near Celovec. In the Spring of 1946 he went to Italy to Rome accompanied by an unknown person (It could probably be the Ustashi Lieutenant DOSEN) and dressed in the clothes of a catholic priest and under the fals [sic] name of "Don Pedro Gonner" he lived in Rome in the catholic college in Via Giacomo Belli. He has a Spanish passport under the above mentioned name, which passport was given to him by the Spanish Consulat in Milan.

Considering the last informations, which have not been valid, PAVELICH has gone to America (Canada or South America) over Spain.

The Leaders of the Ustashi Movement. - In Italy at the head of the ustashi movement is Colonel PECNIKAR, former commander of the Police of the Independent State of Croatia. In Austria this function is performed by Lovro SUSICH, former minister in the Independent State of Croatia, and his helper for the British zone is a Bozidar KARAN.

All three of them dispose of great amounts of money, and they finance the whole ustashi activity.

The ideological leader of the ustashi movement in Italy is (Dr.) Krunoslav DRAGANOVICH, priest and professor of theology, who should represent at the Vatican the interests of the croatian emigration. This authorisation he received from all the catholic Bishops in Yugoslavia, but he has put himself to represent only the ustashies and their interests. A cruel and uncompromised [sic] ustasha, who upholds the "ustashi spirit" among the ustashi emigrants in Italy also in Austria.

A close collaborator and helper of DRAGANOVICH is (Dr.) Ivan MADJEREC.

Both of them live in the Society "St. Jeronimo" in Rome, Via Tomacelli no. 132.

The Committee of Croatian refugees in Rome. - For an instrument for PECNIKAR and DRAGANOVICH is the so called "COMMITTEE OF CROATIAN REFUGEES IN ROME", which has its seat in the "Society of St. Jeronimo" in Via Tomacelli 132, mezanin.

The official formation of this committee is the following:

- President: Ante BUDIMIROVICH, former delegate of the HSS, who on the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia

withdrew and joined the ustashies.

Vice President: (Dr.) Josip REBERSKI, former member of Parliament for HSS. For him it is said that he is not an ustashi, but that he is a hesitator, who himself does not know what he wants, or where he will go;

Secretary: (Dr.) Josip RSPUDICH, Ustashi, criminal of war, former chief of the political section of the State Police in the Independent State of Croatia and chief of cabinet of the minister for the Interior.

Members of the Committee: (Dr.) Zvonko PINTEROVICH, Ustashi, a professor; (Dr.) Josip BUTURAC, Ustashi, former ustashi commessar [sic] for industry in the Independent State of Croatia; (Dr.) Salko BANJIC, [illegible], former consul of the Independent State of Croatia in Ljubljana; (Dr.) Marijan BANICH, Ustashi, former chief of the Sanitary Aacademy in the Independent State of Croatia; Fra KODRICH, priest, Ustashi; (Dr.) Rudo BARICEVICH, Ustashi; Mate VIDICH, Ustashi; Mira MALENICA (It seems that her real surname is BALICH), student, poisoned Ustashi and the Commander of the "Womens branche of the Ustashi Youths"; (Dr.) Ivan PEJICH, Ustashi, former employer of the Town Marie in Zagreb during the Independent State of Croatia; Pavo TIJAN, Ustashi, professor and head of the section of the Ministry of Education of the Independent State of Croatia; Franjo JOVICH, Ustashi, former commander of the camp in Banja Luka; Niko FILIPOVICH, Ustashi, former memeber [sic] of Parliament; Ilija SARAVANJA, former "procelnik" (Polit com.) in the ustashi chief political police.

Secret field organisation and service. - As the second instrument is the so called "SECRET FIELD ORGANISATION AND SERVICE".

The chief of this organisation is Veliko PECNIKAR personally.

Collaborators: Ivan DEVCICH, ustashi lieutenant, otherwise an old emigrant; Petar SIMICH, personal secretary of Lovro SUSICH; Zvonko BILAK, former employer of PAVELICH's legation

in Rome. Now he serves for contact with the fascist organisations; Dr. Bozidar ANICH, priest from Kula near Metkovich. Bif [sic] Ustashi. Now serves for contact with the Italian monisteries in which are hiding Ustashies, named as criminals of war; Ivan PECI "Djovani", from Split, who a few months ago came from Yugoslavia (amoung [sic] us it is believed that he belongs to OZNA and that he has been put there with the task for Italy. He is employed in Rome as a printer in an Italian printing house in Via de Cesbria 51.

The contact of this organisation is on a wide basis and it seems that they are working without stopping.

The chief organisator of contact in Rome is Zvonko KOJADIN, who is hiding under the false name of Zajin MUFTICH, he lives in Via Piave 70. Othwerise he is in contact with the vaticat [sic] secret police and especially in the American information service.

For contact are:

- For Austria: Fra Stpe JELCICH, priest; Dr. Ivan COLICH, cannon [sic], Don Mate PAPAC; Zdravko Bjelo MARICH; Marko URMOVICH and Josip PINTER.

- For Germany and Belgium: Zlatko BARBARICH, Ilija JURICH and Petar JEKOVICH.

For Yugoslavia: One group of Ustashies in Trieste, that is to say in a village near Trieste, on Italian territory (Beluno). This group consists of Ivo BABICH, former High Governor of Travnik, Hasan TURICH professor and former High Governor, former agent of the military police in Sarajevo and Mate PUSICH, innkeeper in Zagreb.

- For France: Some people from the group of Dosen CIVIDINI. Every time another person, under fals [sic] names and with Allied Movement Orders. Contact in Paris goes over Dr. Andreje ARTUKOVICH, the organisator of the atentat on the late King Aleksadar [sic] I and Dr. Joze DUMANDZICH, former minister of transport in the Independent State of Croatia - (Ustashi Lieutenant Dosen, former teacher, at present interpretor [sic] to a Croatian group in Naples, working for

the British; one of the most bloody Ustashies, from Gracanice. He presents himself as the member of Yugoslav Sokols and shows a legitimization of the sokols. But he was there the Ustashi information officer. It is said for him, that with his own hand he killed around 100 Serbs. He was in the personal service of PAVELICH and was with him when he escaped from Yugoslavia to Austria and from Austria to Italy. Captain CIVIDIN, was also an Ustashi slaughterer, and today he is the aide to Velko PECNIKAR. In his apartment in Rome he hid Vilko PECNIKAR, when the allied authorities were looking for him as a criminal of war.

For the Vatican: (Dr.) Krunoslav DRAGANOVICH (of whom was earlier written); (Dr.) Zvonko ZANKO, administrative chief of the ustashi camp in Fermo; (Dr.) Andreja JELICICH on service at the Vatican.

This contact goes through (Dr.) Fra Domenik MANDICH, living in Via Po 6 in Rome.

With the Italian Authorities: Professor Alija SULJAK (personal friend of De Gasperi). Alija SULJAK was the personal aide of PAVELICH. In July 1945 he personally gave a Memorandum to the Turkish Embassy, the Afghanistan and Iran Legations in Rome in which he said that the whole fault for the killing of the moselems [sic] in Bosnia was that of the Serbs; (Dr.) Franje KREZEVICH [?], lawyer from Banja Luka. (Dr.) Baldo DREKICH (personal friend of De Gasperi [sic]) and (Dr.) Nikola BELEK (also a personal friend of De Gasperi [sic]).

As contact with the Christian-democratic party are mentioned still: Niko FILIPOVICH, former member of Parlament, Dr. Josip RASPUDICH, General CANICH, Dr. Niko RPSANDICH and Dr. Ivo BOGDAN, former chief of ustashi propaganda in Zagreb.

- With Spanish consulat: Zvonko RASLAJICH-DOGONJICH.

- With Turkish Embassy: Hasan SULJAK, who has the legitimization of the Anadol agency.

- With American croats: (Dr.) Ivan VIDALE, professor of the Zagreb Univsersity; Dr. Marko COLAK, former secretary of some

ministry in the Independent State of Croatia; Ing. Eduard MANCE, former Minister of Post in the Independent State of Croatia; Dr. SARICH Arch-Bishop of Sarajevo, at present in Klagenfurt in Austria.

In America the chief activity of the ustashies is lead and that in North America Croats that are living in Chicago (Illinois), and in South America those living in Buenos Aires (Argentina).

The propaganda is performed over the Croatian newspapers in Chicago "Hrvatska Gruda", and in Canada in the "Hrvatska Danica".

The files, of the "Secret Field organisation" exists in Naples, Taranto, Redoj-Emilija, Venice and Trieste.

The representatives of the Ustashi organisation in the mentioned places are the following:

Naples: till a short time ago ustashi colonel VRKLJAN, who in the beginning of September 1946 was arrested by the allied authorities and managed to escape [sic], and at present by the ustashi Lieutenant DOSEN, of whom was mentioned above;

Taranto: Ivan PERAS, former director of the newspaper "Nova Hrvatska"

Redjo Emilija: ustashi Lieutenant Novalija DJESKOVICH and Mrs. Mara ERENCICH, the wife of General ERENCICH (in this town are still living around 17 former employers [sic - here and below, probably "employees"] of PAVELIC's legation in Rome; the names and addresses of these people are being looked for);

Venice (town): Dr. Nikola RUSCANOVICH, former, mayor head for Susak;

Trieste: the already mentioned BABICH, TURICH and the brothers PUSICH, as also the illfamed Ivan HLADNIK, the chief of the Ustashi "Crna Ruka" (Black Hand) in Trieste;

Courrier service [sic] inbetween the center in Rome that is

to say in Fermo and the files are lead by:

- Stanko RAJICH relations Rome-Fermo;
- Josip SAVOLJA relations Fermo-Redjo Emilija;
- Ivica HITREC relations Fermo-Senegal-Ricone;
- Boza RAJICH, ustashi lieutenant, relations Fermo-Banisli-(Naples)-Termini;
- Jure NISSETICH, student of law, relations Fermo-Trieste,
- Ivan TAJNFLOR, student of medicine, relations Rome-Trieste.

The place where the distinguished ustashi functioniers live:

The present place of habitation of the distinguished functioniers, who have been proclaimed [sic] criminals of war:

- Dr. Ivan SARICH, Arch-Bishop of Sarajevo, lives together with the Slovenian Bishop ROZMAN in Klagenfurt in Austria in the Bishops palace there.
- (Dr.) Zafer KULENOVICH, former, Vice President of the Independent State of Croatia, handed over by the allies to Tito.
- (Dr.) Osmanbeg KULENOVICH, former, minsiter without portopholio [sic], handed to Tito.
- (Dr.) Viktor GUTICH, former High Governor from Banja Luka and well know [sic] ustashi killer, handed to Tito.
- Marshal KVATERNIK, handed to Tito.
- General Miroslav NAVRATIL, former, Yugoslav Air Force Lieutenant in pension, from Sarajevo. His father is of Chekoslovak [sic] origin, who was a rail road employers during the time of Austria. He was pensioned before the war because of being pro-German. In the Independent State of Croatia he changed his name to "Fridrich" and said that he was of German origin. He was Minister of War. He escaped when the partisans were coming forward and lived in Austria in Zell am See where he was caught by the Allies and for some time he was in an SS camp with captured Germans. From there later on he was handed to Tito.
- Mehmed ALAJBEGOVICH, former, minister of Foreign Affairs of the Independent State of Croatia, handed to Tito.
- General Mafije [?] CANICH, foremer [sic], Yugoslav Colonel later on PAVELICH's general and minister of the army. At present he is living in Rome, his address is being looked

for. On him depend many HSS politicians in Rome and say that he was alright. There was even a letter that he be received in the camp of Eboli, which was refused.

- General Dragutin RUPCICH, is hiding somewhere in Italy.

- Dr. HEFER, former, minister of the peasants in the Independent State of Croatia, is living at present in Rome (address not yet known); formerly he was a member of Parliament for the HSS and joined PAVELICH. But otherwise the followers of the HSS say that he is not mixed in any ustashi dirty work.

- Dragutin TOT, is still in Allies hands and was shut in the camp Terni in Italy, from where he manged [sic] to escape. He is hiding somewhere in the surrounding of Naples.

- General KREN, former, active Yugoslav Air Force Captain, who just before the war started escaped to Autria [sic] to the Germans. Later he was minister and commander of the Air Forace [sic] of the Independent State of Croatia. He was in the P.W. camp Grumo near Bari in the hands of the Allies. This camp has been reformed. For his present place of habitation there is a search.

- Vjekoslav BRANCICH, former, minister of the Indepedent State of Croatia he was in the hands of the Allies in the camp of Terni, from where he managed to escape and at present is hiding in Rome.

- Danijel [illegible], ustashi lieutenant, otherwise a priest, also of PAVELICH, and next to that the chief of the ustashi Propaganda, he was in Italy in the ustashi camp Fermo, from where he managed to escape. Not known at present where he is.

- Dr. Stijepo PERICH, PAVELICH's former ambassador in Rome, he is hiding somewhere near Naples.

- STIR, ustashi colonel, was till a short time the administrative organ in the camp Baniali near Naples, where he talked ideology and published the ustashi newspaper "Velebit". In August 1946 he was arrested by the British authorities and taken to an unknown place.

- Ljubo MILOS, illfamed ustashi killer from Jasenovac and Lepoglav. He says that he personally killed 4,000 Serbs. By one report he is in the ustashi camp Fermo, and by another he escaped from camp and is hiding somewhere in Italy.

- Dr. Mirko PUK, well known "criminal from Glina", is in exile. It is said that he is either in France of [sic] in Spain.

- Zivan KUVESKOVICH, peasant from Ilach, otherwise former PAVELICH minister without portfolio, is in Allied hands. Where he is shut up is not known.
- Vjekoslav BLASKOV, PAVELICH's chief of the Worker Union, is in Allied hands. Where he is shut up is not known.
- Viljim CECELJA, priest, is somewhere in [sic] exile in Austria.
- Dr. Josip BALEN, PAVELICH's minister for the forest, is in exile somewhere in Austria.
- Janko TORTICH, PAVELICH's minister of Social [sic] Politics, is in exile somewhere in Bavaria.
- Dr. Andrija ARTUKOVICH, is in hiding somewhere in France, most likely in Paris.
- (Dr.) Jozef DUMANCICH, PAVELICH's minister of Transport, is in hiding somewhere in France.
- Dr. Edo BULAT, managed to go to Argentina.
- Milovan ZANICH, died in prison in Terni, Italy.

FINANCIAL MEANS. Next to the great amount of gold, which Vilko PECNIKAR brought when he escaped from Yugoslavia the ustashi organisation is helped by:

- American Croats-Ustashies. Their sendings arrive over (Dr.) Franje KNEZEVICH, Dr. Ivan JURISICH and Petar SIMICH who are all in Rome.
- The Vatican from their means for information service. These means are given over Dr. Fra Dominik MANDICH in Rome.

MORAL HELP. On the first place moral help to the ustashies is shown by the Vatican, over which also goes a great deal of correspondence, as also contact with ustashies left behind and especially with priests in the country. On the second place come the American Croats, who help them with propaganda and newspapers. On the third place and [sic] the Allies themselves, being from not knowing the situation, or from some special reasons. The best proof for this, is that in Naples is employed by the British of the work one group of 320 Ustashies from the camp of Fermo, and under the command of the Ustashi Killer DOSEN. Dressed in British uniforms, these Ustashies carry on their sleeve the Croatian arms, and

on their caps a "U" separate sign something like PAVELICH's unit "Danica".

Finally, moral help is given to the Ustashies by all the fascist elements in Italy, helping them in holding contact and giving them material help.

THE POLITICAL PROGRAM, is unchanged. Hate towards the Serbs, and also towards all those who represent the Yugoslav outlook.

Political-Cultural-Educational work in the camp Fermo is very wide spread and is lead quite in the spirit of the ustashi ideology.

WORK IN CROATIA. The wish of the Ustashies in emigration is that the Crisaders [sic] movement in Croatia is changed over to the Ustashi. On the formation of this plan everything is done through the ustashi priests and bringing into the country ustashies, especially the smaller leaders in the country whom the Crusaders should have to change successively into Ustashies. On this is especially working Dr. DRAGANOVICH. Regarding in valid information there has been sent to Croatia a certain number of armed ustashies. The arms were received by the Italian fascists organisation.

CONCLUSION.

1. Even if small numbered, the ustashies are very active in their work, having the help of the catholic church, Italian fascist reaminder [sic], Croatians who are on their side in emigration in America and till a certain point the British Allies and Americans. - They represent a great harm and great danger for the state when it is freed of the present Tito regime.

2. For open fighting against the Ustashies, apart from the

press and propaganda there are no momental conditions, therefor one has to go full force ahead on these means, trying especially to show to the Western Allies the Ustashi real colors, and to unabl[e] them.

3. Of the work and movement of the ustashies one has to lead a strong evidence and to gather details of the whole work and of everyone of them, so that in the moment, when an open battle can lead against them, there would be the necessary materiles [sic] and proofs.

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0001.txt>

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SUBJECT: THE ORGANIZATION OF THE USTASHES ABROAD.
 SOURCE: MAJOR Svetozar BOGICEVICH-LONDON.
 SUB-SOURCE: GENERAL Kladrag DAMJANOVICH-ITALY.
 DATE RECEIVED: 4 NOVEMBER, 1946.
 DATE OF INFORMATION: 1 OCTOBER, 1946.

94-00511R/9/188

At the head of the organization continues to be "Foldevnik" (Futrer) of the Independent State of Croatia, Dr. Ante PAVELICH - criminal of war. Considering various informations PAVELICH after having left Yugoslavia was living in Austria in a villa near Celovec. In the spring of 1946 he went to Italy to Rome accompanied by an unknown person (it could probably be the Ustashi Lieutenant ~~XXXXXX~~) and dressed in the clothes of a catholic priest and under the false name of "Don Pedro Gerner" he lived in Rome in the catholic college in Via Giacomo Belli. He has a Spanish passport under the above mentioned name, which passport was given to him by the Spanish Consul in Milan.

Considering the last informations, which have not been valid, PAVELICH has gone to America (Canada or South America) over Spain.

The Leaders of the Ustashi Movement. - In Italy at the head of the ustashi movement is Colonel ~~XXXXXX~~ PECEKAR, former commander of the Police of the Independent State of Croatia. In Austria this function is performed by Lovro ~~XXXXXX~~ MISICH, former minister in the Independent State of Croatia, and his helper for the British zone is a ~~XXXXXX~~ Boudier ~~XXXXXX~~ KARAN.

All three of them dispose of great amounts of money, and they finance the whole ustashi activity.

The ideological leader of the ustashi movement in Italy is (Dr.) Krunoslav ~~XXXXXX~~ DRAGANOVICH, priest and professor of theology, who should represent at the Vatican the interests of the croatian emigration. This authorization he received from all the catholic Bishops in Yugoslavia, but he has put himself to represent only the ustashes and their interests. A cruel and uncompromised ustasha, who upholds the "ustashi spirit" among the ustashi emigrants in Italy also in Austria.

A close collaborator and helper of DRAGANOVICH is (Dr.) Ivo ~~XXXXXX~~ MADJEREC. Both of them live in the Society "St. Jeronimo" in Rome, Via Tomacelli no. 132.

The Committee of Croatian refugees in Rome. - For an instrument for PECEKAR and DRAGANOVICH is the so called COMMITTEE OF CROATIAN REFUGEES IN ROME, which has its seat in the Society of St. Jeronimo in Via Tomacelli 132, Milan.

The official formation of this committee is the following:

- President: Ante ~~XXXXXX~~ BUDIMIROVICH, former delegate of the H.S.B., who on the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia withdrew and join the ustashes.

Vice Presidents: (Dr.) Josip ~~XXXXXX~~ REBERAKI, former member of Parliament for H.S.B. For him it is said that he is not an ustashi, but that he is a hesitator, who himself does not know what he wants, or where he will go.

Secretary: (Dr.) Josip ~~XXXXXX~~ RASPUJICH, Ustashi, criminal of war, former chief of the political section of the State Police in the Independent State of Croatia and chief of cabinet of the Minister for the Interior.

Members of the Committee: (Dr.) Zvonko ~~XXXXXX~~ PINTEROVICH, Ustashi, a professor; (Dr.) Josip ~~XXXXXX~~ BUTURAC, Ustashi, former ustashi commissioner for industry in the Independent State of Croatia; (Dr.) Salko ~~XXXXXX~~ BANJICH, Y former consul of the Independent State of Croatia in Ljubljana;

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Date FEB 1936

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Dr. Marijan ~~BANICH~~, Ustashi, former chief of the Sanitary Academy in the Independent State of Croatia; ~~Fra KODRICH~~, priest, Ustashi; Dr. Rudo ~~BARICEVICH~~, Ustashi; ~~Nat. VIDICH~~, Ustashi; ~~Mira MALENICA~~ (it seems that her real surname is ~~BALICH~~), student, poisoned Ustashi and the Commander of the "Women's branch of the Ustashi Youth"; ~~Dr. Ivan PEJICH~~, Ustashi, former employer of the Town Marie in Zagreb during the Independent State of Croatia; ~~Pav. VIDAN~~, Ustashi, professor and head of the section of the Ministry of Education of the Independent State of Croatia; ~~Franc. ICHICH~~, Ustashi, former commander of the camp in Banja Luka; ~~Niko FILIPOVICH~~, Ustashi, former member of Parliament; ~~Ilija SARAVANJA~~, former "proconsul" (Polit. com.) in the Ustashi chief political police.

Secret field organization and service. - As the second instrument is the so called "SECRET FIELD ORGANIZATION AND SERVICE".

The chief of this organization is ~~Velko PECNIKAR~~ personally.

Collaborators: ~~Ivan DEVOICH~~, Ustashi lieutenant, otherwise an old emigrant; ~~Petar SIMICH~~, personal secretary of ~~Lovro SIBICH~~; ~~Zvonko BILAK~~, former employer of ~~PAVELICH~~'s legation in Rome. Now he serves for contact with the fascist organizations; ~~Dr. Stojan ANICH~~, priest from Kula near Metkovich. Bif Ustashi. Now serves for contact with the Italian monasteries in which are hiding Ustashies, named as criminals of war; ~~Ivan PECI "Djoveni"~~, from Split, who a few months ago came from Yugoslavia (among us it is believed that he belongs to OZNA and that he has been put there with the task for Italy. He is employed in Rome as a printer in an Italian printing house in Via de Cesare 51.

The contact of this organization is on a wide basis and it seems that they are working without stopping.

The chief organizer of contact in Rome is ~~Evanjo KOJADIN~~, who is hiding under the false name of ~~Zajin MUFTICH~~, he lives in Via Piave 70. Otherwise he is in contact with of the vatican secret police and especially in the American information service.

For contact are:

-For Austria: ~~Fra Stjep. JELICH~~, priest; ~~Dr. Ivan COLICH~~, cannon, ~~Don Matko PAPAČ~~; ~~Zdravko Bjal. KARICH~~; ~~Marko JURKOVICH~~ and ~~Fesip PINTER~~.

-For Germany and Belgium: ~~Zlatko BARBARICH~~, ~~Ilija JURICH~~ and ~~Petar JERKOVICH~~.

For Yugoslavia: One group of Ustashies in Trieste, that is to say in a village near Trieste, on Italian territory (Beluno). This group consists of ~~Ivan BABICH~~, former High Governor in Travnik, ~~Masop. BORICH~~ professor and former High Governor, former agent of the military police in Sarajevo and ~~Mat. FUSICH~~, innkeeper in Zagreb.

-For France: Some people from the group of ~~Dose. CIVIDINI~~. Every tin another person, under false names and with Allied Movement Orders. Contact in Paris goes over ~~Dr. Andrej. ARTUKOVICH~~, the organizer of the student of the late King Aleksandar I and ~~Dr. Jozo BERMANDEICH~~, former minister of transport in the Independent State of Croatia - Ustashi Lieutenant Dosen, former teacher, at present interpreter to a Croatian group in Naples, working for the British; one of the most bloody Ustashies, from Gracanice. He presents himself as the member of Yugoslav Sokols and shows a legitimation of the sokols. But he was there the Ustashi information officer. It is said for him, that with his own hand he killed around 100 Serbs. He was in the personal service of ~~PAVELICH~~ and was with him when he escaped from Yugoslavia to Austria and from Austria to Italy. Captain CIVIDINI was also an Ustashi slaughterer, and today he is the aide to ~~Velko PECNIKAR~~. In his apartment in Rome he hid ~~Velko PECNIKAR~~, when the allied authori-

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ties were looking for him as a criminal of war.

For the Vatican: Dr. Krunic ~~DR. KRANJEC~~ (of whom was earlier written); Dr. Zvonko ~~STANKO~~, administrative chief of the ustashi camp in Fermo; Dr. Andrej ~~STELICH~~ on service at the Vatican.

This contact goes through Dr. Frs. Domenik ~~STANDICH~~, living in Via Po 6 in Rome.

With the Italian Authorities: Professor Alija ~~SULJAK~~ (personal friend of De Gasperi) Alija ~~SULJAK~~ was the personal aide of PAVELICH. In July 1945 he personally gave a Memorandum to the Turkish Embassy, the Afghanistan and Iran Legations in Rome in which he said that the whole fault for the killing of the muslims in Bosnia was that of the Serbs; Dr. Franje ~~STANOVICH~~, lawyer from Banja Luka. Dr. Baldo ~~STANOVICH~~ (personal friend of De Gasperi) and Dr. Nikola ~~STALEK~~ (also a personal friend of De Gasperi).

As contact with the Christian-democratic party are mentioned still: Niko ~~FILIPOVICH~~, former member of Parliament, Dr. Josip ~~RASPUDICH~~, General ~~CANICH~~, Dr. Niko ~~RPSANDICH~~ and Dr. Ivo ~~BOGDAN~~, former chief of ustashi propaganda in Zagreb.

-With Spanish consuls: Zvonko ~~RAJAJICH-DOJONJICH~~.

-With Turkish Embassy: Hassan ~~SULJAK~~, who has the legitimation of the Andol agency.

-With American contacts: Dr. Ivo ~~VIDAL~~, professor of the Zagreb University; Dr. Marko ~~COLAK~~, former secretary of some ministry in the Independent State of Croatia; Ing. Eduard ~~MANCE~~, former Minister of Post in the Independent State of Croatia, Dr. ~~SARICH~~ Arch-Bishop from Sarajevo, at present in Klagenfurt in Austria.

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Taranto: Ivan PERAS, former director of the newspaper "Nova Hrvatska"

Redo Emilija: ustashi Lieutenant Novilija ~~DJESKOVICH~~ and Mrs. Mara ~~ERENCICH~~, the wife of General ~~ERENCICH~~ (in this town are still living around 17 former employers of PAVELICH's legation in Rome; the names and addresses of these people are being looked for);

Venice (town): Dr. Nikola ~~RUSCANOVICH~~, former, Mayor head for Fiume;

Trieste: the already mentioned ~~SARICH~~, ~~TURICH~~ and the brothers ~~PUSICH~~, as also the ill-famed Ivan ~~HLADNIK~~, the chief of the Ustashi "Crna Ruka" (Black Hand) in Trieste;

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-Josip ~~SAVOLJA~~ relations Fermo-Redo Emilija;

-Ivica ~~MITROVIC~~ relations Fermo-Sanegal-Riccone;

-Boris ~~RAJICH~~, ustashi lieutenant, relations Fermo-Banilili (Naples)-Ferrini;

-Jure ~~MISETICH~~, student of law, relations Fermo-Trieste.

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-Ivan TAJNELOR, student of medicine, relations Rome-Trieste. The place where the distinguished ustashi functionaries live the present place of habitation of the distinguished functionaries, who have been proclaimed criminals of war:

-Dr. Ivan SARICH, Arch-Bishop of Sarajevo, lives together with the Slovenian Bishop ROMAN in Klagenfurt in Austria in the Bishops palace there.

-Dr. Zefar ~~SKLENOVICH~~, former, Vice President of the Independent State of Croatia, handed over by the allies to Tito.

-Dr. Osman ~~SKLENOVICH~~, former, minister without portfolio handed to Tito.

-Dr. Viktor ~~DOTICH~~, former High Governor from Banja Luka and well known ustashi killer, handed to Tito.

-Marshal ~~KVATZNIK~~, handed to Tito.

-General Miroslav NAVRATIL, former, Yugoslav Air Force Lieutenant in pension, from Sarajevo. His father is of Czechoslovak origin, who was a rail road employer during the time of Austria. He was pensioned before the war because of being pro-German. In the Independent State of Croatia he changed his name to "Fridrich" and said that he was of German origin. He was Minister of War. He escaped when the partisans were coming forward and lived in Austria in Zell am See where he was caught by the allies and for some time he was in an SS camp with captured Germans. From there later on he was handed to Tito.

-Mehmed ALAJBEGOVICH, former, minister of Foreign Affairs of the Independent State of Croatia, handed to Tito.

-General Mafija ~~GANICH~~, former, Yugoslav Colonel later on PAVELICH's general and minister of the army. At present he is living in Rome, his address is being looked for. On him depend many H.S.S. politicians in Rome and say that he was alright. There was even a letter that he be received in the camp of Eboli, which was refused.

-General Dragutin RUPCICH, is hiding somewhere in Italy.

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Dr. Stjepan FERICH, PAVELICH's former ambassador in Rome, he is hiding somewhere near Naples.

STIR, ustashi colonel, was till a short time the administrative organ in the camp Sanitoli ~~SECRET~~ where he talked ustashi

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*Dr. Andrija ARTUKOVICH, is in hiding somewhere in France, most likely in Paris.

-~~(Dr) Jozo DZHANDICH~~, PAVELICH's minister of Transport, is in hiding somewhere in France.

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BACKGROUND REPORT ON KRUNOSLAV DRAGANOVIC

This is a follow-up report to Counter-Intelligence Corps Agent Robert Clayton Mudd's earlier report in which he indicated that the Monastery of San Girolamo was acting as a haven for Ustase fugitives, and that he had run an agent into the network smuggling accused Ustase war criminals out of Croatia. Mudd appeared earlier to be suspicious that Ustase agents had infiltrated legitimate networks to help refugees, rather than that these networks themselves had been set up in order to smuggle out hunted Ustase officials. His conclusions in Paragraph 15 remain unchallenged to this day. This is an improved copy of the document originally published here, found among the CIA papers on Krunoslav Draganovic.

HEADQUARTERS
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ALLIED FORCES HEADQUARTERS
APO 512

February 12, 1947

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

SUBJECT: Father Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC,

RE: PAST Background and PRESENT Activity.

1. Fr. Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC is a Croatian Catholic priest in the Monastery of San Geronimo [sic - here and below], 132 Via Tomacelli. ROME. This man has for some time now been associated with Ustashi elements in Italy and, while in many instances it is hard to distinguish the activity of the Church from the activity of one man whose personal convictions might lie along a certain line, it is fairly evident in the case of Fr. DRAGANOVIC that his sponsorship of

the Ustashi cause stems from a deep-rooted conviction that the ideas espoused by this arch-nationalist organization, half logical, half lunatic, are basically sound concepts.

2. Fr. DRAGANOVIC is a native of TRAVNIK where he finished his elementary and secondary school. Shortly after this he went to SARAJEVO to study theology and philosophy. Here he fell under the personal magnetism of Dr. Ivan SARIC, archbishop of SARAJEVO, whose particular interest he soon became and after graduation he was sent to ROME under the auspices of Dr. SARIC who had some good connections in the Vatican.

3. Having completed his studies at ROME where he majored in ethnology and Balkan affairs he returned to SARAJEVO where he held various political offices, all of a minor importance. Shortly after the formation of the Independent State of Croatia under Ante PAVELIC in April 1941 DRAGANOVIC became one of the leading figures in the Bureau of Colonization. In the middle of 1943 however he became involved in a disagreement over the relative merits of the younger Eugen KVATERNIK, whom he called a "madman and a lunatic", and he left Croatia and returned to ROME.

4. According to a reliable informant it is believed that this departure of DRAGANOVIC from Croatia to Italy is a classic example of "kicking a man upstairs" inasmuch as it is fairly well established that the leaders of the Independent State of Croatia expected the prelate, through his good connections in the Vatican, to be instrumental in working out the orientation of Croatia towards the West rather than the East. These same leaders, being occidental-minded and knowing full well that Croatia's militant Catholicism [sic] made her a "natural" in such a deal, relied on DRAGANOVIC to assist them in their aims. He was eminently unsuccessful.

5. DRAGANOVIC has a brother still in ZAGREB who is a member of the Napredak Co., who recently was ignored in the elections to determine the members of the Board of Directors. He has another brother, whereabouts unknown, who was a member of the Croatian Embassy in BERLIN. He is in touch with his brother, ZVONKO, in ZAGREB but not with KRESO, whose [sic] whereabouts are not definitely [sic] known although he has

been reported in the British zone in Germany.

6. About a year ago DRAGANOVIC is alleged in some circles to have somewhat denounced his now ardent pro-Ustashi sentiments during a conference of Croats in ROME. Having been accused by a certain Dr. KLJAKOVIC (apparently a member of the Croat Peasant Party) of being in very close contact with only Ustashi emogrees [sic] DRAGANOVIC is said to have replied that if working for an independent Croatia meant being an Ustasha then "I am an Ustasha". "However," he added, "I disassociate myself from all other attributes of the Ustashi."

7. With this aim in view DRAGANOVIC is working with the Ustashi and also with some leftovers of the Croat Peasant Party in exile. When Milan PRIBANIC, erstwhile Commandant of the Guard of Vlado MACEK, appeared in ROME, he immediately contacted him and thus made his aims and purposes clear to MACEK.

8. Many of the more prominent Ustashi war criminals and Quislings are living in ROME illegally, many of them under false names. Their cells are still maintained, their papers still published, and their intelligence agencies still in operation. All this activity seems to stem from the Vatican, through the Monastery of San Geronimo to Fermo, the chief Croat Camp in Italy. Chief among the intelligence operatives in the Monastery of San Geronimo appear to be Dr. DRAGANOVIC and Monsignor MADJARAC.

9. The main messenger between the Vatican, the Monastery and Fermo is an Ustasha student by the name of BRISKI. BRISKI was interned in the 209 POW Camp at AFRAGOLA and was with the Ustashi Cabinet members when their escape was organized from there. His physical description is as follows: 25 years old, medium height, black hair, seen mostly without a hat. Has very bad teeth in upper and lower jaw. Appears to be very wise.

10. This Agent managed to run a counter-operative into this Monastery to find out if possible if the internal setup of the place was as had been alleged, namely that it was honeycombed with cells of Ustashi operatives. This was

established and several things more but operations were stopped abruptly when it became too dangerous for the counter-intelligence agent in the Monastery. The following facts were ascertained:

11. In order to enter this Monastery one must submit to a personal search for weapons and identification documents, must answer questions as to where he is from, who he is, whom he knows, what is purpose is in the visit, and how he heard about the fact that there were Croats in the Monastery. All doors from one room to another are locked and those that are not have an armed guard in front of them and a pass-word is necessary to go from one room to another. The whole area is guarded by armed Ustashi youths in civilian clothes and the Ustashi salute is exchanged continually.

12. It was further established that the following prominent ex-Ustashi Ministers are either living in the monastery, or living in the Vatican and attending meetings several times a week at San Girolamo:

1. Ivan DEVCIC, Lt. Colonel
2. VRANCIC, Dr. Vjekoslav, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
3. TOTH, Dr. Dragutin, Minister of Croat State Treasury.
4. SUSIC, Lovro, Minister of Corporations in Croatian Quisling Government
5. STARCEVIC, Dr. Mile, Croat Minister of Education.
6. RUPCIC, General Dragutin, General of Ustashi Air Force.
7. PERIC, Djordje, Serbian Minister of Propaganda under NEDIC.
8. PECNIKAR, Vilko - Ustasha General and CO of Ustashi Gendarmerie
9. MARKOVIC, Josip, Minister of Transport in Pavelic Government.
10. KREN, Vladimir - Commander-in-Chief of the Croat Air Force.

13. While this "Croat", directed by this Agent to try to penetrate the Croat intelligence network, was inside the Monastery he personally heard a conversation ensue between this Monsignor MADJERAC and Dr. SUSIC, who, at the time of the conversation, was in the Vatican library. He also heard a conversation between two of the Ustashi in the monastery

which established the fact that a brother of Dr. PERIC runs a hotel in ROME, and that often this hotel is visited at night for the purpose of holding important Ustahi [sic] conferences. The money for the purchase of the hotel was given this man by his brother, Dr. PERIC.

14. It was further established that these Croats travel back and forth from the Vatican several times a week in a car with a chauffeur whose license plate bears the two initials CD, "Corpo Diplomatico". It issues forth from the Vatican and discharges its passengers inside the Monastery of San Geronimo. Subject to diplomatic immunity it is impossible to stop the car and discover who are its passengers.

15. DRAGANOVIC's sponsorship of these Croat Qusilings definitely [sic] links him up with the plan of the Vatican to shield these ex-Ustashi nationalists until such time as they are able to procure for them the proper documents to enable them to go to South America. The Vatican, undoubtedly banking on the strong anti-Communist feelings of these men, is endeavoring to infiltrate them into South America in any way possible to counteract the spread of Red doctrine. It has been reliably reported, for example that Dr. VRANCIC has already gone to South America and that Ante PAVELIC and General KREN are scheduled for an early departure to South America through Spain. All these operations are said to have been negotiated by DRAGANOVIC because of his influence in the Vatican.

16. This agent will continue to make an effort to keep abreast of the situation in this area and also to advise G-2 of any new plans or changes of operations on the part of DRAGANOVIC and his satellites.

[signed]
ROBERT CLAYTON MUDD,
SPECIAL AGENT, CIC

DISTRIBUTION:
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HEADQUARTERS
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE COM-
ALLIED FORCES HEADQUARTERS
APO 512

Col. Smith #
C1 Balk
in town 1770 1412
8 1412

February 12, 1947

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

SUBJECT: Father Krivoslav DRAGANOVIC,

RE : PAST Background and PRESENT Activity.

1. Dr. Krivoslav DRAGANOVIC is a Croatian Catholic priest in the Monastery of San Geronimo, 132 Via Tomacelli, ROME. This man has for some time now been associated with Ustashi elements in Italy and, while in many instances it is hard to distinguish the activity of the Church from the activity of one man whose personal convictions might lie along a certain line, it is fairly evident in the case of Fr. DRAGANOVIC that his sponsorship of the Ustashi cause stems from a deep-rooted conviction that the ideas espoused by this arch-nationalist organization, half logical, half lunatic, are basically sound concepts.

2. Fr. DRAGANOVIC is a native of TRAVNIK where he finished his elementary and secondary school. Shortly after this he went to SARAJEVO to study theology and philosophy. Here he fell under the personal magnetism of Dr. Ivan SARIC, archbishop of SARAJEVO, whose particular interest he soon became and upon graduation he was sent to ROME under the auspices of Dr. SARIC who had some good connections in the Vatican.

3. Having completed his studies at ROME where he majored in ethnology and Balkan affairs he returned to SARAJEVO where he held various political offices, all of a minor importance. Shortly after the formation of the Independent State of Croatia under Ante PAVELIC in April 1941 DRAGANOVIC became one of the leading figures in the Bureau of Colonization. In the middle of 1943, however, he became involved in a disagreement over the relative merits of the younger Eugen KVATERNIK, whom he called a "madman and a lunatic", and he left Croatia and returned to ROME.

4. According to a reliable informant it is believed that this departure of DRAGANOVIC from Croatia to Italy is a classic example of "kicking a man upstairs" inasmuch as it is fairly well established that the leaders of the Independent State of Croatia expected the prelate, through his good connections in the Vatican, to be instrumental in working out the orientation of Croatia towards the West rather than the East. These same leaders, being eccidetal-minded and knowing full well that Croatia's militant Catholicism made her a "natural" in such a deal, relied on DRAGANOVIC to assist them in their aims. He was eminently unsuccessful.

5. DRAGANOVIC has a brother still in ZAGREB who is a member of the Napredak Co., who recently was ignored in the elections

to determine the members of the Board of Directors . He has another brother, whereabouts unknown, who was a member of the Croatian Embassy in BERLIN . He is tough with his brother, ZVONKO, in ZAGREB but not with KRESO, whose whereabouts are not definitely known although he has been reported in the British zone in Germany .

6. About a year ago DRAGANOVIC is alleged in some circles to have somewhat denounced his now ardent pro-Ustashi sentiments during a conference of Croats in ROME. Having been accused by a certain Dr. KLJAKOVIC (apparently a member of the Croat Peasant Party) of being in very close contact with only Ustashi emogreess DRAGANOVIC is said to have replied that if working for an independent Croatia meant being an Ustasha then "I am an Ustasha" . "However," he added, "I disassociate myself from all other attributes of the Ustashi."

7. With this aim in view DRAGANOVIC is working with the Ustashi and also with some leftovers of the Croat Peasant Party in exile . When Milem PRIBANIC, erstwhile Commandant of the Guard of Vlado MACEK, appeared in ROME, he immediately contacted him and thus made his aims and purposes clear to MACEK .

8. Many of the more prominent Ustashi war criminals and Quislings are living in ROME illegally, many of them under false names . Their cells are still maintained, their papers still published, and their intelligence agencies still in operation . All this activity seems to stem from the Vatican, through the Monastery of San Geronimo to Fermo, the chief Croat Camp in Italy . Chief among the intelligence operatives in the Monastery of San Geronimo appear to be Dr. DRAGANOVIC and Monsignor MADJARAC.

9. The main messenger between the Vatican, the Monastery and Fermo is an Ustasha student by the name of BRISKI . BRISKI was interned in the 209 POW Camp at AFRAGOLA and was with the Ustashi Cabinet members when their escape was organized from there. His physical description is as follows: 25 years old, medium height, black hair, seen mostly without a hat. Has very bad teeth in upper and lower jaw. Appears to be very wise.

10. This Agent managed to run a counter-operative into this Monastery to find out if possible if the internal setup of the place was as had been alleged, namely that it was honeycombed with cells of Ustashi operatives. This was established and several things more but operations were stopped abruptly when it became too dangerous for the counter-intelligence agent in the Monastery . The following facts were ascertained:

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12. It was further established that the following prominent ex-

Ustashi Ministers are either living in the Monastery, or living in the Vatican and attending meetings several times a week at San Geronimo :

- 1) Ivan DEVCIC, Lt. Colonel
- 2) VRANCIC, Dr. Vjekoslav, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- 3) TOTI, Dr. Dragutin, Minister of Great State Treasury.
- 4) SUSIC, Levro, Minister of Corporations in Croatian Quailing Government.
- 5) STARCEVIC, Dr. Mile, Great Minister of Education.
- 6) RUPCIC, General Dragutin, General of Ustashi Air Force.
- 7) PERIC, Djordje, Serbian Minister of Propaganda under KEDIC.
- 8) PECNIKAR, Vilko-Ustasha General and CO of Ustashi Gendarmerie
- 9) MARKOVIC, Josip, Minister of Transport in Pavelic Government.
- 10) KREN, Vladimir-Commander-in-Chief of the Great Air Force.

13. While this "Great", directed by this Agent to try to penetrate the Croat intelligence network, was inside the Monastery he personally heard a conversation ensue between this Monsignor MADJARAC and Dr. SUSIC, who, at the time of the conversation, was in the Vatican library. He also heard a conversation between two of the Ustashi in the monastery which established the fact that a brother of DR. PERIC runs a hotel in ROME, and that often this hotel is visited at night for the purpose of holding important Ustashi conferences. The money for the purchase of the hotel was given this man by his brother, Dr. PERIC.

14. It was further established that these Croats travel back and forth from the Vatican several times a week in a car with a chauffeur whose license plate bears the two initials CD, "Corpo Diplomatico". It issues forth from the Vatican and discharges its passengers inside the Monastery of San Geronimo. Subject to diplomatic immunity it is impossible to stop the car and discover who are its passengers.

15. DRAGANOVIC'S sponsorship of these Croat Quailings definitely links him up with the plan of the Vatican to shield these ex-Ustashi nationalists until such time as they are able to procure for them the proper documents to enable them to go to South America. The Vatican, undoubtedly banking on the strong anti-Communist feelings of these men, is endeavoring to infiltrate them into South America in any way possible to counteract the spread of Red doctrine. It has been reliably reported, for example that Dr. VRANCIC has already gone to South America and that Ante PAVELIC and General KREN are scheduled for an early departure to South America through Spain. All these operations are said to have been negotiated by DRAGANOVIC because of his influence in the Vatican.

16. This Agent will continue to make an effort to keep abreast of the situation in this area and also to advise G-2 of any new plans or changes of operations on the part of DRAGANOVIC and his satellites.

Robert Clayton Mudd
ROBERT CLAYTON MUDD
SPECIAL AGENT, CIG

DISTRIBUTION:

AC of S, G-2, AFHQ (2)
Chief, CIG, AFHQ (1)
File (1)

EXCLUDED FROM RELEASE

SUBJECT: The Croatian Resistance Movement

1. The Croatian Resistance "HRVATSKI NARODNI OTBOR" (HNO) / is a Secret Organization which is limited to members of the Emigration as the connections to their country are only loose ones. Its direction was in SALZBURG, Austria, until late summer 1948 (Proceedings in AGRAM). Its chief leaders were:

- a. Ex-Minister [censored]
- b. [censored]
- c. KAVRAN (executed in the meantime)
- d. DR. SAPOLIC (executed in the meantime)
- e. TOMJENOVIC (executed in the meantime)
- f. Ex-Minister [censored]

[[censored] had an office in SALZBURG. [censored] [Krunoslav Batusic -Ed.] the former chief of police of VARAZDIN, was his closest collaborator. One night in July 1948 [censored] was kidnapped and disappeared without leaving any traces. [censored] got the aggressors to escape and they took [censored] then succeeded in escaping. At present he is living near the German-Austrian border using several names. His former code-name in Austria was [censored].

The leaders of HNO say that [censored] was a traitor. Investigations made by CIC and the Austrian Police resulted in some incriminating facts. The family of [censored] stayed in Yugoslavia which could have been a threat. On the other hand [censored] was a severe combatant against the partisans during his period in office as the chief of police. He not only signed many death sentences but also executed them himself.

Simultaneously with the abduction of [censored] the arrest of members of HNO who had gone to Yugoslavia to strengthen and support resistance groups there, became known. The Yugoslavian press explained in detail and propagandistically evaluated the proceedings against more than 90 Ustaschi who were once in leading positions and the death sentence against more than 40 persons.

2. a. Generals with known code-names as mentioned in identity request No. 34 are not known here.

(1) [censored]

(2) [censored]

(3) [censored]

Generals mentioned who are known:

(4) BOBAN

(5) [censored]

At the time of the collapse both were colonels. [censored] was commanding an Ustascha Unit in the area of SARAJEVO. His present residence is not known.

BOBAN is considered to be the most capable high ranking Ustascha officer. Prominent circles of the HNO say that BOBAN is now staying in the mountains but is refusing any contact with the emigration. Until now people were of the opinion that BOBAN had died during the war. Information received from a third source says that BOBAN, wounded at the beginning of 1948, was captured and executed.

b. [censored] charged [censored] with the organization of the whole of the Croatian Resistance Movement in case Yugoslavia was occupied. [censored] cooperated with German authorities. He allegedly was wounded and escaped to Hungarian territory (he speaks Hungarian well) and has since disappeared. According to recent information (19 Nov 1948) [censored] sent news from France where he is said to be active. This is all that is known about him.

c. Code-names mentioned and the persons' correct names are known as follows:

(1) ZMAJ OD BOZNE (Dragon of Bosnia)

(2) ZRINSKI (Historical figure of Croatia)

(3) MATIJA GUBEC (Historical figure of Croatia)

Ad (1): Josip TOMJENOVIC had the code-name ZMAJ OD BOZNE. He was military attache of HNO for the Croatian Territory. Until he became active he lived mostly in Italy. Shortly after crossing the Austrian-Yugoslavian border he was arrested. At the proceedings in AGRAM he was sentenced to death and hanged (according to Yugoslavian press information).

Ad (2): The person bearing the code-name ZRINSKI is not known.

Ad (3): Dr. Vladimir SABOLIC had the code-name MATIJA GUBEC. Dr. SABOLIC was charged by the NHO [sic] with the direction of Civil Affairs (Interior). He was also hanged.

3. The following is known about other persons mentioned in the report attached to identity request No. 34:

- a. The leader of the German group is [censored]
- b. The General Secretary of the German group is the former Major Geza von ALTMANN, who is not living near Munich but in Austria (ATTERSEE/SALKAMMERGUT). He is known under the code-name KOVACS (not identical with our members bearing this name).
- c. It is likely that AGALITSCH is identical with Tahir ALAGIC recently hanged in AGRAM. Some months ago he went with one of the groups to Yugoslavia, was captured and sentenced to death. ALAGIC was originally from Bosnia. He is a member of the Military Sub-Committee of HNO.
- d. [censored] is not known.

4. The situation of the Croatian Emigration is about as follows:

- a. The emigration based everything on the election of DEWEY as they had best relations to Republican Councillors. Before the elections the Croatian Emigration submitted a memorandum to DEWEY who promised assistance. After the election of TRUMAN the Croatians tried to extend their Democratic

relations. It must be considered that the Croats in the USA who are united in the BRATSKA ZAJEDNICA (Brotherly Communion) are mostly for TITO and their leaders are adherents of TITO (communists).

b. The leader of the New Emigration is the HSS leader, [censored] [Vladko Macek -Ed.] now living in Washington. (HSS - HRVATSKA SELJACKA STRANKA - Croatian Farmer's Party). HNO recognized him but is watching him distrustfully as he has not given an explanations regarding an independent Croatia (the aim of HNO) but is leading negotiations on the grounds of a federal Yugoslavia. [censored] who is probably living in Argentine [handwritten note in margin: "or Rome?"] keeps away from politics. HNO is, however, in contact with him. A strong group of Croats in Argentine is being led by the former ambassador, [censored], who has good relations to the Foreign Ministry of Argentine and to PERON. [censored] maintains contact with the HNO.

c. They are striving to gather all emigrants in a Main Organization "UJEDINJENI HRVATI" (United Croats). It is intended to elect [censored] president in case he resigns his office as HSS party leader and recognizes the "UJEDINJENI HRVATI" as the sole Organization. Their country shall decide upon the form of State when the time has come. In case [censored] is not accepted they intend to ask the famous Croatian sculptor [censored] (USA) [probably Ivan Mestrovic - Ed.]. The second man in charge of HSS is [censored] now living in London and supporting these movements. He is for an independent Croatia.

d. USA politics regarding the present Yugoslavia are considered most distrustfully. One supposes that information received in respect to negotiations USA - TITO and ENGLAND is true. It is learned from explanations of different Croatian Emigration leaders that one is reckoning with de GAULLE and this is very promising for an independent Croatia. [censored] activities in France confirm the supposition that the Croats, as well as other emigrant's Nations from the Balkans, try to find support in France where they may reckon with strong political assistance.

e. From a military point of view, representatives of the

Croatians concerned are trying to find support with all Western Powers. The Croatian colonel, [censored] in SALZBURG, chief of the Military Sub-Committee of HNO, is in contact with the Americans.

GENERAL PERICIC, who was against the action of HNO that led to the more than 40 death sentences, is living in KAERNTEN. He was negotiating with the British without any success. He only intends to be active when solid ground for the cooperation with one of the Western Powers has been created.

5. This matter is considered as being concluded.

Filing information ::

Title: Croatian Resistance Movement (II)

Source: CIA, declassified January 16, 2003

Date: c. 1948

Added: October 14, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0026.txt>

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COLL. 100-100-100-100
HQ 66TH CIG DET, 1, 1944 190

DECLASSIFIED

Date of 10/10/00

SUBJECT: The Croatian Resistance Movement

1. The Croatian Resistance "HRVATSKI NARODNI OTOBOR" (HNO) is a Secret Organization which is limited to members of the emigration as the connections to their country are only loose ones. Its direction was in SALZBURG, Austria, until late summer 1948 (Proceedings in AGRAM). Its chief leaders were:

- a. Ex Minister [redacted]
- b. [redacted]
- c. LAVREN (executed in the meantime)
- d. DR. SIPOLIC (executed in the meantime)
- e. TOMJENOVIC (executed in the meantime)
- f. Ex Minister [redacted]

[redacted] had an office in SALZBURG. [redacted] the former chief of police of VARAZDIN, was his closest collaborator. One night in July 1948 [redacted] was kidnapped and disappeared without leaving any traces. [redacted] got the aggressors to escape and they took [redacted] then succeeded in escaping. At present he is living near the German-Austrian border using several names. His former code-name in Austria was [redacted]

The leaders of HNO say that [redacted] was a traitor. Investigations made by CIC and the Austrian Police resulted in some incriminating facts. The family of [redacted] stayed in Yugoslavia which could have been a threat. On the other hand [redacted] was a severe combatant against the partisans during his period of office as the chief of police. He not only signed many death sentences but also executed them himself.

Simultaneously with the abduction of [redacted] the arrest of members of HNO who had gone to Yugoslavia to strengthen and support resistance groups there, became known. The Yugoslavian press explained in detail and propagandistically evaluated the proceedings against more than 90 Ustaschi who were once in leading positions and the death sentences against more than 40 persons.

2. a. Generals with code-names as mentioned in identity request No. 34 are not known here.

- (1) [redacted]
- (2) [redacted]
- (3) [redacted]

Generals mentioned who are known:

- (4) BOHAN
- (5) [redacted]

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PREPARED ON THE NAMES
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ON 16 JAN 03
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At the time of the collapse both were colonels. [redacted] was commanding an Ustascha Unit in the area of SARAJEVO. His present residence is not known.

[redacted] BOBAN is considered to be the most capable high ranking Ustascha officer. Prominent circles of the HNO say that BOBAN is now staying in the mountains but is refusing any contact with the emigration. Until now people were of the opinion that BOBAN had died during the war. Information received from a third source says that BOBAN, wounded at the beginning of 1948, was captured and executed.

b. [redacted] charged [redacted] with the organization of the whole of the Croatian Resistance Movement in case Yugoslavia was occupied. [redacted] cooperated with German authorities. [redacted] allegedly was wounded and escaped to Hungarian territory (he speaks Hungarian well) and has since disappeared. According to recent information (19 Nov 1948) [redacted] sent news from France where he is said to be active. This is all that is known about him.

c. Code-names mentioned and the persons' correct names are known as follows:

- (1) ZMAJ OD BOZNE (Dragon of Bosnia)
- (2) ZRINSKI (Historical figure of Croatia)
- (3) MATIJA GUBEC (Historical figure of Croatia)

Ad (1): Josip TOMJENOVIC had the code-name ZMAJ OD BOZNE. He was military attache of HNO for the Croatian Territory. Until he became active he lived mostly in Italy. Shortly after crossing the Austrian-Yugoslavian border he was arrested. At the proceedings in AORAM he was sentenced to death and hanged (according to Yugoslavian press information).

Ad (2): The person bearing the code-name ZRINSKI is not known.

Ad (3): Dr. Vladimir SABOLIC had the code-name MATIJA GUBEC. Dr. SABOLIC was charged by the HNO with the direction of Civil Affairs (Interior). He was also hanged.

3. The following is known about other persons mentioned in the report attached to Identity request No.34:

- a. The leader of the German group is [redacted]
- b. The General Secretary of the German group is [redacted]

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ON 16 Jan 03
BY USAINSCOM FORPA
Auth Para 4-102 DOD 5200.1R



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the former Major Giza von ALTMANN who is not living near Munich but in Austria (ATTERSEE/SALZKAMMERGUT). He is known under the code-name KOVACS (not identical with our members bearing this name).

- c. It is likely that AGALITSEH is identical with Tahir ALAGIC recently hanged in AORAM. Some months ago he went with one of the groups to Yugoslavia, was captured and sentenced to death. ALAGIC was originally from Bosnia. He is a member of the Military Sub-Committee of HNO.

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4. The situation of the Croatian Emigration is about as follows:

a. The emigration based everything on the election of DEWEY as they had best relations to Republican Councillors. Before the elections the Croatian Emigration submitted a memorandum to DEWEY who promised assistance. After the election of TRUMAN the Croatians tried to extend their Democratic relations. It must be considered that the Croatians in the USA who are united in the BRATSKA ZAJEDNICA (Brotherly Community) are mostly for TITO and their leaders are adherents of TITO (communists).

b. The leader of the New Emigration is the HNS leader, [REDACTED] now living in Washington. (HNS - HRVATSKA SELJACKA STRANKA - Croatian Farmer's Party). HNS recognized him but is watching him distrustfully as he has not given any explanations regarding an independent Croatia (the aim of HNO) but is leading negotiations on the grounds of a federal Yugoslavia. [REDACTED] who is probably living in Argentina keeps away from politics. HNO is, however, in contact with him. A strong group of Croatians in Argentina is being led by the former ambassador, [REDACTED] who has good relations to the Foreign Ministry of Argentina and to PERON. [REDACTED] maintains contact with the HNO.

c. They are striving to gather all emigrants in a main Organisation "UJEDINJENI HRVATI" (United Croatians). It is intended to elect [REDACTED] president in case he resigns his office as HNS party leader and recognizes the "UJEDINJENI HRVATI" as the sole Organization. Their country shall decide upon the form of State when the time has come. In case [REDACTED] is not accepted they intend to ask the famous Croatian sculptor [REDACTED] (USA). The second man in charge of HNS is [REDACTED] now living in London and supporting these movements. He is for an independent Croatia.

5 USC 552a (b) (7) (C)

5 USC 552a (b) (7) (C)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 16 Jan 03
BY USAINSCOM FOLPA
Auth Para 4-122 DOD 5200.11

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5 USC 552a (b) (7) (C)

d. USA politics regarding the present Yugoslavia are considered most distrustfully. One supposes that information received in respect to negotiations USA - TITO and ENGLAND is true. It is learned from explanations of different Croatian Emigration leaders that one is reckoning with de GAULLE and this is very promising for an independent Croatia. [REDACTED] activities in France confirm the supposition that the Croats, as well as other emigrant's Nations from the Balkans, try to find support in France where they may reckon with strong political assistance.

e. From a military point of view, representatives of the Croatians concerned are trying to find support with all Western Powers. The Croatian colonel, [REDACTED] in SALZBURG, chief of the Military Sub-Committee of HNO, is in contact with the Americans.

General PERICIC, who was against the action of HNO that led to the more than 40 death sentences, is living in KAMPITEN. He was negotiating with the British without any success. He only intends to be active when solid ground for the cooperation with one of the Western Powers has been created.

5. This matter is considered as being concluded.

DECLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 16 Jan 03
BY USAIN/COM FOLPA
Auth Para 4-102 DOD 5200.10

4977

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6



CIA INTERNAL MEMO

An interesting internal document in which a CIA analyst, through an unknown source, comments on various other reports by other CIA analysts and unknown sources. Paragraph three mentions a split between Ustase leader Ante Pavelic and Ratline operative Krunoslav Draganovic, and further comments on attempts by Draganovic to broker alliances with the Croatian Peasant Party and the new organization being organized by Branimir "Branko" Jelic, one of the original founders of the Ustase who was interned in London at the start of the war and afterwards formed a non-violent splinter group of the Croatian nationalist movement in Germany. The "split," for what it was, is more properly classified as a division between Pavelic and Jelic rather than Pavelic and Draganovic. The agent correctly notes that Draganovic was more or less attempting to form a European front organization for Ustase activities - a task which was finally accomplished by Pavelic loyalist and savage Ustase leader Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic in Spain in 1956.

Subject: Comments on Information coming from [censored]

Place Acquired: [censored]

Evaluation: [censored]

Source: [censored]

Report No: [censored]

Date of Info: August 1950

Date Acquired: September 1950

Date of Report: 16 October 1950

(Field Comment: The identity of [censored] is not known to

this station. It is known, however, that [censored] is not Source's informant because all of Source's reports carrying the above subject are made in reply to a [censored] report. Evidently [censored] is a direct [censored] informant and his reports are transmitted to Source for confirmation as to their contents. This report represents Source's commentary on information received from [censored]. This might possibly be [censored] in Trieste and well known to headquarters).

1. Report dated 22 July 1950. In the Rome Dalmatian circles [sic] the information concerning the creation of a pro-Dalmatian movement is unknown. This movement allegedly was recently promoted in Trieste for the purpose of asking the ONU for an eventual autonomy of Dalmatia from Croatia based on historic data. The Rome Dalmatian Committee, located on Piesan Firenze 27, directed by former Senator TACCONI, Antonio (at present at Lido di Venice) knows nothing about this movement.

2. In circles of the Committee it has been added that the constitution in Trieste of a new Dalmatian movement does not seem reliable because at Via Via [sic] del Bastione 4, Trieste, a Dalmatian Committee has already existed for several years, directed by Lino VLAHOVIC who, if he had taken any initiative of this kind, would have informed his association in Rome.

3. Ustascha political emigres in all countries, including those in South America (majority of them live in Argentina) are divided into two groups: One still favorable to (Dr.) Ante PAVELIC and the other against PAVELIC. This last group points out that PAVELIC is too compromised and that, with his ideologies, he cannot obtain future substantial support from the Anglo-Americans. This second group, which is against PAVELIC, in order to better its chances in politics, proclaims itself the Party of United Croatia and tends to unite into a single bloc the former Ustascha and members of the Croatian Peasants Party (HSS) of (Dr.) MACEK. This development is particularly strong in Europe and has as its leader (Dr.) Branko JELIC, resident of London, and the priest, (Dr.) Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC, who lives in Rome at the College of S. Girolamo degli Illirici. For this reason, Dr. DRAGANOVIC recently had a talk with Dr. JELIC in Austria

(perhaps in Klagonfurt [sic]).

4. While in America, members of this group are in contact with Dr. MACEK. In Europe Dr. DRAGANOVIC has made approaches to the representative of Dr. MACEK in Italy, i.e. Mirolsav DIDEK. However, MACEK and DIDEK have turned down all proposals for collaboration, inasmuch as the followers of JELIC and DRAGANOVIC are considered Ustascha ex-collaborationists and many have been declared war criminals.

5. According to MACEK, the above named leaders have not abandoned their Nazi-Fascist concepts and with their intended union with the Croat Peasant Party, they aim at suffocating all traces of their past and start a new moral and political life.

6. Following the failure to be admitted to a collaboration with MACEK, the Ustascha headed by DRAGANOVIC has established in Italy a movement called "Movimento Indipendente Croato" (Croatian Independent Movement) which intends to assemble all Croats abroad. This project also aims to cover up the purely Ustascha program. This movement two weeks ago promoted a restricted meeting of Ustaschas in Villa Massimo during which a Croat group was elected which is to create the Italian section of the movement for the European Union. However, this group was not accepted for participation in the recent congress of the European Union movement because the direction had already received the collaboration of representatives of Dr. MACEK, i.e., Miroslav DIDEK and [illegible].

7. One of DRAGANOVIC's collaborators is Ante BUDIMIROVIC, living in Rome at the S. Agostino College, Via del Corso 45, former deputy of MACEK, who, during the PAVELIC government, joined the Ustascha movement. BUDIMIROVIC is to leave for the Middle East for the purpose of organizing Ustascha refugees resident there, inducing them to join the movement headed by DRAGANOVIC. It is true that the expenses are to be sustained by Josip GIAMUZINA, former Ustascha functionary, resident in Rome, Via Marianna Dionigi 17.

8. According to a reliable informant in Italy, GIAMUZINA has always engaged in black market and in illegal traffic and also handles clandestine emigration to Argentina. From this

latter activity he has reportedly amassed a fortune. Apparently through false witnesses he obtained documents which indicate him as the son of an Italian, one BELLI, former resident in Istria. On the basis of this document, GIAMUZINA succeeded in changing his name to BELLI-GIAMUZINA, Giuseppe and in obtaining Italian citizenship. In the Yugoslav circles in Rome it is stated that he is a son of a priest who is in a convent in Herzegovina who was guardian father of Dr. Domenico MANDIC, at present Economy General of the "Curia Generale del Frati Dinori Francescani" located at Via Aurelia, Rome. Dr. MANDIC has always protected and supported GIAMUZINA whose position in fact has become strong in regard to the Italian authorities and in the Croatian refugee circles.

9. Report of 16 August 1950. It is true that Dragoslav KRSTANOVIC now collaborates with JEVDJLVIC, who, however, has not been left by other collaborators.

10. The episode of the Russina Church of 15 July 1950 was already known. The commemoration of the deceased General Draza MIHAJLOVIC took place on the 23rd of July.

11. In Via Mangili 15, Rome, the Commercial Office of the Yugoslav Legation has had its office for about two years.

12. There are no indications that the Yugoslav authorities buy up Cominformist publications. Yugoslav newspapers continue to be normally sold.

13. The activity which the Yugoslav authorities carry out in regard to political refugees to convince them to repatriate enters the normal function of foreign representations. It is noted, however, that the Yugoslav propaganda is less inciting and provocative. Contacts between (Colonel) [illegible] and the Slovene Vjekoslav DUCAR were interrupted about a year ago for personal differences. (DUCAR wanted to be presented to King PETER on occasion of the latter's brief stay in Rome). Successively [illegible] several times has raised doubts on DUCAR, whom he accuses of collaborating with the British.

14. It is true that Ivan POPOV was economy chief of the King PETER's court. [illegible] continues to regularly receive

subsidies from King PETER.

15. "STEFANO's" report is returned herewith. "STEFANO", as always, reports information and circumstances which are inexact and inconsistent.

16. Report dated 18 September 1950, source DEPENDENT. The arrest of Colonel General Gojko [illegible], head of the Yugoslav Medical Corps, is not confirmed.

17. It is re-affirmed that there exists a concentration camp for Cominformists at Dugi Otok.

18. As to the visit of TITO and other Yugoslav leaders to that island, it was possible to establish that the information responds to the truth. Visits of Yugoslav personalities to Cominformist concentration camps have the purpose of converting the internees.

19. In regard to Yugoslav repressive action against Cominformists, according to reliable information, the Yugoslav police have made numerous arrests. Among the persons capture was the Vice-President of the Montenegro Republic, Bozo VUKOVIC, the ex-Serb Minister of Public Health, Julka MESTEROVIC, the ex-Minister of Light Industry, Savo MATIC, Generals [illegible] DJUJIC and Mirko [illegible], about 30 deputies of the various Republics, about 10 Colonels and about 100 other officers.

20. In regard to the arrested, the sanctions of the Belgrade government are not severe. They are sent to concentration or labor camps and are object of intensive propaganda for the purpose of converting them to Titoism, propaganda which shows to be really efficient and in many cases had determined conversion in mass.

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0010.txt>

Subject: Comments on information
coming from

Report No. 1

Place Acquired:

Date of Info: August 1950

Evaluation:

Date Acquired: September 1950

Source:

Date of Report: 16 October 1950

(Field Comments: The identity of the informant is not known to this station. It is known, however, that is not Source's informant because all of Source's reports carrying the above subject are made in reply to a report. Evidently is a direct informant and his reports are transmitted to Source for confirmation as to their contents. This report summarizes Source's existing or information received from. This might possibly be in Trieste and will be known to headquarters).

1. Report dated 22 July 1950. In the Milan Dalmatian circles the information concerning the creation of a pro-Dalmatian movement is unknown. This movement allegedly was recently plotted in Trieste for the purpose of making the DNU for an eventual autonomy of Dalmatia from Croatia based on historic data. The Rome Dalmatian Committee, located on Piazza Firenze 27, directed by former Senator VACCARI, and in (at present at 1106 di Venice) knows nothing about this movement.
2. In circles of the Committee it has been added that the constitution in Trieste of a new Dalmatian movement does not seem reliable because at Via Via del Bastione 4, Trieste, a Dalmatian Committee has already existed for several years, directed by Ljudevit VUKIC who, if he had taken any initiative of this kind, would have informed his associates in Rome.
3. Dalmatian political exiles in all countries, including those in South America (majority of them live in Argentina) are divided into two groups: one still favorable to (Dr.) Ante PAVLIC and the other against PAVLIC. This last group points out that PAVLIC is too compromised and that, with his ideologies, he cannot obtain future substantial support from the Anglo-Americans. This second group, which is against PAVLIC, in order to better its chances in politics, proclaims itself the Party of United Croatia and tends to unite with a single line the former Dalmatian and members of the Croatian Peasants Party (H.S.P.) of (Dr.) TADIC. This development is particularly strong in Europe and has as its leader (Dr.) Branko JELIC, resident of London, and the priest, (Dr.) Franjo VUKOBRADE, who lives in Rome at the College of S. Sordano degli Allievi. For this reason, Dr. VUKOBRADE recently had a talk with Dr. JELIC in Austria (perhaps in Klagenfurt).
4. While in America, members of this group are in contact with Dr. JELIC. In Europe Dr. VUKOBRADE has made approaches to the representative of Dr. TADIC in Italy, i.e., Miroslav VUKIC. However, VUKIC and others have turned down all proposals for collaboration. Members of the followers of JELIC and VUKOBRADE are considered Dalmatian ex-collaborationists and may have been declared war criminals.

Classification: UNCLASSIFIED (U.S. & FOREIGN COUNTRIES)

Approved for Release

Date FEB 1988

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5. According to MACEK, the above named leaders have not abandoned their Nazi-Fascist concepts and with their intended union with the Great People's Party, they aim at suffocating all traces of their past and to start a new moral and political life.
6. Following the failure to be admitted to a collaboration with MACEK, the Ustaša headed by DRAGUNOVIC has established in Italy a movement called "Movimento Indipendente Croato" (Croatian Independent Movement) which intends to assemble all Croats abroad. This project also aims to cover up the purely Ustaša program. This movement two weeks ago promoted a restricted meeting of Ustašas in Villa Marmino during which a Croat group was elected which is to create the Italian section of the movement for the European Union. However, this group was not accepted for participation in the recent congress of the European Union movement because the direction had already received the collaboration of representatives of Dr. MACEK, i.e. Miroslav DUBOK and Pavle Stajich.
7. One of DRAGUNOVIC's collaborators is Ante VUKOBRODAR, living in Rome at the 3. Apartment Complex, Via del Corso 45, former deputy of MACEK, who, during the PAVLIC government, joined the Ustaša movement. VUKOBRODAR is to leave for the Middle East for the purpose of organizing Ustaša refugee residents there, inducing them to join the movement headed by DRAGUNOVIC. It is true that the expenses are to be sustained by Jovan DZAMALINA, former Ustaša functionary, resident in Rome, Via Marina Dionisi 17.
8. According to a reliable informant in Italy, DZAMALINA has always engaged in black market and in illegal traffic and also handles clandestine emigration to Argentina. From this latter activity he has reportedly amassed a fortune. Apparently through false witnesses he obtained documents which indicate him as the son of an Italian, one BULLI, former resident in Istria. On the basis of this document, DZAMALINA succeeded in changing his name to CAMILLI GIAMALINA Giampaolo and in obtaining Italian citizenship. In the Yugoslav circles in Rome it is stated that he is a son of a priest who is in a convent in Herzegovina who was guardian father of Dr. Dusan DUBOK, at present Deputy General of the "Corpo Generale dei Frati Minori Francescani" located at Via Aurelia, Rome. Dr. DUBOK has always protected and supported DZAMALINA whose position in fact has become strong in regard to the Italian authorities and in the Croatian refugee circles.
9. Report of 18 August 1950. It is true that Miroslav DUBOK now collaborates with DRAGUNOVIC, who, however, has not been left by other collaborators.
10. The episode of the Russian Church of 15 July 1950 was already known. The commemoration of the deceased General Draza PAVLIC took place on the 21st of July.
11. In Via Margutta 15, Rome, the Commercial Office of the Yugoslav Legation has had its office for about two years.
12. There are no indications that the Yugoslav authorities buy up Communist publications. Yugoslav newspapers continue to be normally sold.

Classification: SECRET (U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY)



13. The activities which the Yugoslav authorities carry out in regard to political refugees to convince them to repatriate enter the normal function of foreign representations. It is noted, however, that the Yugoslav propaganda is less inciting and provocative. Contacts between Colonel Stjepan and the Slovene Vicko were interrupted about a year ago for personal differences. (Stjepan wanted to be presented to King Peter on occasion of the latter's prior stay in Rome). Successively Stjepan several times has raised doubts on Vicko, whom he accuses of collaborating with the British.
14. It is true that Stjepan was economy chief of the King Peter's court. Stjepan continues to regularly receive subsidies from King Peter.
15. "Stjepan's" report is returned herewith. "Stjepan", as always, reports information and circumstances which are incorrect and inconsistent.
16. Report dated 18 September 1940, source Stjepan. The arrest of Colonel General Stjepan, head of the Yugoslav Medical Corps, is not confirmed.
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18. As to the visit of Tito and other Yugoslav leaders to the Island, it was possible to establish that the information responds to the truth. Visits of Yugoslav personalities to Cominformist concentration camps have the purpose of converting the internees.
19. In regard to Yugoslav repressive action against Cominformists, according to reliable information, the Yugoslav police have made numerous arrests. Among the persons captured was the Vice-President of the Montenegro Republic, Ranko Stevic, the ex-Serb Minister of Public Health, Julius Stevic, the ex-Minister of Light Industry, Sava Stevic, Stjepan Stevic, and Mirko Stevic, about 20 deputies in the various legislatures, about 10 colonels and about 100 other officers.
20. In regard to the arrested, the penalties of the Belgrade government are not severe. They are sent to concentration or labor camps and are object of intensive propaganda for the purpose of converting them to Tito's propaganda which seems to be really efficient and in many cases had determined conversion in mass.



NOTES FROM THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS

A partial summary of articles from several South Slavic-American newspapers of various leanings. The first describes Father Krunoslav Draganovic's eligibility for a US visa. It mentions nothing of his role in escorting Ustase fugitives out of Italy, but proves that Draganovic and another prominent operative on the Ratline, Dr. Dragutin Kamber, were known figures, and that their past, if not their present activities, were being discussed critically at least as early as 1950. The second article describes attacks on Croatian Peasant Party leader Vladko Macek by the Ustase-oriented journal Danica which, ironically enough, would later hire another Draganovic associate, Fr. Dominik Mandic, as editor. The third and fourth articles are of limited interest. The first and last parts of this report have not been located.

3. Against Admitting a Former Ustashi to USA.

Glas Kanadskih Srba, Windsor, Ont. October 12
(Voice of Canadian Serbs)

Weekly - Circulation: 3,000

Trend: critical of Croats but Yugoslav-oriented, anti-Tito

Prints Dr. Branko Miljus' protest to the IRO authorities in Rome concerning Dr. Krunoslav Draganovic, formerly a theology professor at the University of Zagreb. Dr. Miljus claims that Dr. Draganovic had been one of the leading active supporters of Dr. Ante Pavelic, ex-head of the German-sponsored Independent State of Croatia. In spite of it, writes Dr. Miljus from Paris, France, the IRO authorities in Rome have declared Dr. Draganovic to be "eligible" for obtaining an entry visa to the United States.

The editor of the paper adds that another notorious Ustashi has already been admitted to this country, and that he now writes for Dr. Macek's newspapers under his own "dirty" signature. His name is Dr. Dragutin Kamber.

Rec'd 11-8-50 from CIA via
Liaison, captioned "Notes from
The Foreign Language Press"

4. Renewed Attacks on Dr. Macek's Pro-Yugoslav Stand.

Danica (The Morning Star), Chicago, October 11

Croatian Weekly - Circulation: 7,000 Trend: anti-Tito,
rabidly separatist

The paper renews its attacks on Dr. Macek's alleged pro-Yugoslav stand. It does not believe that financial reasons are having influence on Dr. Macek to such an extent that he would suppress his true feelings in exchange for the \$500.00 he receives monthly from the National Committee for a Free Europe. Still, the paper thinks that Dr. Macek, as the leading spokesman for a whole people, has no business to receive money from a "foreign agency" since it might affect his political independence. Besides, asks the paper, has Dr. Vladko Macek ever told the National Committee for a Free Europe the "real truth" about the Croats - that they want to be no part of any Yugoslavia, not excluding Dr. Macek's, but work instead toward having an independent state of their own with the River Drina as its eastern border.

5. Dr. Krnjevic a "bankrupt Politician;" Bogdan Radica a "Political Opportunist"

Jugoslovenski Americki Olasnik, San Francisco, October 6
(delayed)
(Jugoslav American Herald)

Weekly - Circulation: 3,000
Trend: anti-Tito, Yugoslav nationalist

Taking note of Dr. Juraj Krnjevic's recent visit to the

United States and Canada, the paper describes him as a "bankrupt politician" whose chief aim in life is to stir up hatred against the Serbs and destroy the unity among the Yugoslav people. The paper calls Bogdan Radica, who "led Krnjevic around", a "political opportunist" who once worked for Tito and has now joined the ranks of those who "allegedly condemn Pavelic but support all he ever wanted and did."

[title cut-off]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Weekly - Circulation: 3,000

Trend: anti-Tito, pro-Macek

Under the headline "The Policy of the Voice of America toward the Croatian People," the paper carries a long article (presumably written by Bogdan Radica) about the efforts made in the last few months by "all distinguished Croat emigre circles" to have the Voice of America broadcast also in Croatian, not only in Serbian and Slovenian. The Yugoslav section of the Voice of America is described as consisting of "former leftists, Stojadinovic's, [illegible] and present Fotic's followers" who use past, Greater Serbian methods to rule exclusively by themselves. The article states that the known Croatian newspaperman,

[the rest of the document is missing]

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0005.txt>

3

1. Against Admitting a Former Ustashi to USA.

Glas. Kanadskih Srba, Windsor, Ont., October 12
(Voice of Canadian Serbs)

Weekly - Circulation: 3,000
Trends: critical of Croats but Yugoslav-oriented,
anti-Tito

Prints Dr. Branko Miljusi protest to the IEO authorities in Rome concerning Dr. ~~Bruno~~ Draganovic, formerly a theology professor at the University of Zagreb. Dr. Miljus claims that Dr. Draganovic had been one of the leading active supporters of Dr. Ante Pavelic, ex-head of the German-sponsored Independent State of Croatia. In spite of it, writes Dr. Miljus from Paris, France, the IEO authorities in Rome have declared Dr. Draganovic to be "eligible" for obtaining an entry visa to the United States.

The editor of the paper adds that another notorious Ustashi has already been

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The Foreign Language Press"

INDEXED - 117

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DATE 22 Sep 81

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October 18, 1950.

admitted to this country, and that he now writes for Dr. Macek's newspapers under his own "dirty" signature. His name is Dr. Dragutin Čember.

L. Renewed Attacks on Dr. Macek's Pro-Yugoslav Stand.

Davida (The Morning Star), Chicago, October 11

Croatian Weekly - Circulation: 7,000
Trend: anti-Tito, rabidly separatist

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F. Dr. Bogdan Radica a "bankrupt Politician" & "Political Opportunist."

Jugoslavenski Americki Glasnik, San Francisco, October 6 (delayed)
(Yugoslav American Herald)

Weekly - Circulation: 3,000
Trend: anti-Tito, Yugoslav nationalist

Taking note of Dr. Jure Krunjevic's recent visit in the United States and Canada, the paper describes him as a "bankrupt politician" whose chief aim in life is to stir up hatred against the Serbs and destroy the unity among the Yugoslav people. The paper calls Bogdan Radica, who "led Krunjevic around", a "political opportunist" who once worked for Tito and has now joined the ranks of those who "allegedly condemn Pavelic but support all he ever wanted and did."

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 (Specia 2 H 54171-11-001) 201-000, 100-000

Under the heading "The Policy of the Voice of America toward the Croatian People," the paper carries a long article (presumably written by Boris Hrdina) about the efforts made in the last few months by "all distinguished Croat emigre circles" to have the Voice of America broadcast also in Croatian, not only in Serbian and Slovenian. The Yugoslav section of the Voice of America is described as consisting of "former leftists, Vojadinovic's, Purina's and present Fetic's followers" who use present Yugoslav Greater Serbian methods to rule exclusively by themselves. The article states that the "known Croatian newspaperman,"

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
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NAV-1228

CONFIDENTIAL

25 August 1954

SUBJECT:

TO: Department of State (D), 66th CIC Group, APO 154, Attn: Capt. REILLY

FROM: Mr. J. R. LENC, Political Section, A-000000, WASHINGTON, APO 100

BT

REMARK: Croatian Emigrant Movement

1. Attached are translations of a recent LfV study for your information and carding. No answer required for here.

Tel: MUN 25531/A35

Distribution:

✓ 3- Capt. REILLY

1- Mr. PARKINSON

2- AHOCHSEN, Emigre Report

26 AUG 1954

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafe'd, Dir

(✓) Release () Excise () Deny (✓) Declassify

Date P. Valles Exemption 131/02

STATE DEPT. DECLASSIFICATION REVIEW

☐ Retain Class'n ☐ Change to _____

☐ Declassify in part and excise as shown

EO 12958, 25X () () ()

☒ Declassify ☐ After _____

☒ With concurrence Chavon (not obtained)

IPS by P. Valles Date 131/02

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NAV-1228

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TRANSLATION

12 July 1954

Report on the Political Development within
the Croatian Emigrants Movement during the
Period from 1 April 1954 to 30 June 1954.

General Situation:

Activities within the Croatian Emigrants Movement have been continued. The individual groups are making efforts to get new followers. This is being done partly by staging events, partly by leveling at each other accusations and defamations, with the latter activities being concentrated on the differences of opinion between clericals and anti-clericals. Also belonging to the clerical groups is now the "Kroatische Nationalkomitee" (Croatian National Committee) in MUNICH, because of its close ties with the Franciscans in CHICAGO, mainly, however, because of its favoring the HAPSBURG plans concerning the Dalmatian area. The anti-clerical groups, i.e. the "Croatian Farmers' Party", the "Ustaschi Movement" and the "Ustaschi dissidents", although being tolerant toward the Catholic Church, are opposed to any attempts to subordinate the Croatian national aims to the aims of the Vatican.

The magazine "Kroatischer Gedanke" (Croatian Idea) published again an appeal for unity by Mr. ARTHUR KUPCEVIC. The appeal contained the following guiding rules for the Croatian emigrants:

1. Strengthening of the existing Croatian groups; morally and materially, thus enabling them to carry out large-scale actions.
2. Discontinuation of all mutual attacks and defamations; the entire forces are to be directed against the enemy.
3. Increased journalistic activities.
4. Joint action of the Croatian Government in exile, the Croatian Farmers' Party, and the Croatian National Committee, the aim of their activities being the restoration of an independent Croatian State.
5. Intensification of the relations with foreign politicians, journalists and military men.

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6. Organization of special groups for special missions on special occasions.
7. All party-political interests and programs are to be suspended until after the liberation and restoration of the independent Croatian state.

The Farmers' party refuted as being incorrect the rumors, circulated in connection with above proclamation, that Dr. KEMENJIC, the Secretary General of the "Croatian Farmers Party", would travel to Argentina to enter into negotiations with the leader of the Ustaschi Movement, Dr. PAVELIC.

Rightist-Radical:

Hrvatska Dravotvorna Stranka - HDS
Croatian State-Forming Party - Ustaschi Movement
(Croatian State Government in Exile)

Seat: BUENOS AIRES; representation in MUNICH.

According to reports from BUENOS AIRES, the Movement took part in the establishment of a "circulo centroeuropeo anticomunista" consisting of "old Nazis, Fascists, Pfeilkreuz-men, members of the HLANKA-Guard, and others". The former Vice Admiral WITZMAN, commander of the German naval units in the Black Sea, 1945 in TRIESTE, was to become the President of the organization. At the charter-meeting on 24 May in the Ustaschi Club in BUENOS AIRES the representative of Dr. PAVELIC, VRANJIC, assured the Italians of the "eternal Croatian friendship" and promised "recognition of the legal Italian demands concerning the Adriatic Sea".

After the official part of the meeting had been concluded, disputes arose between Croats who were of a different opinion and Italians; thereupon the latter left the meeting, declaring that they would refrain from further cooperation "as long as Croatian circles were of the opinion that the Italians pursued imperialistic aims."

Recently the Ustaschi have shifted their main activities to the military organization "Hrvatski Domobran" (Croatian Home-Guard). The staff in BUENOS AIRES issued another circular to all sub-organizations, instructing them to reject all offers for joining "supra-national military organizations" and to demand, always and everywhere, the creation of purely Croatian units with Croatian commanders.

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Ujedinjenih Hrvata - UH
("Vereinte Kroaten" - United Croats-Ustaschi)

The 10th anniversary of the day of the re-establishment of the independent Croatian State (10 April 1941) was celebrated on 11 April in the "Donnersberger Bierhalle" in MUNICH. Present were about 50 persons, including representatives of the emigrants' groups belonging to the ARH: Dr. WALTSCHEFF (Bulgarian National Front), Dr. PUKERT (Slovenian Liberation Committee).

The Honorary President of the "United Croats", Dr. St. KUKOLJA, delivered a speech in which he pointed to the necessity of establishing contact with the orthodox Croats. He demanded that efforts be made to forget all hatred and seek a common way. He stressed that the adherents of the orthodox church were also Croats who under the rule of the Turks had adopted the orthodox faith only in order to escape persecution. Those of them who regarded themselves as Serbs should emigrate to Serbia. In a free Croatia all nationalities and denominations must have equal rights and duties. However, Serbian orthodox undermining activities for the benefit of the Serbs or the idea of Yugoslavia would not be tolerated.

The other speeches held contained nothing but words of praise for Dr. Ante PAVELIC.

Sightings:

Hrvatska Seljackska Stranka - HSS
(Croatian Farmers' Party)

Seat: WASHINGTON, representation in MUNICH.

The party has been accused of double-dealing. The reason for this accusation was the participation of a leading member of the party, Ilija JUKIC, in the memorial service for Nikola, son of Prince Paul, who met with a fatal accident in LONDON. This had given new stimulus to those having doubts about the national-Croatian policy of the Farmers' Party. It was said that on the one hand the party announced, through Dr. KRNJEVIC (Secretary General and leader of the right, anti-Yugoslav, wing of the party), its demand for an independent Croatian State, while, on the other, leading members by order of HSS President MACK were working behind the stage, together with the Serbs, for the establishment of a third Yugoslavia. In this connection attention is called to the founding in NEW YORK of the "Council for the Liberation of Yugoslavia".

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The attempt, made by the HRS, to establish within the party in MUNICH a "Croatian Work Union", has so far failed, due to lack of persons interested. However, such an organization is said to have been created in TRIESTE.

Hrvatski Radnicki Savez - HRS
(Croatian Workers' Union)

Seat: PARIS

The HRS commented on the founding by Dr. KRNJEVIC (HRS) of the "Federation of Free Croatian Workers" as follows:

"The HRS in France stands for the unity and cooperation of all democratic workers in exile adhering to the democratic, anti-Communist idea. The HRS is a supra-partisan trade union organization which may be joined by all Croatian workers regardless of the denominations or parties to which they belong. The HRS in France is ready to actively support Dr. KRNJEVIC's plans for an overall organization, for the uniting of all Croatian workers in Western Europe and the international recognition of their trade unions. However, it must be mentioned that the resolutions of 25 October 1953, the day when the above-mentioned 'Federation' was founded, are undemocratic, non-trade-unionist, and party-politically-totalitarian."

The "Croatian Workers Union" (also known as "Independent Croatian Workers' Union") is a member of the Federation of Christian Trade Unions - CFTU. The fact of its being non-partisan and belonging to the CFTU is used by the clerical groups as an argument against the "Federation". Benefiting from this struggle between clericals and anti-clericals is Dr. TOPALOVIC, the representative of the "Yugoslav Trade Union in the Free World", who has been recognized by the "International Federation of Free Trade Unions". Due to these dissensions, Dr. KRNJEVIC's efforts for admission of the Croats to this Federation are likely to remain unsuccessful for the time being.

Hrvatski Pokret za Evropsku Federaciju
(Croatian Movement for a United Europe)

Seat: Great Britain

The Movement which so far is existing only in Great Britain, was founded by members of the "Croatian Farmers' Party". At the annual meeting on 31 March Ilija JUKIC, the secretary general, reported on the difficulties that have arisen in connection with the recognition of the Croatian national group by the Center in PARIS.

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Hrvatska Bratstva Zajednica - HBJ
(Croatian Brotherly Community)

Sent: USA

Above organization was founded 60 years ago by Croatian emigrants as a non-political, social and economic aid organization having the form of an insurance cooperative, intended to render aid to newly arrived or sick fellow-countrymen. It is the biggest and richest Croatian organization in the USA, having 106,000 members and property amounting to 25 million Dollars.

During the first world war it made its first appearance on the political stage, supporting the fight against Austria-Hungary and favoring the creation of Yugoslavia. During world war II the organization, aligning with the policy at that time pursued by the USA, was opposed to PAVELIC and in favor of TITO.

After the last war the members became politically divided. The members of one group are in favor of Yugoslavia and TITO, the others are opposed to TITO and Communism but in favor of Yugoslavia, while the third group is opposed to Yugoslavia and stands for a free, independent Croatia. Recently the third group seems to be gaining the upper hand; however, a clear-cut line has not crystallized as yet.

Centers:

Hrvatski Narodni Odbor
(Croatian National Committee for Europe)

On 11 April 1954 the Committee celebrated in MUNICH the 15th anniversary of the re-establishment of the Croatian State. Prior to the celebration a dispute arose between Dr. JELIC and Dr. NUC. The latter refused to speak at the meeting if Dr. JELIC delivered a speech, and vice versa. At the last moment the dispute was settled; Dr. JELIC held the main speech. He presented the demand for a sovereign Croatian state and urged the representatives of all nations still suppressed to unite in the struggle against Communism and to cooperate in the shaping of the free Europe of the future.

The attention paid to the events staged and the actions carried out by the Committee (protest against the planned speech by FLJAK over the Bavarian radio) was used by the Committee for launching a large-scale propaganda action among the Croatian emigrants. The Committee demands to be recognized as the sole Croatian representation in Europe and to be given the right to conduct binding political negotiations concerning the liberation of Croatia and the reorganization of the Danube area.

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Although the activities of the Committee are appreciated, it cannot be conceded the right to conduct political negotiations of vital importance for Croatia and the Croatian people.

The Committee has also strongly been criticised for its leaning toward the "HABSBURG-Kreis". It is feared that participation in the legitimist plans for the Danube area may result in the loss of Bosnia/Herzegovina. In addition, the possibility is taken into consideration that Otto von HABSBURG may be ready at the expense of the Croatians to make concessions to the Hungarians whom he needs for the realization of his plans.

The "Croatian Society" (Kroatischer Verein) in Belgium, connected with the Committee, also held a meeting in commemoration of the re-establishment of the Croatian State. Among the participants there was Dr. Josef TRISCHLER, member of the Vorstand of the "Jugoslawiendeutsche Landsmannschaft". In his speech he expressed himself for a free Croatia. The Germans from Croatia would always be ready to support the Croatian struggle for liberation, he said. However, this declaration is contradictory to the decision of the Jugoslawiendeutsche Landsmannschaft not to interfere with the disputes between Serbs and Croatians.

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TRANSLATION

Report on the Political Development within
the Croatian Emigrants' Movement during the
Period from 1 July 1954 to 30 September 1954.

General Remarks:

In June a delegation of Croatian priests handed over to President EISENHOWER and the Secretary General of the UN a memorandum containing the Croatian demands, which was signed by 153 Croatian priests. Although, on the whole, this step was welcomed by the Croatian emigrants' groups there were numerous persons warning against the "politicalization" of the clergy since this might result in the Croatians being suspected of having committed themselves to a one-sided political course. It would have been more advisable, these critics say, if the Croatian priests had assumed the role of mediators between the individual Croatian groups and had taken care that such an important document was signed also by the representatives of those organizations since this would have demonstrated the solidarity of all the Croatian emigrants' groups.

Rightist-Radicals:

Hrvatska Dravotvorna Stranka - HDS
(Croatian State-Forming Party - Ustaschi-Movement)
(Croatian State Government in Exile)

Sent: BUENOS AIRES: representation in MUNICH

Considerable sensation among the Croatian and Serbian emigrants was caused by an interview which two representatives of the Ustaschi-movement had in BUENOS AIRES with the former Yugoslav Minister President Dr. M. STOJADINOVIC. On that occasion the Serbian politician who formerly had been pro-Yugoslav expressed himself in favor of two separate states, Serbin and Croatia. The event made big headlines in the Ustaschi press; however, the names of the interviewers were not disclosed. According to confidential information, this had been a conversation between Dr. STOJADINOVIC and the leader of the party, Dr. PAVELIC, which had taken place in the Italian Embassy in BUENOS AIRES, at the initiative of Italian Monarchist circles (adherents of Umberto). According to reports, further talks are expected to take place, with border problems being one of the main points of discussion. PAVELIC is said to be inclined to waive the claim to the "historical border on the Drina" if the Serbs give up their claims to Croatian territory (Syrmia). In addition, PAVELIC is said to have reconfirmed the former agreements concerning the cession of Dalmatian coast areas and in

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talks with Hungarian "Pfaffenbrunn"men (Hungarist Movement) to have expressed his readiness to eliminate the controversial border problems by the cession of the so-called Mur-island. All these actions have allegedly been initiated by the Italian monarchists who in that way want to counteract the HAPSBURG plans for restoration.

Following above "interview" leaflets were disseminated among the Croatian emigrants in Argentina, in which PAVELIC was called a traitor who was planning to "sell out" Croatia in order to realize his personal ambitious plans. The authors of the leaflets are allegedly extreme-nationalist Ustaschi. A split among the Ustaschi is regarded as possible if the "agreements" should come to the knowledge of wider circles. In the case of a split the extreme elements among the Ustaschi are expected to join Max LUBURIC (known in exile as General BRINJANIN), commander of Group V (Europe) of the "Croatian Armed Forces in Exile", Seat: MADRID. Differences of opinion have allegedly been existing between LUBURIC and PAVELIC for a long time.

Ujedinjenih Hrvata - UE
(United Croats - Ustaschi)
Seat: MUNICH

The group is inactive. Since its founder, Dr. KUKOLJA, has withdrawn from political activity and left the organization the latter is generally called a "herd without a shepherd". For some time there had been rumors that a person, devoted to PAVELIC, would come to MUNICH to assume leadership of the Ustaschi-movement in the Federal Republic; however, it seems that these plans have come to nothing.

Rightist:

Hrvatsko Seljackska Stranka - HSS
(Croatian Farmers' Party)
Seat: WASHINGTON: Representation in MUNICH

The party celebrated its 50th anniversary and simultaneously the 75th birthday of its leader, Dr. MACEK. On this occasion a dinner took place of the "Kroatischen Kultur- und Wohlfahrtsvereinigung Radic" (Croatian Cultural and Welfare Association Radic) in MUNICH (united in that association are the MUNICH adherents of above party). Taking part were about 50 members and guests. The speakers attempted to justify the policy pursued by the party (and, thus, by MACEK), saying that it had been adapted to political circumstances. These speeches were held in an effort to refute the numerous accusations, leveled at MACEK, that his aimless policy was responsible for the fate of Croatia.

An incident occurred when one of the persons present made reference to the period from 1941 to 1945 and wanted to know what standpoint

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the party taken with regard to an independent Croatian state under Dr. PAVLIC. The President of the Association, Nikola PRCS, rejected the demand, pointing out that they were celebrating the anniversary of the party and the birthday of their leader MACEK and nothing else was of interest at the moment.

From the above, as from all other Croatian events, it appears that no agreement can be achieved among the Croatian emigrants.

Also of some importance was the celebration held for the same reason in Belgium in the presence of the Secretary General of the party, Dr. KRNJEVIC. In his speech and in interviews with Belgian journalists KRNJEVIC declared there could be no doubts that CROATIA will be free some day in the future. However, he was doubtful with regard to the restoration of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy and the preservation of the Yugoslav state. He warned that the mistakes of the past must not be repeated. To restore peace it was absolutely necessary to create small states - Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia -, to insure their autonomy and incorporate them into a confederation of the Danube area, he said. In his opinion this was the only possibility in that part of Europe to secure peace in the spirit of the principles of freedom and democracy.

KRNJEVIC's declarations contained something new: the mention of Macedonia as a state. Until now the party's attitude toward the Macedonian problem had been reserved. Croatian circles consider that remark as an indication that a Yugoslavia liberated from Communism will be organized in a way similar to the present one, i.e. it will consist of six provinces: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, and, perhaps, as the 7th province Vojvodina which at present as an autonomous province belongs to Serbia. Since Dr. KRNJEVIC has very good relations with England it is believed that the English plans concerning Yugoslavia are about the same.

On 5 September 1954 the HSS held in MUNICH a meeting at which Ulin JUKIC from LONDON spoke as a guest on the general political situation in Europe, European unification, and the Croatian interests. JUKIC is a member of the HSS management and the Secretary General of the "Croatian Movement for a United Europe". JUKIC is planning to visit BONN, too. The main purpose of his trip is to make propaganda for the movement and the founding of local groups. The aim of the whole action is: 1. to get the Croatian emigrants at one table, under a neutral name; 2. to strengthen the Croatian representation in the European Federation, and, 3. to popularize the demand, recently emphasized by the HSS, for a free and independent Croatian Republic as a federative member of the Community of European States.

Taking part in the meeting were about 40 persons, among them Dr. JELIC and Dr. RUSNJARA of the "Croatian National Committee". Dr. Grga VUKOVIC, representative of the HSS in MUNICH, delivered the opening address. The speeches that followed stressed, above all, the

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necessity of understanding to be established among the Croatian emigrants, as the only way for the Croats to enforce their demands. The reasons why so far they had had little success in defending their interests JUKIC saw in the Croatian inclination to egotism and particularism, manifesting itself, on the one side, in the enmity between the individual Croatian groups and showing, on the other, that the Croats consider themselves as the center of the world events and are unable to coordinate their interests with those of world politics and make plans for the long range. He recommended that the Croatian groups become more tolerant and refrain from defaming from the very beginning every action taken by another group. Each group should utilize its own possibilities and connections in the interest of the Croatian cause; however, above all, cooperation must be insured because the decision on the fate of the whole people could not be left to one group and, still less, to one individual. (These remarks referred, first, to PAVELIC and his policy before and during the war and, second, to the cooperation of certain clerical circles with Otto von Habsburg).

With regard to the EDC Treaty and the defense against Communism Ilija JUKIC declared it was regrettable that the EDC had been rejected in France but a new way for the common work would undoubtedly be found. It was impossible, he said, to defend or protect Europe against the Communists without the Federal Republic, just as it was not possible to save Asia without the help of the Japanese. Both Asia and Europe would not be safe from Communism until each of the two countries mentioned had again a strong army. The neutralization of Germany must be rejected since the only one benefiting therefrom would be the East. The plan calling for a "neutral belt", i.e.: neutralized Germany, Austria and Yugoslavia (which is favored especially by TITO), might at present perhaps appear to be advantageous, however, in the long run it must necessarily lead to the ruin of the Western world. It was understandable that the Germans insisted on reunification and the restoration of their former borders. The key to the realization of these demands, he said, was in the hands of the Soviets who, when the time had come, would say: "Join us, then you will get your reunification and your borders," thus trying to win the Germans over to their side, and this would be tantamount to the destruction of Europe.

JUKIC was of the opinion that a new Big Four conference will take place which will be just as unsuccessful as all former ones. He was convinced that England would not allow herself to be separated from America by the Russians because she was dependent on the USA, in Europe as well as in Asia. What the British wanted to prevent was the withdrawal of the USA from Europe in the belief that the best protection for Europe against the Soviet Union was a German army. After the failure of another Big Four conference the Soviet Union would return to its old tactics of force, JUKIC said.

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With regard to the problem of Yugoslavia JUKIC declared that then TITO's day would come, too. The Western peoples must make all efforts possible to be well-prepared for that day. They must not once again, as in 1948, miss the opportunity to smash the Soviet Block. TITO will, then, find himself confronted with an alternative. In the West everything will be ready to "seize" Yugoslavia, and then the day of the Croats will have come; they will attain freedom earlier than the other oppressed peoples. Therefore, JUKIC said, it was high time, "24 hours", so to speak, for the Croats to establish unity and, with the support of the American policy, to make preparations for the liberation.

During a confidential conversation JUKIC expressed the opinion that the Croatian demand for independence had little prospect of being realized; 95 percent of the prominent Western politicians were against a dismemberment of Yugoslavia whose Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian areas had grown together since 1918, especially under TITO's regime. To divide that state would, in the opinion of the West, shake the economy and the political life of the whole area and prevent its consolidation for a long time to come. However, JUKIC added, the future Yugoslavia was expected to be a Federation. The reason why the HSS now officially and with emphasis presented its demand for an independent Croatian state was that it wanted to have a sufficiently wide margin for future negotiations. The HSS rejected a Danube Federation as was favored by certain Croatian as well as by Austrian and Hungarian circles, JUKIC said.

Hrvatski Pokret za Evropsku Federaciju

(Croatian Movement for a United Europe)

Seats Great Britain, representation in MUNICH.

The HSS representative in MUNICH, Dr. Grga VUKOVIC, who has been charged with the task of organizing above group is making efforts to win over to the movement also the adherents of other Croatian groups in MUNICH. So far his efforts have had little success. He is now planning to convene a large-scale charter-meeting. Invitations will be sent to all Croatian emigrants' organizations in MUNICH and to "neutral" persons. No decision has as yet been made as to whether that meeting will be held before JUKIC returns to MUNICH in mid-October or during his stay there. The general opinion is that the new movement will be nothing but a new group of the HSS, which will struggle along the same way as the others.

Independent Croatian Club

MUNICH

The Croatian paper "Hrvatska Zora" published a report on the HAPSBURG tendencies existing in part of the divided Ustaschi Movement.

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After the last Eucharistic Congress in Spain, where some PAVLIC-friends had met, the "Independent Croatian Club" was founded in MUNICH. The former Croatian Homeguard General BROZOVIC was elected to the office of President of the club; the priest BUJANCIC was appointed secretary. Only 24 hours after the founding of the organization the Yugoslav Consulate in ELSENHOF was in possession of the minutes of the charter-meeting. BUJANCIC was accused of having forwarded the copy to said Consulate and as a result he was compelled to resign. At another meeting BROZOVIC was again elected President. Vice President of the organization is JELIC, Dr. HUC was appointed secretary.

The Club has HAPSBURG tendencies and is in favor of Croatia being incorporated into a new Danube Monarchy.

Centrist Groups:

Hrvatski Sredinski Odbor - HSO
(Croatian Central Committee)
Seat: MUNICH

With regard to the dissensions among the Croatian emigrants' organizations it must be mentioned that the planned reorganization of above Committee could not be carried out because the "United Croatians", the "Croatian National Committee" and the "Croatian Catholic Academic Association STEPINAC" refused to cooperate. Architect Ivo KIEFER who was in favor of the reorganization and had become chairman of the provisional Praesidium, with the aim of creating an active cultural and social organization, has withdrawn from all and any activities. Dr. VUKOVIC, the honorary President, has in the past few months made efforts to reorganize the Committee but all his efforts have failed. Thus, the Committee now exists practically only on paper.

Croatian National Committee for Europe
Hrvatski Narodni Odbor - HNO
MUNICH: Brunnenstrasse 9

On 20 June the Committee held a celebration in KAISERSLAUTERN in honor of Cardinal STEPINAC's "annusdag". Main speakers were Dr. SUSENJARA and Dr. GNECANINAC. While almost all of the Croatians living in KAISERSLAUTERN took part in the Church service, the meeting itself was attended only by the adherents of the Committee. (The majority of the Croatians in KAISERSLAUTERN who are employed in the Labor Service Company are adherents of PAVLIC.) Among the German guests there was Count EIS whose family originates from VUKOVAR and who is a member of

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the "Abendlandische Akademie" in MUNICH. Among the welcoming letters there was one sent by Count DEGENDORF who conveyed greetings from Otto von HABSBURG.

The Croatian colony in BERLIN held on 27 June a STEPTAC-celebration; speaking on that occasion was Dr. JELIC.

The dispute between JELIC and BUC has not yet been settled. Although JELIC in the event of an open clash could count on the support of the majority of the members and sympathizers of the Committee he wants to avoid such a clash since it "would do greater harm to the reputation of the HNO than the arbitrary ways of BUC". It was said that it was JELIC, not BUC, whose voice was decisive in important political matters; arrangements made by BUC with other groups and organizations were not binding on the HNO as long as they had not been decided upon by the entire HNO leadership.

In this connection it must be mentioned that after the meeting held by the HSS on 5 September Dr. JELIC had with JUKIC a talk concerning the problem of cooperation. Thus, it may be expected that as a result of JELIC being dissatisfied with BUC a reorganization of the HNO will be carried through.

Both Croatians and Slovenes sharply criticized an article published in the July/August Bulletin of the HNO, in which BUC called the Catholic priests in the Slovenia of today "helpers of the Communist regime" propagandizing the Communist idea of "Away from Rome". In this connection BUC referred to an item contained in the ZAGREB paper "Vijestnik", according to which 75 percent of the Catholic priests in Slovenia are members of the Communist-directed, government-sponsored Priests' Association "Cyrill and Methodi". The Croatians among those criticizing that article restrict themselves to the remark that it is not very wise to publish such articles which mean a strain on the relationship between Slovenes and Croatians in exile. To enforce their own demands the Croatians need the support of the Slovenes; therefore, efforts should be made to win the Slovenes over to the Croatian side, instead of annoying them by publications of the kind mentioned.

The Slovenes reacted sharply to the article in question and declared that they would not permit the Croatian "Habsburg-adherents" to interfere with their own affairs; it was simply impudent to publish such defamations based on reports of the Communist Croatian press. They stressed it was common knowledge that the Slovenian Catholic priests, like the Croatian priests, today are engaged in a serious struggle against Communism and for their church.

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Hrvatsko Akademsko Društvo Alojzije Stepinac
(Croatian Catholic Academic Association Alojz STEPINAC)
Seat: MADRID; representation: MUNICH, Forstenriederstrasse 414.

The young Croatian intellectuals among the more recent arrivals are making efforts for the founding of an organization outside the existing Croatian groups which are considered as out-dated and are rejected because they are dominated by private and personal interests. Zvonimir RAVLJINIC, MUNICH, is making attempts to unite these young Croatians in a new group. For the time being they are planning to hold meetings only on a small scale for the purpose of discussing the possibilities of cultural and, later, political activities.

So far these talks have resulted only in the decision to re-organize the Croatian Academic Association.

Croatian Workers' Associations:

The symptoms of disunity shown by various Croatian emigrants' organizations are apparent also in the Croatian workers' organizations. The "Independent Croatian Workers' Union" in PARIS is trying in vain to establish cooperation with the "Union of free Croatian Workers" in Belgium which is connected with the HSS and a member of the "Federation of free Croatian Workers". For its refusal the Belgian Union gave the reason that the PARIS organization is influenced by the clergy. It was stated that the Union of Croatian Workers must adhere to the principle of "supra-confessionality" since a large number of the Croatian workers in exile are Moslems.

The "Federation of Free Croatian Workers" is making further efforts for being admitted to the "International Federation of Trade Unions" (Internationaler Gewerkschaftsbund).

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STATE DEPARTMENT FILE ON KRUNOSLAV DRAGANOVIC

On September 10, 1967, Father Krunoslav Draganovic, one of the lead agents and architects of the Nazi smuggling Ratline, crossed to the Yugoslav side of the Italian border at the city of Trieste. Croatian organizations - including Pavelic's Croatian Liberation Movement - alleged that the "Golden Priest" had been kidnapped, but it appears today that Draganovic surrendered to the Yugoslav authorities of his own volition. The state of confusion in the Croatian diaspora was nothing compared to the panic in the American intelligence community, which regarded Draganovic as a highly valuable, if flawed, asset. Draganovic's surrender to Yugoslavia was equivalent to the defection of a bureau chief to the Soviet Union. This report was submitted approximately four months after Draganovic's defection to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Security, and contains a summary of what was known of Draganovic's "public" persona. The second paragraph is largely illegible, but appears to be a brief overview of his early life and education in Croatia from earlier documents which are published here.

[handwritten: summary complete to 68]

[stamp: 9 JAN 1968]

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security
Department of State

FROM: Deputy Director for Plans

SUBJECT: Dr. Krunoslav Stjepan DRAGANOVIC

1. Per verbal request of Mr. Ora Wilson of the Department of State, the following biographic information on Dr. Krunoslav Stjepan Draganovic has been prepared based on the information contained in the files of this agency. This information is provided for your internal use only.

A. Activities Prior to April 1941:

Krunoslav Stjepan DRAGANOVIC, aka Father DRAGANOVIC, aka Dr. Fabiano, one of four children of Petar DRAGANOVIC (the others being [illegible]), was born in Brcko, Bosnia [the rest of this paragraph is largely illegible]

Following the graduation from the seminary he was ordained a priest and served in Sarajevo from 1930 to 1932. During this period he came in direct contact with Dr. Ivan SARIC, the Catholic Archbishop of Bosnia, perhaps the most rabid opponent of the Orthodox Serbs and the Yugoslav Royal family (the KARADJORDJEVIC Family), which is of Serbian origin, and a vociferous champion of the Independent State of Greater Croatia (which would include all of Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina to the Drina River in the East, and also Slavonia and Srem, i.e., the lands North of the Sava River and South of the Danube River right up to the confluence of the Sava with the Danube at Belgrade). It was under the auspices of Archbishop SARIC that he was sent to Rome in 1932 to attend the Instituto Orientale Ponteficio where he majored in [illegible] and Balkan affairs. He obtained his Doctorate in 1935 and returned to Sarajevo, where he acted as secretary to Archbishop SARIC from 1935 through 1940. In February 1941 he was appointed teacher of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Zagreb, Croatia.

B. Activities from April 1941 to mid-1945:

There are conflicting reports regarding Subject's activities during the period from April 1941 to August 1943. According to some reports, shortly after the Independent State of Croatia was established in April 1941 by the late Ante PAVELIC, the leader of the Ustasha (a Croatian political organization), via the support and approval of Nazi Germany, Subject became a leading figure in the Office for Colonization, an office engaged in engaging the property of the Orthodox Serbs living in Bosnia, Hercegovina, the Lika area of Croatia (in which lived the majority of the Serbian minority of Croatia), Slavonia and Srem, and distributing

said property to the Ustashas. Subject reportedly was in the habit of travelling in the above listed areas in the uniform of an Ustasha Colonel. He was also said to have been armed while in uniform. Other reports identify Subject as a member of a Committee that forcibly converted thousands of Serbians from the Serbian Orthodox to the Roman Catholic Church. (As a result of their opposition to such forcible conversions, several hundred thousand Serbs living on the territory of the Independent Croatian State reportedly died at the hands of the Ustasha and Domobran military forces during World War II, or more specifically, while the Independent Croatian State was in existence. This resulted in many Serbs, and even many Croats who were opposed to such inhuman methods, joining the Partisan guerrilla units to fight both the Germans and the Croat State, even though they were not in favor of Communism.) Since the end of World War II, many Serbs living outside Yugoslavia have accused Subject of being personally responsible for the deaths of over 10,000 Serbs from Croatia, killed by the Ustashas as a part of their drive to exterminate the Serbs living in Croatia. Subject has denied these charges, as well as the charge that he was Military Chaplain of the Domobran and Ustasha military units. (The Ustasha military units were elite units, while the Domobran were the actual Armed Forces of the Croatian State.) According to his own statements, Subject was instrumental in setting up a Croat-Slovene Committee for the Relief of Slovene Refugees in Zagreb in the fall of 1941, and became President of the Committee.

Subject evidently became involved in mid-1943 in a feud with Eugen (aka [illegible]) KVATERNIK, a major figure in the Government of Croatia and a close associate of Poglavnik (leader) Ante PAVELIC, the head of the Croatian State. He called KVATERNIK "a madman and a lunatic." This resulted in his "being kicked upstairs," which is to say, in August 1943 he went to Italy to represent the Croatian Red Cross on a mission to secure the release from camps or otherwise help Yugoslav internees. His sponsor was Alojzije STEPINAC, the Archbishop of Zagreb. He returned to Zagreb at the end of 1943, but returned to Rome again in January 1944, and was still in Italy when the Croatian State collapsed in mid-1945 at about the same time as the war ended in Europe.

He continued to represent the Croatian Red Cross, but was also regarded as an unofficial Charge d'Affairs of the Croatian State at the Vatican. Thus when the Croatian State collapsed, he was in the ideal position to help the many Ustashas who fled Yugoslavia, and as Secretary of an organization known as the Confraternite Croata in Italy he issued Identity Documents with false names to many Croats, primarily Ustashas who were considered war criminals, and is the individual most responsible for making it possible for the Ustashas to emigrate overseas, primarily to Argentina, but also to Chile, Venezuela, Australia, Canada and even the United States. He is alleged to have provided even some German Nazi war criminals with false Identity Cards with false Croatian names, thus enabling them to emigrate from Europe and avoid standing trial in Germany for their war-time activities. Subject and his Croatian supporters claim that Subject assisted Serbs, Slovenes and other Yugoslavs as well as Croats, and deny that he had been motivated by any but charitable and compassionate reasons in this activity.

C. Activities from Mid-1945 to Date:

Subject's activities in Rome were conducted from the Ecclesiastical College of San Girolamo degli Illirici, 132 Via Tomacelli, Rome. The college is sponsored by the Vatican and was used by young Croatian Catholic priests as their home in Rome while pursuing various courses of study. It also became the sponsor of the San Girolamo Asylum for the Ustasha and other Croat emigres in Rome. Rector of the College of San Girolamo degli Illirici at the time was Monsignor Dr. Juraj MADJEREC, a close collaborator of Subject's in his activities on behalf of the Croats.

In 1946, Subject defended himself on the charges that he was an Ustasha by stating that if working for an Independent Croatia meant being an Ustasha, then "I am an Ustasha. However," he added, "I disassociate myself from all other attributes of the Ustashas." He is also known to have defended the late Ante PAVELIC on the grounds that PAVELIC organized the Ustasha Movement in 1929 (this is after the assassination of Stjepan RADIC, leader of the Croatian

Peasant Party, in the Yugoslav Parliament by a Montenegrin, i.e. Serbian deputy), as a Croat answer to the Serbian Chetnik Movement, which Subject claims had been an instrument of Serbian oppression of the Croats. He also admits that he is a proponent of an Independent Greater Croatian State and that he supports the Pan-Danubian Federation composed of Slovenia, Croatia, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland (sometimes referred to as a "Cordon Sanitaire" between Western Europe and the Soviet Union, or even as the Catholic Outpost confronting the Godless Communists and the heretic Orthodox States.) And finally, Subject has claimed credit for helping in the release of over 10,000 Yugoslav internees in Italy during 1943, 1944 and early 1945.

In 1949, Subject went to Argentina in the company of the late Ante PAVELIC, but he returned to Rome shortly thereafter. In 1950 he was known to be using a Diplomatic Passport, issued to him by the Vatican. In August 1951 he went to Beirut, Lebanon on orders of Ante PAVELIC in an effort to convince Djafer KULENOVIC to accept the post of President of the Ustasha Government-in-Exile, which was constituted in Buenos Aires on 10 April 1951 (the tenth anniversary of the forming of the Independent Greater Croatian State in Zagreb on 10 April 1941.) Sometime in the 1950's he had a falling out with PAVELIC, and attempted to establish [illegible] relations with the late Vlatko MACEK, who inherited the leadership of the Croatian Peasant Party after the assassination of Stjepan RADIC, but was rebuffed by MACEK. Subject then organized a movement called the Croatian Independence Movement, which was intended to assemble all Croats outside Yugoslavia. Being in opposition both to the followers of the PAVELIC Ustasha Movement and the Croatian Peasant Party of Vlatko MACEK, this new movement appealed to only a fraction of the Croats but, as an individual, Subject nevertheless continues to enjoy a position of some importance among the Croats outside Yugoslavia.

Finally, in 1952 Subject became Secretary of the "Bratovatina Relief Association" with Headquarters in Rome. His close associate, Monsignor Dr. Juraj MADJEREC, with whom he organized the Association, became president.

Subject's political activities eventually became an

embarrassment to the Vatican, and in October 1958, Monsignor Djuro KOKSA, Vice-Director of the College of San Girolamo, asked him to leave the College, on order of the Secretary of State of the Vatican. He then moved to an apartment at 28 Via Oslaria, Rome. In time he moved from Italy to Vienna, Austria, and became an Austrian citizen, and it was while living in Austria that he visited Trieste, from where he disappeared around mid-September 1967, leading the Croats to conclude that he had been kidnapped by the Yugoslavs and forcibly taken back to Yugoslavia. Throughout the post-war period the Yugoslav government had labeled Subject a war-criminal and has repeatedly requested the Italian and Austrian authorities that Subject be extradited to Yugoslavia so that he could be tried for his "war crime activities."

D. Intelligence Activities:

Subject has been accused of working for the Soviet Intelligence Service. He and his friends have disclaimed such activity, and claim that he is being slandered by the Serbs and by the Communist Regime in Yugoslavia, in order to discredit him and hamper his humanitarian work. There is no proof that he has ever worked for the Soviets or any Communist intelligence Service. There are, however, indications that he had worked for [censored] Intelligence Service. Whether or not he still works for [censored] is not known.

Subject also had contact with the United States Military Intelligence during the 1950's and early 1960's, but this association was terminated by the Military "with prejudice" in January 1962. (If you require additional details of this association, please address your inquiry to the Department of the Army.)

2. It may be of interest to note that while the Yugoslav Government has officially stated that Subject voluntarily requested in writing that he be permitted to return to Yugoslavia, and that such a letter has been read over the

Yugoslav Radio and TV news programs, Subject himself has not been put on display by the Yugoslav authorities, even though they claim that he is living in Sarajevo and is free to move around awaiting an official decision on whether or not he will be tried by the Yugoslav Court for his war-time activities. Subject's brother Zvonimir is or was a bank clerk in Zagreb, and his sister Danica was a teacher in Sarajevo, while his other brother, Kresimir, was reported to have been living in the British Zone of Germany in 1947. Our files contain no information which could help resolve the question of whether Subject was kidnapped by the Yugoslavs or if he returned to Yugoslavia of his own accord.

Distribution:

Orig & 1 Addressee

1 - [censored]

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Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0013.txt>

Summary completed to 68

~~SECRET~~MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security
Department of State

FROM: Deputy Director for Plans

SUBJECT: Dr. Krumenik Stjepan OKACHWIC

1. For formal request of Mr. Stjepan OKACHWIC of the Department of State, the following biographic information on Dr. Krumenik Stjepan OKACHWIC has been prepared based on the information contained in the files of the Agency. This information is provided for your internal use.

Biographic Information on Dr. Krumenik Stjepan OKACHWIC

Dr. Krumenik Stjepan OKACHWIC was born on 10/10/1910 in Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

He received his Ph.D. in 1934 from the University of Zagreb.

He was a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party from 1937 to 1941.

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Approved by: [Signature]
Date FEB 1948

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- 2 -

Following the graduation from the seminary he was ordained a Priest and served in Sarajevo from 1930 to 1932. During this period he came in direct contact with Dr. Ivan SARIC, the Catholic Archbishop of Bosnia, perhaps the most rabid opponent of the Orthodox Serbs and the Yugoslav Royal family (the KARADJORDJEVIC Family), which is of Serbian origin, and a vociferous champion of the Independent State of Greater Croatia (which would include all of Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Drina River in the east, and also Slavonia and Sren, i.e. the lands north of the Sava River and south of the Danube River right up to the confluence of the Sava with the Danube at Belgrade). It was under the auspices of Archbishop SARIC that he was sent to Rome in 1932 to attend the Instituto Orientale Pontificio where he majored in ecclesiology and Balkan affairs. He obtained his Doctorate in 1935 and returned to Sarajevo, where he acted as secretary to Archbishop SARIC from 1935 through 1940. In February 1941 he was appointed teacher of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Zagreb, Croatia.

2. Activities from April 1941 to Mid-1945:

There are conflicting reports regarding Subject's activities during the period from April 1941 to August 1945. According to some reports, shortly after the Independent State of Croatia was established in April 1941 by the late Ante PAVELIC, the leader of the Ustasha (a Croatian political organization), with the support and approval of Nazi Germany, Subject became a leading figure in the Office for Colonization, an office engaged in confiscating the property of the Orthodox Serbs living in Bosnia, Herzegovina, the Lika area of Croatia (in which lived the majority of the Serbian minority of Croatia), Slavonia and Sren, and distributing said property to the Ustasas. Subject reportedly was in the habit of traveling in the above listed areas in the uniform of an Ustasha Colonel. He was also said to have been armed while in uniform. Other reports identify Subject as a member of a Committee that forcibly converted thousands of Serbians from the Serbian Orthodox to the Roman Catholic Church.

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(As a result of their opposition to such forcible conversions, several hundred thousand Serbs living on the territory of the Independent Croatian State reportedly died at the hands of the Ustasha and Domobran military forces during World War II, or more specifically, while the Independent Croatian State was in existence. This resulted in many Serbs, and even many Croats who were opposed to such inhuman measures, joining the Partisan guerrilla units to fight both the Germans and the Croat State, even though they were not in favor of Communism.) Since the end of World War II, many Serbs living outside Yugoslavia have accused Subject of being personally responsible for the deaths of over 10,000 Serbs from Croatia, killed by the Ustasha as a part of their drive to exterminate the Serbs living in Croatia. Subject has denied these charges, as well as the charge that he was Military Chaplain of the Domobran and Ustasha military units. (The Ustasha military units were elite units, while the Domobran were the actual Armed Forces of the Croatian State.) According to his own statements, Subject was instrumental in setting up a Great-Britain Committee for the Relief of Slavonic Refugees in London in the fall of 1941, and became President of the Committee.

Subject evidently became involved in mid-1943 in a feud with Ljubo (aka. Ljuba) VUKOBRAĆ, a major figure in the Government of Croatia and a close associate of Pavlovic (Ljubo). Ljubo VUKOBRAĆ, head of the Croatian State, was killed in a "massacre" and a "lynching". This resulted in his "being killed by mistake" which is to say, in August 1943 he went to Italy to represent the Croatian Red Cross on a mission to secure the release of prisoners or otherwise help Yugoslav internees. He was shot by Axis forces (SERBIANS, the Army of the Axis) and returned to Zagreb at the end of 1943, but returned to Rome again in January 1944 and was still in Italy when the Croatian State collapsed in mid-1945 at about the same time as the war ended in Europe.

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He continued to represent the Croatian Red Cross, but was also regarded as an unofficial Charge d'Affairs of the Croatian State at the Vatican. Thus when the Croatian State collapsed, he was in the ideal position to help the many Ustasas who fled Yugoslavia, and as Secretary of an organization known as the Confraternite Croata in Italy he issued Identity Documents with false names to many Croats, primarily Ustasas who were considered war criminals, and is the individual most responsible for making it possible for the Ustasas to emigrate overseas, primarily to Argentina, but also to Chile, Venezuela, Australia, Canada and even the United States. He is alleged to have provided even some German Nazi war criminals with false Identity Cards with false Croatian names, thus enabling them to emigrate from Europe and avoid standing trial in Germany for their war-time activities. Subject and his Croatian supporters claim that Subject assisted Serbs, Slovenes and other Yugoslavs as well as Croats, and deny that he had been motivated by any but charitable and compassionate reasons in this activity.

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Subject's activities in Rome were conducted from the Ecclesiastical College of San Girolamo degli Illirici, 137 Via Teulada, Rome. The college is sponsored by the Vatican and was used by young Croatian Catholic priests as their home in Rome while pursuing various courses of study. It also became the sponsor of the San Girolamo Asylum for the Ustasas and other Croat emigres in Rome. Rector of the College of San Girolamo degli Illirici at the time was Monsignor Dr. Juraj RADJEC, a close collaborator of Subject's in his activities on behalf of the Ustasas.

In 1946, Subject defended himself on the charges that he was an Ustasha by stating that if working for an Independent Croatia meant being an Ustasha, then "I am an Ustasha. However, he added, "I disassociate myself from all other attributes of the Ustasas." He is also known to have defended the late Ante PAVELIC on the grounds that PAVELIC organized

the Ustasha Movement in 1929 (this is after the assassination of Stjepan RADIC, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, in the Yugoslav Parliament by a Montenegrin, i.e. Serbian Deputy), as a Croat answer to the Serbian Chetnik Movement, which Subject claims has been an instrument of Serbian oppression of the Croats. He also admits that he is a proponent of an independent Greater Croatian State and that he supports the Danubian Federation composed of Slovenia, Croatia, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland (sometimes referred to as a "Cordon Sanitaire" between Western Europe and the Soviet Union, or even as the Catholic Outpost confronting the Godless Communists and the heretic Orthodox States). And finally, Subject has claimed credit for helping in the release of over 10,000 Yugoslav internees in Italy during 1943, 1944 and early 1945.

In 1949, Subject went to Argentina in the company of the late Ante PAVLIC, but he returned to home shortly thereafter. In 1950 he was known to be using a Diplomatic Passport issued to him by the Vatican. In August 1951 he went to Beirut, Lebanon on orders of Ante PAVLIC in an effort to convince Djafar KUTUMOVIC to accept the post of President of the Ustasha Government in exile, which was constituted in Buenos Aires on 10 April 1951 (the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Independent Greater Croatian State in May or 10 April 1941). Sometime in the 1950's he began falling out with PAVLIC and attempted to establish better relations with the late Vlatko MACEL, who had inherited the leadership of the Croatian Peasant Party after the assassination of Stjepan RADIC, but was rejected by MACEL. Subject then organized a movement called the Croatian Independence Movement, which was intended to assemble all Croats outside Yugoslavia, making no distinction both to the followers of the PAVLIC Ustasha Government and the Croatian Peasant Party of Vlatko MACEL, this new movement appealed to only a fraction of the Croats, but, as an individual, Subject nevertheless continued to enjoy a position of some importance among the Croats outside Yugoslavia.

SECRET

- 6 -

Finally, in 1952 Subject became Secretary of the "Bratovstina Relief Association" with Headquarters in Rome. His close associate, Monsignor Dr. Juraj MARJEC, with whom he organized the Association, became president.

Subject's political activities eventually became an embarrassment to the Vatican, and in October 1955, Monsignor Djuro KOLJA, Vice Director of the College of San Girolamo, asked him to leave the College, on order of the Secretary of State of the Vatican. He then moved to an apartment at 28 Via Osiria, Rome. In time he moved from Italy to Vienna, Austria, and became an Austrian citizen, and it was while living in Austria that he visited Trieste, from where he disappeared around mid-September 1967, leading the Croats to conclude that he had been kidnapped by the Yugoslavs and forcibly taken back to Yugoslavia. Throughout the post-war period the Yugoslav government has labeled Subject a war criminal and has repeatedly requested the Italian and Austrian authorities that Subject be extradited to Yugoslavia so that he could be tried for his war crime activities.

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1. It may be of interest to note that while the Yugoslav Government has officially stated that Subject voluntarily requested in writing that he be permitted to return to Yugoslavia, and that such a letter has been read over the Yugoslav Radio and TV news programs, Subject himself has not been put on display by the Yugoslav authorities. Even though they claim that he is living in Sarajevo and is free to move around awaiting an official decision on whether or not he will be tried by the Yugoslav Court for his war-time activities. Subject's brother Zvezimir is or was a bank clerk in Zagreb, and his sister Danica was a teacher in Sarajevo, while his other brother, Krstimir, was reported to have been living in the British zone of Germany in 1947. Our files contain no information which could help resolve the question of whether Subject was kidnapped by the Yugoslavs or if he returned to Yugoslavia of his own accord.

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The requested URL /documents/pavelic/text/ap0001.txt was not found on this server.

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THE RENEWAL OF MEDIEVAL TIMES

This article appeared in the Fascist-controlled press in Italy on September 18, 1941. The author, Corrado Zoli, was traveling through Bosnia and witnessed the Ustase massacres - and the assistance of Franciscan priests in the butchery - firsthand. There can be little doubt that this article appeared with the agreement of the Fascist Party in Italy, and the Italian Army had already begun to stand between the Ustase and their victims in zones of the NDH under their authority.

There were special bands who performed the massacres and are probably still doing so, actually led and incited by Catholic priests and monks. This is more than confirmed. There was a monk near Travnik with the crucifix in one hand who was inciting a band of people whom he had organized and was leading. This happened in the first few days after my arrival there.

"This therefore means the renewal of medieval times," remarked the correspondent.

"Yes, but made worse by machine guns, hand grenades, dynamite, barrels of gasoline and other means of terrorism."

"Was this committed by the local Croat people?" asked Zoli.

"That's it, but by the worst element of the Croat population, just young men of around 20, collected, armed and led by Croats who came from Zagreb. This was all taking place among people who pretend to be civilized and who brag about having accepted the Mediterranean and Roman culture, sometimes even stating that they are the direct descendants of the Goths. It was a terrible massacre! It was a living

terror! Entire families, men women, babies, old men, the sick and children massacred and tormented by the worst imaginable Chinese tortures."...

...The first brother of Assisi spoke with the birds and fish, calling them brothers and sisters, but his disciples and spiritual heirs, filled with hate, massacre the people in the Independent State of Croatia, who are before God and the Father, their own brothers, brothers of the same blood, the same language, the same mother earth which has nourished them with the sap from her breasts. They massacre, they kill, they bury people alive. They throw their victims into the rivers, the sea and into crevices. Bands of these killers still exist and they are in a state of frenzied excitement, led on by the priests and the Catholic religious officials.

Source: Corrado Zoli in Il Resto del Carlino, 18 September 1941. Quoted in Paris, Edmond. Genocide in Satellite Croatia.

Original Placment:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0005.txt>

KATOLICKI LIST: THE FOUNDATION OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA

The following is a translation of a transcript made of the front page of the first issue of the Catholic paper Katolicki List published after the formation of the Independent State of Croatia. Katolicki List was published by the Archdiocese of Zagreb, led by Archbishop (later Cardinal) Stepinac, and Item 4 below speaks directly in the name of the church. Stepinac never denied his initial support for the NDH, but it is quite another matter to recount the neo-fascist spectacle described in Item 3 without passing judgment as to what this could possibly mean. The Ustase, as is clear, left little doubt that the NDH would be ruled by the fist, with Poglavnik Ante Pavelic's ministers swearing "You command, and we will obey; you order, and we will execute!" As the NDH had been created in the wake of Nazi bayonets, one is shocked by the naiveté and willful ignorance on the part of the church as to just what this meant. Prior to April 1941, the names "Ustase" and "Pavelic" had hitherto been connected in the public mind with bombings, assassination and other forms of terrorism, their image one of unapologetic fascism with "Sieg Heils," black tunics and a language of violence and militarism aimed at Serbs and Jews as well as members of the Croatian Peasant Party who had signed the "treacherous" autonomy agreement with Belgrade just two years before. Public opinion on Mussolini and especially Hitler were equally well-informed by April 1941; regardless, their telegrams bestowing their blessing on the NDH are prominently printed with all due consideration.

THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA

1. With amazing speed, the events of Easter week turned the circle of history of the Croatian people. After a day of anxiety, alarm and concern, Easter Thursday came. Already at noon the first news had reached Zagreb that in Bjelovar, Croat soldiers had rebelled, and that German troops had crossed the Drava River in a broad line, advancing towards

Zagreb very quickly. In the city itself, all around, a great excitement was felt. The public didn't yet know that at about half past two in the afternoon the Ustase Poglavnik's deputy Mr. Slavko Kvaternik took command of the police. The public found out about the change at about 4:00 pm on the radio when Mr. S. Kvaternik, in the name of the Poglavnik, Dr. Ante Pavelic, proclaimed the Independent State of Croatia in its entire historical area and took control. Not long after that Dr. V[ladko] Macek called all Croatian people to obey and sincerely cooperate with the new state government. On the streets of Zagreb, Croatian flags were unfurled when the first German motorized troops entered the city. German troops were greeted by loud cheering. The Croatian state authorities manifested themselves very quickly, because all police squads and civilian defense authorities behaved just like the Ustase squads, functioning perfectly in maintaining order and discipline. On Easter Saturday, General S. Kvaternik appointed members of the Croatian leadership which will temporarily run state affairs. On Easter Sunday the Poglavnik Dr. Ante Pavelic arrived with his escort on the territory of the State of Croatia, and he was ceremonially welcomed in Karlovac. On Easter Tuesday he finally arrived in Zagreb.

2. On Tuesday, the 15th [of April] Poglavnik dr. Ante Pavelic gave all Croatian radio stations the following statement:

"Croatian people! Today, as I assume control of the state authorities of the NDH in Zagreb, I am happy that I can announce the following to you: Yesterday I sent telegrams to Fuehrer of the German people and the Duce of Fascist Italy in which I requested their immediate recognition of the NDH. With great joy I announce to you, the Croatian people, that to those requests I received the following telegram replies:

Dr. Ante Pavelic, Zagreb

I am grateful for your telegram and also the telegram of General Kvaternik, in which you notified me of the proclamation of the NDH in conjunction with the will of the

people, and in which you ask me to recognize the NDH in the name of the German Reich. It is a particular joy and pleasure for me to express to you that the German Reich recognizes the NDH at a moment when the Croatian people have found their long desired freedom by the victory of the troops of the Axis powers. The German government will be glad to discuss the borders of the new state with the Croatian government in a free exchange of thoughts. All my wishes I direct to you and to future of the Croatian people.

Adolf Hitler

To Dr. Ante Pavelic, Zagreb.

I received the telegram by which you notified me of the proclamation of the NDH in conjunction with the will of the people, and in which you ask me to recognize the NDH in the name of Fascist Italy. With the greatest pleasure I salute the new Croatia, which today obtained its long desired freedom when the Axis powers destroyed the artificially created Yugoslavia. I am happy to express to you that the Fascist government recognizes the Independent State of Croatia. Fascist Italy will be glad to discuss with the national Croatian government, in a free exchange of thoughts, the borders of the new state, to which Italian people give our fondest wishes.

Benito Mussolini

"Croatian people! Long live the NDH! Long live Fuehrer Adolf Hitler! Long live Duce Mussolini!"

The State of Croatia was also recognized by Slovakia and Hungary.

3. On Wednesday, the 16th of April at 8 p.m. the Poglavnik of the State of Croatia appointed the first Croatian state

ministers, and together with the new government he swore an oath.

On that occasion he made the following speech:

"Croatian people!

"The Croatian people founded their state 1400 years ago. In the year 1102, the Croatian State lost for the first time the important designation of its complete sovereignty. From 1102 until today - therefore a full 839 years - the Croatian people did not have an independent state. Now, a full 839 years after which for the first time a completely sovereign independent state of Croatia was constituted, the moment has come to constitute a competent government in the NDH. At this moment I appoint and nominate the first Croatian state government. The presidency over the government and the portfolio for foreign affairs I am taking over myself.

"I appoint as deputy head of state Osman Kulenovic of Bihac.

"As commander of the army and minister of the Croatian Home Army, consisting of land, air, and sea forces and all men under arms, and as Minister of Traffic I name Field Marshal Slavko Kvaternik of Zagreb. For active operations the Poglavnik will name deputies on his own based upon necessity.

"I appoint as Minister of Justice Mirko Puk of Glina.

"I appoint as Minister of Internal Affairs Andrija Artukovic of Ljubuski.

"I appoint as Minister of Health Ivan Petric of Solta.

"I appoint as Economic Minister Lovru Susic of Mrkoplje.

"I appoint as Minister of Religion and Education Mile Budak of Sveti Roka.

"I appoint as Minister of Forestry and Mines Ivica Frkovic of Lickog Novi.

"I appoint as Minister of Association [ministrom udruzba]

Jozo Dumandzic of Klobuka.

"I appoint as head of the legislative committee Milovan Zanic of Senj."

Text of the oath by the Poglavnik:

"I, Dr. Ante Pavelic, Poglavnik of the NDH, swear to God Almighty and All-Knowing, that I will be faithful to the Croatian people and do everything for their benefit, and that I will preserve and defend the independence of the Croatian state, and that I will at all times live by the Ustase principles in my work. So help me God!"

Before the ministers took their oath, the Poglavnik directed the following words to them:

"Ministers, you are committing a solemn act by which you will swear an oath to take into your hands the people's affairs, state affairs, the NDH's affairs. I am bringing to light before your eyes the oath and the consequences before God and the Croatian people for the things you will do, your responsibility before God and the Croatian people for every act or mistake you would do to the harm of the Croatian people and the NDH." Afterwards, the ministers spoke in order, and swore an oath in this way: "I Slavko Kvaternik, I Dr. Mirko Puk and so on... swear to God Almighty and All-Knowing, that I will be faithful to the Croatian people, to the NDH and to the Poglavnik as the representative of its sovereignty, that I will respect and adhere to its constitutional articles and its laws, that I will work at all times for the benefit of the NDH and the Croatian people, and that I will do so with true devotion, and that I will invest all my power and knowledge in performing my duties. So help me God! Amen!"

Ministers swore this oath repeating the words of Poglavnik, who congratulated each and every one of them after the oath was taken.

After that the Poglavnik's deputy, warrior Slavko Kvaternik,

saluted the Poglavnik and said:

"Poglavnik! In the name of the Croatian people, in the name of all present ministers, I assure you that we will knowingly perform these duties. You command, and we will obey; you order, and we will execute! All of us and the whole of the Croatian people are with you through both life and death!"

4. These events marked the foundation of NDH.

The state of Croatia is a fact. It was, as an ideal, carried over the centuries in souls of our ancestors, until Almighty Providence materialized it in the year of our great national jubilee. The Catholic Church, which for over 1300 years has spiritually guided the Croatian people through their hard, painful and delightful days, joins in the joy and delight of the Croatian people in these days marking their ascension and the restoration of state independence. The Church is convinced, that by preaching Christ's religious and well-bred science, it preserved the living essence and fortified the robust resistance of the Croatian people. That it gave the Croatian people the moral strength to endure difficult temptations, which finally brought about the restoration of state independence. Just as the church in those difficult days of temptation faithfully stood with its priests in spiritual service to the Croatian people, in this new period of state independence it will faithfully stand by their side, fortifying their strength and preserving their morals, so that it can achieve genuine, total prosperity and comprehensive progress. The church prays to God, that all Croats, united together, find in the state of Croatia the fulfillment of its justified aspirations. That all people with their responsible leadership can become the people of the Lord. The Church is convinced that there are objective and subjective terms by which our people have fulfilled the words of the Lord: "Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord!" With those wishes and prayers we enter the era of the NDH.

The Editors

Filing Information:

Title: Katolicki List: The Foundation of the Independent
State of Croatia

Source: Katolicki List, No 16, 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor.
Magnum Crimen, pp. 546-549, Zagreb, 1948. Translated by
Sinisa Djuric.

Date: April 1941

Added: April 5, 2003

Original Placement:

[http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ndhnews/text/ndhn0001.
txt](http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ndhnews/text/ndhn0001.txt)

Sacrifices must be even more persistently accepted by those generations, who even made sacrifice a central part of their program: the men and women of the Crusaders! In light of recent events it was made clear what an important role this organization performed by spiritually preparing "the new, young, Godly Croatia." The breeding of the Crusader youth, thanks to the late Dr. Ivan Merz and the present Dr. Ivo Protulipac, was radically Croatian. The spiritual program of this organization is coherent with the spiritual program of the Ustase, as has been expressed numerous times at various Crusader functions by Dr. Ivo Protulipac, but also by other Crusader speakers. Therefore, may the Crusaders' sacrifice in the future come to an even greater expression, but not so much with words as much as with action.

Filing Information:

Title: News: In the Sign of Sacrifice

Source: Katolicki Tjednik, April 27, 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen, p. 585 (First Edition, Zagreb).

Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: April 27, 1941

Added: February 6, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ndhnews/text/ndhn0003.txt>

Honorable brethren!

There is not one among you who did not recently witness the most significant event in the life of the Croatian people among whom we act as heralds of Christ's word. These are events that fulfilled the long dreamed of and desired ideal of our people. These are the hours when the tongue does not speak, but blood speaks by its mysterious union with the earth in which we saw the divine light, together with people from which we grew out of. Is it necessary to emphasize that even our hearts beat more lively? Nobody intelligent could condemn it, and nobody honest could resent it, because love for your own people is written with God's finger into human beings and is God's commandment! And who could resent us for this, as we spiritual shepherds are making our contribution to the national feast and fervor, when we full of deep affection and warm gratitude turn to God's Majesty? Because, as much as the course of these portentous events is complicated; as much as the factors that influence the course of events are heterogeneous, it is still easy to discern the hand of God at work. A Domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris - "This is the Lord's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes." (Psalm 117, 23). [KJV: Psalm 118, 23]

However, as I speak to you today from this ancient mansion, in the shadow of this ancient temple that served as silent witness to our Croatian history, I do not speak to you only as a son of the Croatian people but even more as a representative of the Holy Church. I speak to you as the representative of the divine institution that grew out of the lap of infinity and which is the ending in infinity in a completely special meaning of this word. As the representative of that church, which is firmamentum et columna veritatis - "the pillar and ground of the truth" (I. Tim., 3, 15). and which was not afraid to tell the truth through my mouth, when it had to be said, though unfortunately its voice often remained a voice crying in the wilderness (John 1, 23).

Therefore by speaking to you as the representative of the Church and a shepherd of souls, I ask and invite you to strive and work with all your strength to make our Croatia

the land of God, because only then we will be able perform two important tasks, which the state has to perform to the benefit of its members.

Loyal to God and to Holy Christ's Church, our Croatia will perform the elevated mission which an earthly homeland has to perform in promoting the spiritual welfare of its members. Faithful to God and to the Church, our homeland will show that it believes that the final goal of all human ambition is eternity, where there is the true eternal homeland. By respecting and protecting religious and moral values, our homeland will show that it believes, that the earthly homeland is the true mother only when it puts our arms together and teaches us "to give unto God what is God's," and that it is the true guardian of our lives only when it directs our steps in paths that lead high and when it removes discord from souls that God created for himself. But in its faith to God and to the Church, our Croatia will not only fulfil its duty of uplifting the spiritual welfare of the Croatian people, but also lay the most solid foundations for the healthy development of earthly national values and national freedom and solidity. The Church, which has observed the turns in the history of the world for two thousand years, is the witness of centuries as *regnum de gente in gentem transfertur propter injustitias et injurias et contumelias et diversos dolos* - "as kingdoms pass from one nation to another because of injustice and wrongdoings and disgrace and various deceits." (The Church 10, 8). Therefore we have to consider that our greatest duty in these crucial hours in the history of the Croatian people is to spiritualize our entire national being by looking toward eternity. We have to warn everywhere and teach that the holy fervor and noble enthusiasm in building the foundations of the young state of Croatia should be inspired by the fear of God and love for God's Law and His commandments, because only with God's Law, and not on the false principles of this world, will the state of Croatia be built on a solid foundation.

You should therefore readily answer my call to do elevated work for the safeguarding and progress of the Independent State of Croatia

Knowing the men who today control the destiny of the Croatian

people, we are deeply convinced that they will offer our people their full understanding and help. We believe and expect that the Church in the resurrected State of Croatia will be able in full freedom to proclaim the irrefutable principles of the eternal Truth and Justice. Therefore the Church will follow the words of the Scripture: Verbum Dei non est alligatum - "The word of God is not bound" (II. Tim., 2, 9). And it shall consider its holy duty opportune, importune, arguere, increpare, obsecrare in omni patientia et doctrina et cum omni apostolica libertate - "in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all longsuffering and doctrine" (II. Tim., 4, 2) and with all apostolic freedom. That is how it shall do and it will consider it a valuable help in the difficult work in building our dear Homeland and State of Croatia.

If the good Lord allows, may it be so. And in order for it to be so, I invite you honorable brethren priests, not to stop inciting believers entrusted to you to prayers, but to raise your arms even more at the altar of the Lord to the "Father of the Stars," "from whom each good gift and every perfect present comes down." (Jakob 1, 17). --To fill the Poglavnik of the State of Croatia with the spirit of wisdom, so that he may perform the elevated and so responsible service to the honor of God and to the salvation of the people in justice and truth; so that the Croatian nation becomes the Divine nation, loyal to Christ and his Church built from Peter's cave! However, if in the eyes of the world prayer seems a needless thing, we consider it to be more important than anything in life, for "except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." (Psalm 127, 1). [KJV: Psalm 127, 1]

The Church of the Lord has never been lost in phrases, but it also never failed in that persistent work, on which the foundations of a fortunate future of individuals, nations and states are being created. Show that, honorable brethren, and now fulfil your duty towards the young state of Croatia.

In light of this we determine, that on Sunday May 4th this year a solemn Te Deum should be performed in all parochial churches, to which the parochial offices should invite the local authorities and the faithful. I hope that these

festivities will be performed. And if circumstances will not allow it, it should be performed on the first available day. Regarding the cathedral in Zagreb, I will determine that for you in concord with the state authorities.

In Zagreb, April 28, 1941.

Archbishop Alojzije

Filing Information:

Title: Pastoral Letter from Archbishop Stepinac

Source: Katolicki List list, April 28, 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen, pp. 550-552 (First Edition, Zagreb).

Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: April 28, 1941

Added: February 5, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/stepinac/text/as0001.txt>

Number 76

Upon recommendation of the Minister of Internal Affairs I hereby issue and proclaim the following

DECREE

On Racial Affiliation

Article 1

A person is of Aryan descent who descends from forebears who are members of the European racial group or who descend from descendants of this racial group outside of Europe.

In the event that other provisions do not exist for special services, Aryan descent is proven by a certificate of baptism (birth) and marriage of one's first- and second- generation forebears (one's parents and grandparents). Members of the Islamic religious group, who are unable to submit the above documents, must provide written testimony by two reliable witnesses who knew their forebears and that among them are no persons of non-Aryan descent.

In ambiguous cases a decision is made by the Ministry of Internal Affairs upon the recommendation of the Racial Policy Commission.

Article 2

Persons who in addition to Aryan forebears have one forebear in the second generation who is a Jew or other European non-Aryan by race are considered to be equal, with respect to the acquisition of citizenship, to persons of Aryan descent.

Persons with two forebears in the second generation who are Jews by race also may be considered equal to persons of Aryan descent, with respect to

citizenship, unless otherwise stipulated in Article 3.

Article 3

For purposes of this decree the following are considered to be Jews:

1. Persons who descend from at least three forebears in the second generation (grandparents) who are Jews by race. The grandparents are considered to be Jews if they are of the religion of Moses or if they were born into this religion.

2. Persons having two forebears in the second generation who are Jews by race in the following instances:

a) If they were on April 10, 1941 members of the religion of Moses or if they later converted to this religion;

b) If they have a marital partner who is considered to be a Jew, as per 1;

c) If after the enactment of this decree they concluded marriage with a person having two or more forebears in the second generation who are Jews by race, and the descendants of such a marriage;

d) If they are illegitimate children to a Jewish man, as per 1; and born after January 31, 1942;

e) If the Ministry of Internal Affairs decides, upon justified recommendation by the Racial Policy Commission, that they are to be considered as Jews.

3. Persons born outside the territory of the Independent State of Croatia to parents who do not originate from the Independent State of Croatia, if they were on April 10, 1941 members of the religion of Moses or have at least two forebears of the second generation who are Jews by race, or are

considered to be Jews according to the laws of the country from which they originate.

4. Persons who after the enactment of this decree concluded, by circumventing the decrees on protection of Aryan blood, a marriage that is prohibited, and their descendants.

5. People who are the illegitimate children borne by Jewish women, as per 1.

Article 4

For purposes of this decree a person is considered to be a Gypsy who descends from two or more forebears in the second generation who are Gypsies by race.

Article 5

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, a Racial Policy Commission is hereby established which issues opinions and recommendations in all ambiguous cases of racial affiliation.

The final decision in ambiguous cases of racial affiliation is issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Regulations regarding the organization and scope of activity of this Commission will be issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in a separate decree.

Article 6

Persons who prior to April 10, 1941 have shown themselves to be deserving before the Croatian people, especially toward its liberation, as well as their marital partners with whom they concluded marriage prior to the enactment of this decree and the descendants of such a marriage, in the event these persons may be affected by this decree, may

receive recognition of all rights belonging to persons of Aryan descent at the discretion of the head of state, regardless of the provisions of this decree.

Article 7

Implementation of this decree is entrusted to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Article 8

This decree is effective on the day of its publication in Narodne Novine [the official government publication].

In Zagreb, on April 30, 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelic (by his own hand)

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0001.txt>

Broj 75

Na prijedlog ministra unutarnjih poslova propisujem i proglašujem

**ZAKONSKU ODREDBU
o državljanstvu**

Točka 1.

Državni pripadnik je osoba, koja stoji pod zaštitom Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.

Državno pripadništvo stiče se po propisima zakonske odredbe o državnom pripadništvu.

Točka 2.

Državljanin je državni pripadnik arijskog porijekla, koji je svojim držanjem dokazao, da nije radio protiv oslobodilačkih težnja hrvatskog naroda i koji je voljan spremno i vjerno služiti hrvatskom narodu i Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj.

Točka 3.

Državljanin je nosilac političkih prava prema odredbama zakona.

Točka 4.

Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova izdati će naredbe potrebne za provedbu i nadopunu ove zakonske odredbe.

Točka 5.

Ova zakonska odredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.*

U Zagrebu 30. travnja 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj XXXIX/64-Z, p. — 1941.

Predsjednik zakonodavnog povjereništva pri Poglavniku:

Dr. Milovan Žanić, v. r.

Broj 76

Na prijedlog ministra unutarnjih poslova propisujem i proglašujem

**ZAKONSKU ODREDBU
o rasnoj pripadnosti**

Točka 1.

Arijskog porijekla je osoba, koja potječe od predaka, koji su pripadnici europske rase zajednice ili koji potječu od potomaka te zajednice izvan Europe.

U koliko za stanovite službe ne postoje druge odredbe, arijsko se porijeklo dokazuje krsnim (rodnim) i vjenčanim listom predaka prvog i drugog koljena (roditelja te djedova i baka). Kod pripadnika islamske vjerske zajednice, koji ne mogu pridonijeti navedene isprave, potrebno je pismeno posvjedočenje dvojice vjerodostojnih svjedoka, koji su poznavali njihove predke, da među njima nema osoba nearijskog porijekla.

U dvojbenim slučajevima donosi odluku ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova na prijedlog rasnopolitičkog povjerenstva.

Točka 2.

Osobe, koje pored arijskih predaka imaju jednog predka drugog koljena Židova ili drugog europskog nearijca po rasi izjednačuju se obzirom na sticanje državljanstva s osobama arijskog porijekla.

Osobe sa dva predka drugog koljena Židova po rasi također mogu biti obzirom na državljanstvo izjednačene s osobama arijskog porijekla, u koliko to u točki 3. nije drugačije određeno.

Točka 3.

Kao Židovi u smislu ove zakonske odredbe vrijede:

1. Osobe, koje potječu barem od troje predaka drugog koljena (djedova i baka), koji su Židovi po rasi. Djedovi i bake vrijede kao Židovi, ako su mojsijeve vjere ili su se u toj vjeri rodili.

2. Osobe, koje imaju dva predka drugog koljena, koji su Židovi po rasi, i to u ovim slučajevima:

a) ako su bile 10. travnja 1941. pripadnici mojsijeve vjere ili ako su kasnije na tu vjeru prešli;

b) ako imaju bračnog druga, koji vrijedi kao Židov u smislu 1.;

* Proglašeno u broju 16. Narodnih novina od 30. travnja 1941. pod (77).

* Proglašeno u broju 16. Narodnih novina od 30. travnja 1941. pod (77).

a) ako su bile 10. travnja 1941. pripadnici mojsijeve vjere ili ako su kasnije na tu vjeru prešli;

b) ako imaju braćnog druga, koji vrijedi kao Židov u smislu 1.;

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/scans/ndhbroj7576.jpg>

c) ako su poslije stupanja na snagu ove zakonske odredbe sklopili brak s osobom, koja ima dvoje ili više predaka drugog koljena Židova po rasi, i potomci iz takvog braka;

d) ako su nezakonita djeca sa Židovom u smislu 1., a rođeni su poslije 31. siječnja 1942.;

e) ako ministarstvo za unutarnje poslove na obrazloženi prijedlog raspolitičkog povjerenstva odluči, da vrijede kao Židovi.

3. Osobe, rođene izvan teritorija Nezavisne Države Hrvatske od roditelja, koji ne potječu iz Nezavisne Države Hrvatske ako su bile 10. travnja 1941. mojsijeve vjere ili imaju najmanje dvoje predaka drugog koljena Židova po rasi, ili vrijede kao Židovi u smislu zakona zemlje, iz koje potječu.

4. Osobe, koje su poslije stupanja na snagu ove zakonske odredbe sklopile obilaženjem zakonske odredbe o zaštiti arijske krvi brak, koji je zabranjen i njihovi potomci.

5. Osobe, koja su nezakonita djeca Židovki u smislu 1.

Točka 4.

Kao Ciganin u smislu ove zakonske odredbe vrijedi osoba, koja potječe od dvaju ili više predaka drugog koljena, koji su Cigani po rasi.

Točka 5.

Kod ministarstva unutarnjih poslova osniva se rasno političko povjerenstvo, koje donosi mišljenja i prijedloge u svim dvojbenim slučajevima rasne pripadnosti.

Konačno rješenje u dvojbenim slučajevima rasne pripadnosti donosi ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova.

Propise o ustrojstvu i djelokrugu rada toga povjerenstva izdati će ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova posebnom naredbom.

Točka 6.

Osobama, koje su se prije 10. travnja 1941. iskazale zaslužnima za Hrvatski narod, napose za njegovo oslobođenje, kao i njihovim bračnim drugovima, s kojima su sklopile brak prije stupanja na snagu ove zakonske odredbe i potomcima iz takvog braka, u koliko bi se na te osobe

Točka 7.

Provedba ove naredbe povjerava se ministru unutarnjih poslova.

Točka 8.

Ova zakonska odredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.*

U Zagrebu 30. travnja 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj: XLV-68 Z. p. 41.

Predsjednik zakonodavnog povjereništva pri Poglavniku:

Dr. Milovan Žanić, v. r.

Broj 77

Na prijedlog ministra unutarnjih poslova propisujem i proglašujem

ZAKONSKU ODREDBU

o zaštiti arijske krvi i časti Hrvatskog naroda

Točka 1.

Brak Židova i inih osoba, koje nisu arijskog porijekla s osobama arijskog porijekla, je zabranjen. Isto tako je zabranjen brak osobe, koja pored arijskih predaka ima jednog predka drugog koljena po rasi Židova ili drugog europskog nearijca s osobom, koja je po rasi jednakog porijekla.

Koje osobe vrijede kao Židovi ili nearijci određuje zakonska odredba o rasnoj pripadnosti.

Točka 2.

Posebna dozvola za sklapanje braka potrebna je u slijedećim slučajevima:

1. za brak osobe sa dva predaka drugog koljena Židova po rasi s osobom, koja ima jednog predka drugog koljena europskog nearijca po rasi, ili s osobom, koja je arijskog porijekla;

2. za brak osobe, koja ima među predcima pripadnike drugih neeuropskih rasa s osobom isto takvog porijekla, ili s osobom, koja ima jednog ili dva predka drugog koljena Židova po rasi ili

... i njihovim bračnim drugovima, s kojima su sklopile brak prije stupanja na snagu ove zakonske odredbe i potomcima iz takvog braka, u koliko bi se na te osobe mogla odnositi ova naredba, može poglavar države izvan propisa ove naredbe priznati sva prava, koja pripadaju osobama arijskog porijekla.

2. za brak osobe, koja imade medju predcima pripadnike drugih neeuropskih rasa s osobom isto takvog porijekla, ili s osobom, koja imade jednog ili dva predka drugog koljena Židova po rasi ili jednog predka drugog koljena Cigana po rasi, ili s osobom arijskog porijekla;

* Proglašeno u broju 16. Narodnih novina od 30. travnja 1941. pod (78).

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/scans/ndhbroj7677.jpg>

Number 77

Upon recommendation of the Minister of Internal Affairs I hereby issue and proclaim the following

DECREE

On the Protection of Aryan Blood and the Honor of the Croatian People

Article 1

The marriage of Jews and other persons who are not of Aryan descent with persons of Aryan descent is prohibited. Similarly prohibited is the marriage of a person having, in addition to Aryan forebears, one forebear in the second generation who is a Jew by race or other European non-Aryan, with a person who is of the same descent by race.

Which persons are considered to be Jews or non-Aryans is determined by the decree on racial affiliation.

Article 2

Special permission to conclude marriage is necessary in the following cases:

1. For marriage of a person with two forebears in the second generation who are Jews by race with a person having one forebear in the second generation who is a European non-Aryan by race, or a person who is of Aryan descent;
2. For marriage of a person having among his forebears members of other non-European races with a person of the same descent, or with a person having one or two forebears in the second generation who are Jews by race or one forebear in the second generation who is a Gypsy by race, or with a person of Aryan descent;

3. For marriage between citizens and other members of the state [i.e., non-citizens] unless prohibited under Article 1.

Permission for such a marriage is issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs after consultation with the Racial Policy Commission.

Article 3

Extramarital sexual relations of Jews or other persons not of Aryan blood with a female member of Aryan descent are prohibited.

A male non-Aryan violating this prohibition commits the crime of racial defilement and is therefore punished by confinement in a prison or dungeon. In especially serious instances, especially in the case of the rape of an innocent girl [i.e., virgin], the death sentence may be imposed.

Article 4

Jews or other persons who are not of Aryan descent are forbidden to employ in their households female persons of Aryan descent younger than 45 years of age.

Article 5

Non-Aryans and other members of the state [i.e., non-citizens] are forbidden from flying the Croatian state and national flags and displaying the Croatian national colors and emblems.

All changes to Jewish surnames after December 1, 1918 are hereby declared null and void and must be replaced with the original surnames.

Who is a Jew is defined by the decree on racial affiliation.

Article 6

The Minister for Foreign Affairs will issue orders for the implementation of this decree.

Article 7

This decree is effective on the day of its publication in Narodne Novine [the official government publication].

In Zagreb, on April 30, 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelic (by his own hand)

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0002.txt>

3. za brak između državljanina i državnog pripadnika, ukoliko nije po točki 1. zabranjen.

Dozvolu za takav brak izdaje ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova po saslušanju rasnopolitičkog povjerenstva.

Točka 3.

Izvanbračno spolno općenje Židova ili ine osobe, koja nije arijske krvi, sa ženskom osobom arijskog porijekla je zabranjeno.

Muška nearijska osoba, koja se ogriješi protiv ove zabrane počinja zločin oskrvrnuća rase, te se kažnjava sa zatvorom ili tamnicom. U naročito teškim slučajevima, napose ako se radi o silovanju nevine djevojke, može se izreći smrtna kazna.

Točka 4.

Židovi ili ine osobe, koje nisu arijskog porijekla, ne smiju zaposliti u kućanstvu ženske osobe arijskog porijekla ispod 45 godina starosti.

Točka 5.

Nearijcima i državnim pripadnicima je zabranjeno izvješćanje hrvatske državne i narodne zastave i isticanje hrvatskih narodnih boja i emblema.

Sve promjene židovskih prezimena koje su izvršene poslije 1. prosinca 1918. stavljaju se izvan krijeposti, te se imaju zamijeniti sa prvotnim prezimenima.

Tko je Židov određuje zakonska odredba o rasnoj pripadnosti.

Točka 6.

Ministar za unutarnje poslove izdati će naredbe o provedbi ove zakonske odredbe.

Točka 7.

Ova zakonske odredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.*

Zagreb, 30. travnja 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj: XLIV-67-Z. p.-1941.

Predsjednik zakonodavnog povjereništva pri Poglavniku:

Broj 78

Na prijedlog ministra narodnoga gospodarstva propisujem i proglašujem

ZAKONSKU ODREDBU

o plaćanju prijenosne pristojbe.

1. Prijenosna i druge pristojbe za pravne poslove otudjivanja i opterećivanja nekretnina, za koje je po zakonskoj odredbi o zabrani otudjivanja i opterećivanja nekretnina od 18. travnja 1941. potrebna dozvola ministarstva pravosuđa, ima se platiti u roku od petnaest dana od primitka odredbe o dozvoli otudjivanja i opterećivanja.

2. Provedenje ove zakonske odredbe povjerava se ministru narodnoga gospodarstva.

3. Ova zakonska odredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.*

U Zagrebu 30. travnja 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj: XLIII/46-Z. p.-41.

Predsjednik zakonodavnog povjereništva pri Poglavniku:

Dr. Milovan Zanić, v. r.

Broj 79

Na prijedlog ministarstva hrvatskog domobranstva Nezavisne Države Hrvatske propisujem i proglašujem

ZAKONSKU ODREDBU

o privremenom uredjenju osiguranja osoblja državnih prometnih ustanova Nezavisne Države Hrvatske za slučaj bolesti i nezgode.

§ 1.

Do osnivanja samostalnog nosioca osiguranja osoblja državnih prometnih ustanova Nezavisne Države Hrvatske dosadašnje oblasne uprave bolesničkog fonda pri ravnateljstvima hrvatskih državnih željeznica u Zagrebu i Sarajevu pored poslova tih ustanova, koje su imale i prije

Broj: XLIV-67-Z. p.-1941.

Predsjednik zakonodavnog
povjereništva pri Poglavniku:

Dr. Milovan Žanić, v. r.

* Proglašeno u broju 16. Narodnih novina od
30. travnja 1941. pod (79).

... i ostalim prometnim usta-
nova Nezavisne Države Hrvatske dosa-
dašnje oblasne uprave bolesničkog fonda
pri ravnateljstvima hrvatskih državnih
željeznica u Zagrebu i Sarajevu pored po-
slova tih uprava oko osiguranja područ-
nog osoblja za slučaj bolesti i nezgode

* Proglašeno u broju 16. Narodnih novina od
30. travnja 1941. pod (80).

April 23, 1941

Mr. Minister,

On the occasion of the announced promulgation of the anti-Semitic law, I have the honour to draw your attention to the following facts:

There are good Catholics of the Jewish race who have been converted to Catholicism. There are among them those who have excelled as good Croatian patriots. I think it necessary to take account of such converts in the promulgation of the laws.

[.....]

May 22, 1941

Mr. Minister,

I had the honour on April 23 of this year to address you with respect to Jews converted to Catholicism. The laws promulgated on April 30, however, took no such notice this Catholic affiliation. Daily there have been severe privations which have hit equally the guilty and the innocent. Today's newspapers carried the order that all Jews, without regard to age or sex or Catholic affiliation, must wear Jewish insignia.

Already there are so many measures that, those who know the real situation, will say of us Croats that not even in Germany were the racial laws applied with such vigour and haste.

[.....]

March 7, 1942

I take the liberty, Mr. Minister, of asking you to prevent, through your offices, all unjust proceedings against citizens who individually can be accused of no wrongdoing.

I do not think that it can bring us any glory if it is said of us that we have solved the Jewish problem in the most radical way - that is to say, the cruelest. The solution of this question must provide only for the punishment of Jews who have committed crimes, not for the persecution of innocent people.

[.....]

November 2, 1942

Mr. Minister,

I have twice asked the Poglavnik, personally, to make possible entrance to Jasenovac, Gradiska and Labor. Although we are certain that the dying have asked for a priest so that they may prepare for death, this has not been granted.

Can the Ustase movement count on receiving a divine blessing when it refuses to the dying what all civilized states will grant them?

I address you, Mr. Minister, to ask you respectfully to take all necessary steps with the proper authorities in the ministry you command so that when the sick and dying ask for priests they can go there without interference.

... I know there are such [mixed] marriages among the chief leaders of our Croatian State and these are protected. It is against logic and against justice that these are protected and others are not.

If even dumb animals protect their young and will not let themselves be separated by force, who among you can believe that thousands of people in mixed marriages will be able to watch passively as their families are destroyed by force?

Is it not precisely because of such measures, so full of injustice, that our people are driven by force into the ranks of the Partizans? This is the case with many Croatians who can no longer tolerate the injustices.

In Italy there are thousands of innocent Croats from Gorski Kotar, Primorje, and Dalmatia living in concentration camps and when my delegation together with Ustase representatives of our Croatian State sought to free these people, the Italian Foreign Minister told us, "Why do you interfere in our treatment of these people after all that you've done in Croatia?"

Filing Information:

Title: Stepinac Letters to Artukovic (Excerpts)

Source: Private Collection.

Date: April 1941 - November 1942

Added: November 26, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/stepinac/text/as0005.txt>

THE WHITE ARMBANDS

Contrary to the later apologies written by top Ustase fugitives such as Stjepan Hefer, punitive measures taken against the Serbs began almost immediately after the founding of the Independent State of Croatia, and not as a result of an organized rebellion. This order is dated May 12th - weeks after the NDH was formed, one day after the "Cetniks" were formed in far-away Ravna Gora, Serbia, and almost two full months before the Communist-led Partizans were formed. It instructs the municipal authorities in Velika to ensure that any Serbs traveling outside of the nearby villages are adorned with white armbands with the letter "P" for "Pravoslav" (Orthodox). Similar armbands for the Jews were introduced as well according to the testimony of Alexander Arnon at the Eichmann Trial.

USTASHE STATION POZEGA
Number 540/1941

In Pozega, day 12th of May 1941.

TO THE MUNICIPALITY LEADERSHIP

V e l i k a

Immediately notify all the Orthodox of your municipality through village leaders, that they must not leave their village without white armband on their left arm on which must be written PRAVOSLAVAC (ORTHODOX).

Those who violate this order will be arrested and most severely punished.

MUNICIPALITY LEADERSHIP
Velika

Number 1692-1941

Velika, day 13th of May 1941.

Ustashe commissary: u z:
Jozo Srdak v.r.

MILOS BUDIMIR
R A D O V A N C I

To be immediately implemented within 24 hours

Commissary
[signature illegible]
(M.P.)

MUNICIPALITY LEADERSHIP - VELIKA

Source: Army Archive, Archive of the NDH, k.313,
reg.br.55/1-2. Quoted in Zlocini: Na Jugoslovenskim
Prostorima u Prvom i Drugom Svetskom Ratu, Zbornik
Documenata. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0013.txt>

At the entrance the guests were welcomed by reverend father guardian Fra Jozo, along with former guardian and dean Fra Alfonso Kudric and other friars, among whom young, veteran associates of the Stozernik stand out - fighters for Croatian freedom, who have sit venia verbo sinned a little and against blind penance, identified faith with nationalism, and entered the struggle side-by-side with the current Stozernik, who a month ago received approbation and dispensation [aprobaciju i dispens] from the bottom of the heart of their old man Fra Jozo, himself eager to fight, a well-known zealot and Croatian fighter.

Passing under the marvelously decorated arched gateway, ornamented by Croatian flags, the Stozernik and the entire escort were taken into the reception room, as these formalities represent for us Bosnians a characteristic intimacy, revealing kindred spirits and the vigor of intellectual friendship. The customary "treat" is not forgotten, which is how the visit should end - but, completely sympathetic and intolerant of objections and delays, guardian Fra Jozo directed the entire company to the dinning room, the same one where for the last two decades numerous Croatian fighters have been fed, which can pride itself on often serving even our current Stozernik, Dr. Viktor Gutic, who, by breaking the obstacles of the reactionary police laws directed only against Croats, inspired generations of young priests by his ideas, sometimes perhaps even with the disapproval of the old-fashioned elders, he whose ideas may be skeptically viewed by many, but by his merit brought about the realization the loftiest ideal of every honest Croat.

Contrary to the rule that the achievement of an ideal is accompanied by a certain disappointment, not a single honest Croat was or could have been disappointed by the realization of a Free Croatia, but feel a justified hope growing in the imminent organization and progress of the entire state apparatus...

And again the "derogation" of blind penance, breaking of the house rules, now not only by sympathetic young friars, but by the representative of the convent himself, that laws, let

alone house rules, are not eternal, but adjusting them to the rhythm of life is the smartest thing to do, he ignored the very noticeable tablet with a sign "Silentium" and with a passionate and very cordial speech he greeted the Stozernik Dr. Viktor Gutic in repose at the honorary seat, evoking the memories of the activities of the Franciscans in the national struggle from the time of the creation of their Order, and then spoke about the struggle during the last two decades and pointed out the qualities and virtues of the protagonist of that struggle, the current Stozernik Dr. Viktor Gutic. Although his activities in all fields of national work could be described only in rough descriptions, the Stozernik with his proverbial modesty rejected all merits, attributed everything to God's Providence and the conscience of our Nation, passed over all personal insults, and intrigued by the early unanimity of all Croats he appealed to unity even in the future, as the only guarantee of progress of our dear Croatian homeland...

Like an angel with a sword of fire the Stozernik Dr. Gutic raised his previously low voice and declared emphatically:

"Every Croat who today solicits for our enemies not only is not a good Croat, but also an opponent and disrupter of the prearranged, well-calculated plan for cleansing our Croatia of unwanted elements..." [unaprijed smisljenog, dobro proračunatog plana za ciscenje nase Hrvatske od nezelenih elemenata...] He appealed to the mercy of the Lord to forgive him if during his patriotic labours he sometimes overstep the narrow bounds of religious morals and ethics, knowing well that God's Majesty is in his great strictness, but also in his greatest goodness and mercy, who will approve the struggle for the preservation of independence of the distressed, but faithful-to-God Croatian people...

Filing Information:

Title: News: Victor Gutic's Visit to Petricevac

Source: Hrvatska Krajina, May 16, 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen, pp. 704-705 (First Edition, Zagreb).

Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: May 16, 1941

Added: February 19, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ndhnews/text/ndhn0004.txt>

On the recommendation of the Minister of Justice I authorize and declare this

DECREE on courts-martial

Article I

Courts-martial established within district courts are defined as extraordinary courts for the prosecution of criminal acts listed under Article II of this decree, when the Minister of Justice sets up a court-martial for the area of a district court. The court-martial must act in this area in a comprehensive manner.

Article II

To the court-martial the following cases shall be sent:

1. one who commits any of the criminal acts outlined in Articles 154, 167 Sections 1 and 2, 188, 189, 191, 201 Sections 1 and 2, 206, 207 Section 1, 209 and 326 to 328 of the Criminal Code of January 17, 1929;
2. one who, after a certain deadline set by the public appeal of the authorities, does not turn over firearms and sidearms for which he does not own a permit;
3. one who hides or in any other way aids individuals whom he may suspect have violated the acts listed in this Article under Section 1 or those preparing to violate those acts.

For every criminal act committed from the day of the establishment of the court-martial, the penalty of death by firing squad is determined.

Article III

The court martial can only be convened by the authorization of a state attorney.

Article IV

The court-martial consists of a council of three judges. One of those judges does not need to be a lawyer, but the council must be presided over by a lawyer.

The entire procedure against an accused person must be heard from beginning to end in front of the convened court, and if possible without interruption.

Article V

The procedure before the court-martial is public and oral.

Discussion in front of the court-martial begins with an oral indictment by the state attorney.

If the defendant does not choose an advocate, he will be assigned one by the court to ensure the regularity of the process.

The procedural regulations of the Criminal Code of February 16, 1929 are to be applied, unless determined otherwise by this decree.

The procedure must be limited to proving the criminal act by which the court-martial was convened.

Procedural compensation as a result of the court-martial is

not to be given.

As soon as the procedure is over, the state attorney must elaborate his final proposition. The defendant and his advocate always have the right to respond to the state attorney. After the speeches by the prosecution and defense are concluded, the presiding judge closes the discussion.

Article VI

Immediately following the conclusion of the discussion, the court determines its verdict in a closed session, which is then made public.

If the defendant is found guilty, the court-martial must declare a sentence of death by firing squad.

Article VII

The record of the discussion and of the ruling of the court-martial must be signed by all judges and the clerk.

Article VIII

Against the conviction of the court-martial no legal remedy is permitted, and an appeal for pardon has no power of delay.

Article IX

The death sentence must be carried out by a firing squad three hours after conviction.

Article X

Except for the acts outlined Article II Section 2, a court martial will prosecute only those criminal acts of Article II committed after April 6, 1941, if the court martial is convened within the three months following this decree's propagation.

Article XI

The establishment of this decree is entrusted to Minister of Justice.

Article XII

This decree gains legal power on the day of its publication in Narodne novine.

In Zagreb, May 17, 1941

Number LXXXII.-148-Z. p.-1941

Poglavnik

Dr. Ante Pavelic [by his own hand]

Minister of Justice:

Dr. Mirko Puk [by his own hand]

Filing information:

Title: Decree: On the Establishment of Courts-Martial

Source: Private Collection

Date: May 17, 1941

Added: June 27, 2003

Original Placement:

[http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/decrees/text/dec0002.t
xt](http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/decrees/text/dec0002.txt)

"OUR BEAUTIFUL HOMELAND"

Archbishop Ivan Saric had never been intimidated by official censorship, and used the Catholic newspapers of the Sarajevo diocese he headed as an outlet for his political musings as well as his naive amateur poetry. This piece appeared a month after the Ustase took power.

I was with our Ustase in North and South America. The bishops there, Americans, Germans, Irish, Slovaks and Spaniards, with whom I came into contact, all praised the Croat Ustase as good, self-sacrificing believers, as godly and patriotic people... How many times have I heard the Ustase ask where they would be without their priests!

...I sang with the Ustashe with all my heart and voice the song "Our Beautiful Homeland," all with big tears in our eyes. And with eager hope in its beautiful, its sweet and its golden freedom, lifting ourselves upwards to God, we prayed to the Almighty to guide and protect Ante Pavelic for the liberation of Croatia. The good God heard and, behold, he answered our cries and supplications.

"God, we thank Thee; Lord, we acknowledge Thee."

Source: Sarajevski Novi List, by Archbishop Ivan Saric. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen pp 555-556.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/saric/text/is0001.txt>

LOVE HAS ITS LIMITS

This piece is often attributed to Archbishop Ivan Saric, but it was actually written by one of his intimates, Father Franjo Kralik, in one of Saric's Sarajevo diocese newspapers. It was part of a campaign to explain to the masses why the Jews around them were being "disappeared" - a campaign in which Saric and other Ustase priests gladly participated in.

The descendants of those who hated Jesus, who condemned him to death, who crucified him and immediately persecuted his disciples, are guilty of greater excesses than those of their forefathers. Greed is growing. The Jews who led Europe and the entire world to disaster - morally, culturally and economically - developed an appetite which nothing less than the world as a whole could satisfy...

Love has its limits. The movement for freeing the world from Jews is a movement for the renaissance of human dignity. The all-wise and Almighty God is behind this movement.

Source: Katolicki Tjednik (Catholic Weekly), Sarajevo, "Why Are the Jews Being Persecuted?" by Father Franjo Kralik, 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/saric/text/is0003.txt>

THE EXPULSION OF SERBS FROM SLAVONIA AND SREM

In June of 1941, the Ustase were already carrying out the finer points of their plan to "kill a third, convert a third, and expel a third" of the Serbian population. This letter, dated June 2, 1941, concerns the "cleansing" of about 3,000 Serbs from the regions of Slavonia and Srem, over the border to Serbia proper. By referring to the planned disembarkation points in the precincts of Bosanska Raca and Bijeljina, this document proves that the cleansing operation was organized and planned well in advance, rather than a result of "overzealous" Ustase prefects.

PLATOON HEADQUARTERS BIJELJINA

Number 16.

June 2nd, 1941.

In Bijeljina

Request for reinforcement of
the platoon during transition of
emigrants to Serbia:

TO THE BORDER POLICE HEADQUARTERS

TUZLA

On the 31st of May 1941. the undersigned was informed by the Ustase commissar from the main Ustase headquarters in Zagreb, Mr. Grgic Tomislav, and in agreement with the district commissariat in Bijeljina, that between the 8th and 15th of June 1941, there will be about 3,000 Serbs from the territory of Slavonia and Srem sent to Serbia over the river Drina. -The mentioned people will cross the border of the state of Croatia to Serbia on the territory of police stations Bosanska Raca and Bijeljina of this platoon.

So that the transport could be carried out undisturbed it is necessary to reinforce mentioned stations with needed number of policemen, that is with 15 more policemen at both stations, so that this way this job could be carried out undisturbed.

I deliver the above for a competent decision.

Platoon commander,
Frane Debeljak
Master Sergeant.

Source: Army Archive, Archive of the NDH, k.313, reg.br.55/1-2. Quoted in Zlocini: Na Jugoslovenskim Prostorima u Prvom i Drugom Svetskom Ratu, Zbornik Documenata, p. 71. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0014.txt>

NEWS: SPEECH BY MINISTER MILOVAN ZANIC

On April 16, 1941, Ante Pavelic named Milovan Zanic head of the legislative committee, a ministerial level position in the first government of the Independent State of Croatia. Six weeks later, on June 3, 1941, the newspaper Novi List published the following transcript of a speech Zanic delivered to an Ustase rally in Nova Gradiska, exhorting his audience to "cleanse" the NDH of Serbs, and assuring them that it was state policy to do so.

Ustase! You should know: I speak openly: This state, this homeland of ours must be Croatian and no one else's. And that is why those who came here have to go. Events over the centuries, and especially during the last twenty years, show that every compromise must be excluded. This must be the land of the Croats and no one else's and there is not a method that we, the Ustase, won't use to make this land entirely Croatian and completely cleanse it [ocistimo] of Serbs, who endangered us for hundreds of years and who would endanger us again on the first occasion they get. We don't keep that a secret, this is the policy of this state and when we finish that business, we will only finish what is written in the Ustase Principles. We must not forget that outside our borders in America itself we have about eight hundred thousand Croats, who left to America to look for a better life, because they didn't have it in their own homeland - we will not forget those poor people. Those people should return and settle on hearths that we will completely cleanse [ocistiti].

Filing Information:

Title: News: Speech by Minister Milovan Zanic

Source: Novi list, June 3, 1941. Quoted in Novak, Viktor.

Magnum Crimen, p. 606 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: June 3, 1941

Added: February 5, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ndhnews/text/ndhn0001.txt>

USTASE COMMAND-DUBROVNIK ORDER NO. 188:44

Ivo Rojnica became Ustase prefect of Dubrovnik in the first days of the Independent State of Croatia. He slipped away after the war to Argentina, and became a leader in the Croatian community there along with fellow exiles Vinko Nikolic and future Croatian Liberation Movement leader Ante Bonifacic. After Croatia achieved independence in the early 1990s, Rojnica became President Franjo Tudjman's nominee to become Croatia's ambassador to Argentina.

Ustase Command - Dubrovnik
No. 188:44

Dubrovnik - 25 June, 1941

ORDER

1) All owners of radios are ordered to hand in their equipment to the Ustasha Command Office in Dogana by the 12:00 noon of the 26th of this month. Domestic and allied military personnel and institutions are exempt from this order.

2) All Serbs and Jews are forbidden to be out in the streets or keep their businesses open from 7 pm until 7 am all days.

3) All grievances against this Order (addressed or brought) to the Ustasha Command Office are forbidden.

All those who do not comply with the above stated order will be most strictly punished in accordance to Ustasha rules and procedures.

This order comes into effect immediately and remains in force until recall.

Za Dom Spremni!

City Military Commander:
Ivo Rojnica (by his own hand)

(filing information):

Title: Ustase Command-Dubrovnik Order No. 188:44

Source: Private Collection

Date: June 25, 1941 Added: March 9, 2003

Original Placement:

[http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/decrees/text/dec0001.t
xt](http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/decrees/text/dec0001.txt)

The NDH is an Islamic State

The NDH is an Islamic state wherever our people belong to the Islamic faith. I emphasize this because it is necessary to know that we are a state of two creeds, Catholic and Muslim. We know how big is the role our church has played in our history and therefore we cling to it. We would have held to it even only for political reasons, for it has been the only bulwark that Belgrade could never surmount... We Croats must be happy and proud that we have our faith and at the same time we must be aware that our brother Muslims are also the purest Croats, as our revered leader Ante Pavelic has already declared.

Mile Budak speech, 1941
quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, p 603

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/budak/text/mbu0001.txt>

THE USTASE MASSACRES, SUMMER 1941

Milovan Djilas was sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to Montenegro to lead the uprising against the occupation in July, 1941. The train-ride from Belgrade to Montenegro crossed the areas of Bosnia and Hercegovina where Maks Luburic's detachment of the newly-formed Ustase Army had begun the massacre of the Serbs in earnest. The following passage describing that journey is from Wartime, Djilas' memoir of the war written several years after leaving the Communist Party and serving his first jail term.

At a small station near Bileca a cluster of Serbian refugees got on the train. At first they were close-mouthed and apprehensive, but once they realized there were no authorities on the train, they relaxed. They were fleeing from the Ustashi terror. A fair, robust peasant in his thirties, with bruised cheekbones and curly hair matted with dried blood, told us how the Ustashi had surrounded his village and driven everyone - men and women, young and old - to a rocky ravine, then struck them down with clubs. The peasant freed himself of his bonds at the very edge of the ravine; though he had been struck in the face, he was able to scramble into a brush-covered mound of boulders. "They are killing every Serb in sight!" he lamented. "Like cattle - a blow on the head, then down the ditch. They are mostly Turks. Their time has come. They want to wipe out the poor Serbian people."

For me this was a new story. Later, in the course of the war, I was to hear it many times and almost always the same: a village surprised and the men all bound, murdered, and thrown into a ditch. Religious and ideological murders do not require any imagination, just efficiency: in this lies all the horror and - for the victims - "relief." Yet I

was not as shocked as I should have been. I was already familiar with the Ustashi ideology - an amalgam of primitive Croatian nationalism with modern fascist totalitarianism. While in prison I had come to know many leading Ustashi. I had followed the evolution of their ideology from militant separatism to fascism and total anti-Serbianism. Reports had reached us in the Central Committee in Belgrade concerning the persecution of Serbs in Croatia; then came the first of many large droves of refugees. We knew of the circulating drumhead courts-martial and of Pavelic's "laws," which contained few articles but always decreed the death sentence. My own lack of horror reflected the atmosphere - the nature of the groups pitted against each other, the flood of propaganda, and the bloody events themselves.

Those simple people, mostly peasants, were even less horror-stricken. One could not even say that they were bitter: a misfortune had come along, terrible because it was human, but perhaps for this very reason surmountable. In the group there was also a slight, dark girl in city dress. She told us calmly that the Ustashi had assembled all the prominent Serbs in her town - merchants, priests, and officials - and two or three days later loaded them on a truck and took them away, supposedly to Mostar, but in fact to be murdered and thrown into a ravine. The Serbs who remained in the little town, mostly women and children, helplessly awaited a similar fate. This girl was fleeing to Montenegro, but she was not too happy about having escaped. Death had suddenly become commonplace, something as ubiquitous as the air and the soil.

"Well," I said turning to the injured peasant, "why don't you defend yourselves?"

"Who can defend himself?" the peasant lamented. "We didn't expect anything. We couldn't believe a government would attack people just like that. We have no weapons. We are left to ourselves like

cattle. But at Nevesinje they did rise up and finish off a lot of Ustashi."

People got on and off at each station, but the telling of Ustashi massacres continued - of course, with new details. I don't remember whether my brother joined the conversation: after being followed by the Ustashi in Sarajevo and my constant warnings, he was subdued.

Quoted from Milovan Djilas, Wartime, p 11

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/luburic/text/ml0001.txt>

THE FRANCISCANS HAVEN'T GOTTEN A DIME

This letter was sent from Father Andelko Gregic, a Catholic priest in a Bosnian village, to an Orthodox priest, Father Bogdan Deanovic, who had been expelled from the Independent State of Croatia and was now a refugee in Serbia. There is no date on the letter but Viktor Novak, who published the document, places it in the Summer of 1941, at the height of the Ustase massacres in the NDH.

With pain in the soul and great disapproval we have condemned the happenings and the policies in regard to the Orthodox Church, but this was a furious storm against which we were powerless to act. People looked on helplessly at what was happening, and everyone in his heart condemned it, but at the same time we had to let it happen. Many others have gradually come to share your fate. Above all the intelligentsia. They have tried to deal with the peasants in another way by making them say that they feel and call themselves Croats. And indirectly they've tried to get them to join the Catholic faith. They began understandably with people from mixed marriages. A mass of others followed, many of them state functionaries who feared for their lives. It was no use saying it wasn't right to convert people without personal convictions or understanding of the tenets of the faith. They were terrified.

I know that you abroad have observed what's happening here, and that it's detrimental to the Orthodox Church. However, my dear colleague, if you consider the human beings involved, it has done them good and a favor. If we hadn't done it, God knows what might have happened in the village. Seen from a spiritual point of view, we've accomplished that unity of the faith that has

always been our ideal. In fact they have stayed with their own beliefs. All they've had to do is acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope in Rome, and for ordinary people that's of no significance. I know it hasn't been done in a legal fashion, for there have been moral pressures, but the responsibility for that doesn't lie with individuals. It's been done under orders. The Church officially condemns forced conversions because they're done for material advantage, but to have stuck by the rules would have been hard and damaging.

The church at Borovo now has Catholic services and the church's goods now belong to the Church. Your vineyard and orchard have gone to some Dalmatians and I fear they'll ruin it unless it goes back into good hands. That's how the revolution has been, and God alone knows what might happen.

I don't know whether you blame and curse me but, my dear colleague, as far as your personal things and property are concerned, the Franciscans haven't got hold of or spent one single dinar. I've saved everything that could be saved. The icons and pictures are secure. I've had the gold and silver service cleaned, and you know what it looks like now? Great!

Source: Letter from Father Andelko Gregic to Father Bogdan Denic, quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, pp 697-698.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0003.txt>

NATURE TAKES ITS COURSE

A letter from a Franciscan priest, Ivo Brkan, to an Ustase prefect on the subject of the marriage of widowed Serbian women whose husbands have been murdered (note the euphemism, "those taken away," later admitted explicitly) to Croatian men. Author and journalist Richard West calls this "one of the vilest documents ever written."

In the surrounding villages there are some 500 to 600 widows ready to marry, young and desirable things who have quickly forgotten those taken away... Nature takes its course and now these widows would like to marry, naturally with Catholics, for there are no Serbs in the neighborhood.

This is an opportune moment to inculcate them and their children with the Catholic faith and Croatian consciousness in the quickest time and with little difficulty for the government and the Church. The government would have to set up a school to teach Catholicism and Ustase Croatianism... and also authorize the Church to explain the factual truth that the deaths occurred because of rebellion, so that the widows can now marry with our people.

This materially prosperous community of perhaps 500 houses, and probably more, is ready to change to the Croat and Catholic faith, so that through marriage, which most of them want with our people, they can come to our religion... Our people have already got their eyes on that land and the beautiful women but our conscious of the difficulty of the state in admitting to the killing of some 900 to 1,000 people, and for that reason we are asking for instruction of how we may legalize their deaths while safeguarding the reputation of the state.

Source: Letter from Father Ivo Brkan of Koraca to
the Ustase prefect at Dervanta, July 31, 1942.
Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen, pp 677-678.

Original Placement:
<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/va0004.txt>

BISHOP OF MOSTAR'S LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP STEPINAC

As head of the Catholic Church in Croatia, all religious matters - including forced conversions by the Serbian population to Catholicism - were the responsibility of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac of Zagreb. This excerpt is a response from the Bishop of Mostar, Alojzije Misic, to a letter Stepinac sent inquiring as to the progress of forced conversions in his diocese - the capital of Hercegovina and scene of the worst Ustase massacres during the Spring and Summer of 1941. Stepinac passed this letter on to Ante Pavelic, but otherwise took no action.

By the mercy of God there was never such a good occasion as now for us to help Croatia to save the countless souls, people of good will, well-disposed peasants, who live side-by-side with Catholics... Conversion would be appropriate and easy. Unfortunately the authorities in their narrow views are involuntarily hindering the Croatia and Catholic cause. In many parishes in the diocese... very honest peasants of the Orthodox faith have registered in the Catholic Church... But then outsiders take things in hand. While the newly-converted are at Mass they seize them, men and women alike, and hunt them down like slaves. From Mostar and Caplina the railway carried six boxcars of mothers, girls and children under eight to the station of Surmanci, where they were taken out of the boxcars, brought into the hill and thrown alive, mothers and children, into deep ravines. In the parish of Klepca seven hundred schismatics from the neighboring villages were slaughtered. The Sub-Prefect of Mostar, a Muslim, publicly declared (as a state employee he should have held his tongue) that in Ljubina alone 700 schismatics have been thrown into one pit. In the town of Mostar itself

they have been bound by the hundreds, taken in wagons outside the town and then shot down like animals.

Source: Letter from Bishop of Mostar Alojzije Misic to Archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac. Quoted in Stella Alexander. Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945, p 32.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/stepinac/text/as0002.txt>

SLOVENIAN SETTLERS ON MASSACRES NEARS VOJNIC

During his first meeting with Adolf Hitler, Poglavnik Ante Pavelic agreed to permit thousands of Slovene settlers to move to territory in the NDH vacated by murdered or expelled Serbs. The Slovenes - who had no more stomach for leaving their own land than to settle in that of another - probably had little inkling that they were moving into a warzone. On August 2, 1941, after witnessing an especially bestial massacre of unarmed Serbian civilians by the Ustase, several representatives drafted this letter to the German Plenipotentiary in Zagreb, General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau, either because they viewed their welfare as his responsibility or - more likely - because they correctly presumed that what they had witnessed had been done with the official sanction of the Croat authorities.

...In Krnja, Vojnic, Krstinjak and Tusilovic, the people are entirely of the Orthodox religion. A few days ago the president of the municipality and the Ustase commissar of Krnjak ordered some peasants, whom he had marked on a list, to bring to the town hall a certain amount of various agricultural products for the newly arrived Slovene settlers.

When the men delivered these agricultural products, the Ustase arrested them and took them away. Many more people were brought from other places, then all of those who had been captured in this way, about 400 of them, were simply executed without any kind of due process...

The murder of those 400 victims happened on July 29th, between 16:00 and 19:00 hours.

Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa
Djuric.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ndh/text/ndh001.txt>

HEADQUARTERS OF THE 3. CROATIAN POLICE REGIMENT

Number 217/J.S.

Report on the situation in
the area of the platoon in
consideration of Chetnik
actions is delivered. -

TO THE SUPREME POLICE HEADQUARTERS
Z A G R E B

Banja Luka, 6 August 1941.

Commander of the police platoon Sanski Most in report number
103 of 3 August 1941 reports the following:

"1-/ On 2 August 1941 in Sanicka Rijeka, Kljuc district,
local Ustase captured in a mill Chetnik Jovan Konta, who is
19 years old, from a Chetnik detachment located on Mt. Grmec,
and his statement is enclosed with this report.

2-/ On 3 August 1941 one Orthodox [grko-istocnjak] peasant,
who lives near the village Sasina, area of police station
Maricka, informed the Ustase station in Sanski Most that near
the village Bosanski Novi /area of Maricka station/ there is
a group of about 40 Chetniks. The leader of this group is
some teacher named Savan Bojovic, who is armed with a machine
gun. The leader of the whole Chetnik action is Dr. Stojanovic
from Prijedor. This is being checked and the data was sent to
the Prijedor police platoon.

3-/ During the night of the 2nd and during the day on 3
August 1941, Ustase soldiers shot about 700 Orthodox, who had
been imprisoned as hostages, or were captured by soldiers
during cleansing actions.

Yesterday the district chief from Sanski Most went to Banja
Luka, allegedly to negotiate with relevant authorities on
behalf of the mentioned hostages, but they are all already

shot dead.

4-/ Today at around 16:00 hours a telephone connection was established with postal office in Budimlic Japra. The postal office asked for help from army because an attack by Chetniks was being prepared.

A truck with 30 Domobrans and Ustase was immediately dispatched in the direction of Budimlic Japra, however since Chetniks fell beech timber on the road, the truck had to return back from Stari Majdan.

Since a telephone connection with police station Budimlic Japra was established, commander of the station reported that during the night of 31 July 1941, a larger group of Chetniks appeared, who sent him a threatening letter, due to which he had to leave the police barracks and await help from the army. In the meantime, Chetniks burned 6 Muslim houses in Budimlic Japra, broke all windows and damaged the door on the police station, they also smashed a telephone. Besides that they cut the telephone connection with Stari Majdan and other directions. All policemen are now in Budimlic Japra.

5-/ According to the statement of the chief of the Sanski Most railway station, a train could pass through to Srnetica today. The railroad, which was damaged by Chetniks near Sanicka Rijeka, has been repaired.

6-/ On 3. August 1941. around 20:00 hours information was received that about 500 armed Chetniks are moving from the village of Dabar towards Sanski Most with the intention of taking the place.

The Ustase army, Domobrans and policemen immediately undertook measures of precaution - all entrances to the town were seized in anticipation of the arrival of the Chetniks, who however didn't show up at all.

7-/ From police stations Lusci Palanka and Benkovac no news was received."

The above report I deliver with appeal for your consideration.-

Commander, colonel
Novak

DELIVERED TO:

Supreme police headquarters Zagreb,
Directorate for public order and safety,
Head of greater region Sana and Luka and
Vrbas division area.

Filing information:

Title: Report: Seven Hundred Hostages Shot by the Ustase

Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: August 6, 1941

Added: May 24, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ndh/text/ndh004.txt>

POLICE REPORT ON THE CLEANSING OF SERBS NEAR SLUNJ

One of the most frank and shocking accounts of Ustase "purification" in action, this document contains a forwarded report written by a Croatian police commander from Slunj. According to the commander, Ustase units stormed into the area and began slaughtering civilians wholesale in "retaliation" for suspected sabotage by Communist guerrillas. Notable is the commander's plaintive cry of horror that the Ustase not only slaughtered those who had done everything possible to please the new authorities, but attacked the women, children, elderly and infirm from the nearby villages deliberately, often with an eye toward looting the wealthier citizens' property. The officer uses the word ciscenje ("cleansing") to refer to the operation, and even coins a new term, ciscenici, for those viciously attacked during the operation. The term "ethnic cleansing" would return to general usage in the 1990s in the very same territory described below, though it has been characterized as a Serbian invention in the lexicon of modern language. Events described in this report are also described by a group of Slovenes in a letter to General Glaise von Horstenau, and in this Interior Ministry document also from the NDH Archives. The concluding portion of this report has never been located. All emphasis - quotation marks and capitalization - is as in the original, as is the officer's ideosyncratic style.

Transcript

HEADQUARTERS OF THE 1st CROATIAN POLICE REGIMENT

Number: 484/j-S.

Report on general situation in the
zone of the regiment, in consideration of
Communist-Chetnik activity.

TO THE DIRECTION FOR PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY
OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA

ZAGREB

Dordiceva St, No. 4

Zagreb, 16th of August 1941.

Commander of the police platoon in Slunj, in report
Number 89 of 13th of August 1941, reports the
following:

"Until the 27th of July of this year the condition
was still generally satisfactory considering the
blow for the Serbian population, which they got by
the foundation of Independent State of Croatia. A
large number of them had already been reconciled
with their fate. Many had already asked to convert
to Catholicism. It is true that most of them didn't
do that out of conviction, but if the goals of real
Chetniks were fulfilled - these Serbs who convert to
Catholicism would be exposed to even greater danger
than the Catholics themselves, because they would
be marked as traitors not only nationally but also
religiously, therefore it could be concluded that
they had good intentions. More importantly, most of
them wouldn't act against the state, on the
contrary they would in their own benefit work for
its preservation.

"The sabotage of railroad tracks in the district
Vojnic on the 27th and 30th of July of this year
was the work of Communists, and the idea came from
Communists from Karlovac, while the execution of
these actions was confided to domestic people, but
of Communist disposition. The Serbian population
was scared knowing that the blame will fall on them
as a community, even though the vast majority of
them knew nothing of this, and didn't want it to
happen. This may not be out of love for the state
of Croatia but in their own benefit, because they
knew they would be the ones to pay for this.

"As of the 29th of July of this year the 'cleansing' [ciscenje] by Ustase had begun. This caused panic within Serbian population so that they all ran to the forests in fear of being cleansed [ciscenjem]. That lasted until the 8th of August of this year, but the last few days they failed, because the people knew the real situation and were hiding in the forests. They were in a state of general fear. From a psychological point of view, out of crawling and cowardice, but from a different point of view, from a bestial bitterness.

"The work of the Ustase was among other things non-tactical, because they cleansed the less dangerous and least responsible people like many old men, women and children of the youngest age, while those with dark conscience, young and stronger fled to the forests. Described in a single sentence: 'NON-FIGHTERS WERE CLEANSED, AND FIGHTERS STAYED IN THE FORESTS'. The more naive ones and those with a clear conscience didn't even run away at first, because they thought no harm will come to them.

"The cleansing operation is completely achieved in Slunj and effectively around Slunj, while in more remote places there was little success.

"The present condition cannot be specified with exact data because the remaining people are still in the forests, but it is certain that a large number of families lost a member.

"The planning for the Ustase cleansing was almost public, which is one of the main reasons that people hid in the forests. They 'cleansed' in houses, yards, on roads, in the presence of parents, children or vice versa. They plundered houses and property of people in such way that they competed among themselves over who will get a wealthier house and who will be the one to cleanse a wealthier man. During the last cleansing, they took clothing, there were disputes among Ustashe

because of that. There was carousing, savage scenes during the 'cleansing' of a child in a cradle, old people, whole families together, sadistic delight in the most horrid tortures before the final cleansing. These kinds of actions caused disfavour even among the honorable and fair Croats and whispers were heard: 'THIS IS DISGRACE FOR THE CROAT PEOPLE, CULTURE AND THE CATHOLIC FAITH.' The pits were mostly dug earlier. There were cases, that 'the ones to be cleansed' [ciscenici - literally, "cleansees" -Ed.] carried the tools for digging pits themselves and the like. The burial of people barely alive, leaving the dead unburied or poorly buried, so that their relatives and the ones who fled to the forests came to see them.

"All this caused fear among people, but also such bitterness that there cannot be even a thought about reconciliation. Even if there were some conditions there could still be a possibility, but there were no conditions here and to this day there still aren't any.

"I - like all policemen in general - was completely powerless. Everything was done without our knowledge and with great distrust towards us. If I would say anything, even insignificant, they would threaten my life, directly or indirectly, there were even words: 'Now it's the policemen's turn.'

"Maybe the main reason for distrust towards policemen was that they didn't stand out in the cleansing even if they favoured it. I explained to the same, that we are an organ of authority and that we have to preserve the reputation of the state. Among the Croatian population (many of them) there was also noted a disfavour for this kind of cleansing operation, because it was known that many who were cleansed didn't do any harm to Croats, on the contrary they were despised by earlier regimes exactly because of that reason, because they favoured Croats. These people would have been useful now, because through them, those who fled

could be influenced.

"The order came to stop the cleansing and that the people should be called to return to their homes by policemen, the people were called and we are trying to achieve that, but we have had relatively poor success. They've lost all confidence, but then again they had a horrible reason to run to the forest and every one of them is aware of the fact that with just a single mistake (by returning) they could lose everything. Again I would like to point out that a complete return from the forests will hardly succeed.

"There were cases when policemen asked: 'Why are you running away?' The reply was: 'I am running away, sir, to live half an hour longer.' In some houses there were left children alone, even for just one week, in another, an old man alone. Scenes like this are common. Fruits are mostly ruined and the cattle suffered much if they stayed indoors. A lot of cattle were taken away and stolen. Some fugitives claim, even if they would return, to whom would they return and to what would they return.

"These people would have accepted everything: expulsion, concentration camps, forced labor, conversion to Catholicism, but not to be cleansed, and they would have liked best if they could stay at home and become whatever it is required of them to become (this of course not all of them, but the majority). The conversion to Catholicism would be most successful through missionaries, because in that way they would have converted with conviction.

"Today, when cleansing began in the Vojnic district, the Italian army was leaving Vojnic, and there were cases that when passing by they told the people: 'Run Serbs, Ustashe are coming and they slit everyone's throats.'

"The situation concerning Communist-Chetnik actions from station to station in the area of this

district is as follows:

"SLUNJ: The number of them is negligible, because most of them were cleansed, and the rest of them are harmless and returning to their homes. There is no danger from the domestic ones, and the outsiders will probably not react. Patrols are moving undisturbed throughout the area.

"RAKOVICA: There was not a single event. Policemen have a lot of influence on the people and they are returning to their homes. The cleansing is mostly over, but not completely.

"NOVA KRSLJA: The same situation as in Rakovica.

"PRIMISLJE: In the area of this station there were several attacks on policemen, and on the 7th of August of this year policeman Luka Perkovic was murdered and Mate Stankic was wounded. Part of this area is somewhat cleansed, and the rest are in the forests and only few have returned home. Police patrols are not safe in villages if they are of lesser strength. In the forests there are larger groups, and there are probably some of them from the Plaski area. Catholic settlements are in danger. If the return is not successful, the situation will be more critical.

"VELJUN: In the area of this station the most critical condition for now is in Slunj district. The population is mostly of the Greek religion. The most dangerous place is between Veljun and Cvijanovic Brdo. In this area there are larger groups of armed people, and there are probably some of them even from Krstinja. In this area there were 3 attacks on police patrols and teachers Ivan Sajfar and Martinic have been taken away. Patrols of policemen cannot go to this area without fear for their lives.

"CETINGRAD: The area of this station borders with the stations from Krstinja and V. Kladusa, so the

situation is never safe even though nothing is happening for now. Patrols from this station cannot go into some villages of this area, because fugitives are in power there.

"PERJASICA: There were no significant events, but the population there fled as well. The policemen have good influence with them and they are gradually returning.

"KRSTINJA: The situation in the area of this station is the most critical. The army barracks was attacked for several days in such way that there was no contact with it for 5 days. Now it is mostly liberated, but the situation is still critical. Patrols cannot move through villages at all, and all people are in the forests, or in their villages, but when the authorities come in greater strength, they run to the forests.

"VOJNIC: The same situation as in Krstinja station, except that there were no attacks on army barracks.

"KRNJAK: The population is all of the Greek religion. Most of them are fugitives, but some are returning with distrust. Situation is critical even though there were no significant events.

"VUKMANIC: There have been frequent sabotages of the railroad tracks and also hand grenades have been thrown at the post office in Tusilovac. This was the work of Communists from Karlovac. Like in other places, the people are fugitives, but police patrols are still in contact with those who are at home.

"In the area of this headquarters (districts Slunj and Vojnic) 350 army rifles with the necessary quantity of ammunition were given to endangered Croatian villages for defence. This could be good on the one hand, but dangerous on the other, if Chetniks attack them and disarm them and in that way get the weapons they need. The weapons were

given on request of Ustashe station in Slunj.
Besides this, a large number of hunting rifles were
given to people..."

[further text in the original is missing]

Source: Archive of the NDH, quoted in Zlocini: Na
Jugoslovenskim Prostorima u Prvom i Drugom Svetskom
Ratu, Zbornik Dokumentata Vol 1. Translated by
Sinisa Djuric.

Original Placement:
<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ndh/text/ndh002.txt>

LEGAL DECREE: THE CROATIAN LANGUAGE, ITS PURITY AND SPELLING

One of the most manic decrees to emerge in the early days of the Independent State of Croatia, this one, initialed by Ante Pavelic and the Minister of Education (and mediocre novelist) Mile Budak elects to inform their countrymen on how to write and spell, promising in the future to "determine penalties for protection of the purity of the language and its spelling." The reason for this decree's issuance is alluded to in the first article, as translator Sinisa Djuric points out: that Croatian had long been considered at least a close sister to the Serbian language, and expect for a handful of words and phrases, for all purposes identical to outsiders. In fact, both Pavelic and Budak had long obsessed over the singularity of the Croatian language. After returning from more than a decade in exile, they found their fellow Croats speaking an "impure" language and, with typical logic, made it illegal to speak incorrectly.

LEGAL DECREE

on the Croatian language, its purity
and spelling

Article 1.

The language spoken by Croats, by its pronunciation, by its historical development, by its prevalence in the Croatian national area, by the style of pronunciation, by spelling rules and by meaning of some words, is the primary and peculiar language of Croatian people, and therefore not identical with any other language, nor it is a dialect of any other language, nor with any other nation's common language. That is why it is called the "Croatian language".

Article 2.

The Croatian language is the public welfare of the Croatian people, and therefore nobody should distort or deform it. That is why it is forbidden in pronunciation and in spelling to use words which do not conform with the spirit of the Croatian language, usually foreign words, borrowed from other, even similar languages. Exceptionally, words with special meanings can be used which are hard or impossible to be replaced by domestic words.

Article 3.

It is forbidden to give non-Croatian names and identifiers to shops, companies, associations or any kind of institutions, and it is also forbidden to hang or lay out any kind of signs contrary to articles of this legal decree.

Article 4.

The Croatian official and literary language is stokavian dialect with jekavian and iekavian pronunciation. In ikavian pronunciation, the short "i" should be written and pronounced as "je", and also in ikavian pronunciation the long "i" should be written and pronounced as "ie".

Article 5.

On literary works written in any dialect or pronunciation there should be a visible sign on a prominent place, marking that it is written in that dialect.

Article 6.

The indefinite verb form shouldn't be used in the future tense "to" with present tense.

Article 7.

In the Croatian language people should write by word root spelling, not by phonetic spelling.

Article 8.

The Ministry of Education will set up an agency by an order which will determine everything necessary to execute the articles of this decree, and which will take care that the Croatian language is cleansed, and spelling affixed in the spirit of this legal decree, and it will at the same time determine penalties for protection of the purity of the language and its spelling.

Article 9.

While the agency, mentioned in Article 8, determines final rules of Croatian spelling in the spirit of this legal decree, schools will temporarily use books coordinated on basis of the order of this ministry about spelling of June the 23rd 1941.

Article 10.

This legal decree gains legal power on the day of its declaration, and its implementation is entrusted to the Minister of Education.

Declared in Zagreb, the 14th of August 1941.

Number CCXLIX-1083-Z-p.-1941

Minister of Education:

Dr. Mile Budak, v.r. [by his own hand]

Poglavnik of the

Independent State of Croatia

Dr. Ante Pavelic, v.r. [by his own hand]

Source: Zlocini: Na Jugoslovenskim Prostorima u Prvom i Drugom sve Tskom Ratu, Zbornik Documenata,

Vol. 1 pp 512-513. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/budak/text/mb0003.txt>

Signature of the officer for encoding:
Brigadier Jaksic:
Date of encoding 11.9.1941
at 23:10 hours

Label and signature
to whom the decoded document was given:
Operative Section of the Main Headquarters of Domobrans

CONTENTS OF THE DECODED DOCUMENT:

EXTREMELY URGENT!

TO THE CROTIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENSE - Main Headquarters

Z A G R E B

Ustase from Herzegovina have come to Bosnia and continue with their murdering and pillaging.

Outrage because of the Ustase's actions is general, no matter the religion, - it can result in a general uprising in Bosnia.

Order the removal of these Ustase from Bosnia, before it is too late.

Our armed forces are too weak to suppress the present rebellion, - reinforcements should be sent.

Lieutenant-General LAXA

V.T.V. number 798

Filing information:

Title: Order: Request by General Laxa for Ustase to Leave
Bosnia

Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: September 11, 1941

Added: May 24, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ndh/text/ndh005.txt>

VIII

ERZOLAVKA

11.9.1941.
14.15 - 17.00
11.9.1941.

Predana putem		Prilijena u Zagrebu	
krugovna	na krugovnu	kod nadzornog časnika M.H.D.	u Odsjeku za šifru M.H.D.
iz SARAJEVA		11. rujna 1941. godine	
11. rujna 1941. u 18.25	u sati: 19.50	u sati: 22.00	u sati: 22.10

Podpis
Časnika sa šifrom
M. H. D.

Oznaka i podpis
kome je dešifrat predati:
Operativni Odjel Glav. Stož. Dom.

D.-8.1
11.9.1941.
u 19.10 sati

NAJŽURNIJE!

SADRŽAJ DEŠIFRATA:

MINISTARSTVU HRVATSKOG DOMOBRASTVA - Glavni Stožer

ZAGREB

Ustaše iz Hercegovine dolaze u Bosnu i produžuju sa ubistvima i pljačkom.

Kesadovoljstvo radi postupaka Ustaša je obće, bez obzira na vjeru, - može doći do općeg ustanka u Bosni.

Impovjedite odstranjenje ovih ustaša iz Bosne, dok ne bude prekasno.

Kako vojne snage su preslabe, da uguše sađenju pobunu, - treba poslati pojačanja.

V.V.V.br. 798

Generalporučnik LATA



NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
MINISTARSTVO HRVATSKOG DOMOBRASTVA

Glavni stožer

Br. 602

U Zagrebu dan 12. IX. 1941.

Predat ovom brojem posredstvom općim:

- 1) Vojnom komandi Općeg namještenika
- 2) Vojnom komandi u ličnom H. D.

12. IX. 41. Ljupka V. V. V.

*Uputiti one koji su
dobro poznati
dijelu muslimana
u ovoj oblasti.*

*Mentoran u glasu
svoje jedinice u
Bosni.*

Honorable brethren priests and dear believers!

The Holy Father Pope Pius XII sends us his paternal greetings and a salutary message to direct all our prayers in the month of October this year and especially the piety of the holy rosary to the Mother of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, for the imminent ending of the Crusade war and for peace among nations. This news came to us from Zagreb in a highly appreciated letter of His Excellency J. R. Marcone, the legate of the Holy Father [in Croatia].

We all know how much effort was invested by the great prince of peace Holy Father Pope Pius XII for all nations to settle difficult international disputes by equitable treaties, and not by fire and sword, but this voice of the Father did not find a response. It is clear to all of us who is guilty for the war and destruction when we spiritually move ourselves to the battlefield of Bolshevik Russia. The Bolsheviks eschewed all attempts to establish peace, they joined the evildoers of the international order on the European continent, and thus this terrible fire of war, which worries us all. Our Great Poglavnik, the hero of the Croatian People, the savior of freedom in our most difficult days, when we trembled in fear before Yugoslavia was erased from the map and our thousand year old state of Croatia emerged with an unbreakable force precisely because of the supernatural wisdom he exhibited from the start of his reign. He invested a superhuman effort to ensure the development of political and cultural life in the NDH. Aside from all of that our sworn enemies with their assaults dared to cause disorder in some parts of our country.

Our Croatian sons, our proud and brave army, completely loyal to the Poglavnik, guarantee a beautiful destiny for the NDH. According to a high order from our Great Poglavnik, the Croatian army divided its knightly duties. Some stand in service for the defense of the state, while others are participating in the Crusade war against Bolsheviks. The great leader of the German Reich assigned units from all allies of the peacemaking Axis to the glorious units of the German army, but not because he fears the lack of power of the German army, but to show the full solidarity of all great

and small allies, that they are united and equally devoted to establishing peace and liberty for every nation on the European continent according to directives of the Great Leader of the German Reich. The Holy Catholic Church observes these events with concern and love for the warriors on the frontline and for the suffering at home. That is why the Holy Father with his message unites our souls in a collective prayer.

The holy rosary with the Great Patronage of the heavenly Queen of Peace saved Europe during the time of Pope Gregory XIII, and especially during the time of Pope Clement XI in the year 1716. It restored peace in Europe and ensured liberty for all nations. That is why we will readily and gladly obey the voice of the Holy Father and we will all join the prayer action, both devoted parents and innocent children, pious illiterates and the educated, servants and masters, laymen and priests.

The Blessed Lady, the Queen of Peace will make it happen, that the Crusade war against the infidel will end fortunately on all battlefields. In Europe a joyous song will resound: Victoria, Pax et Dei Benedictio!

Greetings to all and blessing in the name of the Lord.

Filing Information:

Title: Letter: Bishop Aksamovic on Prayer for the "Crusade War"

Source: "Glasnik Biskupije Djakovacko Srijemske," 1941, No. 18, 154-155. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen, p. 569 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: September 24, 1941

Added: February 6, 2004

Original Placement:

[http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0013.tx](http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0013.txt)

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STEPINAC'S LETTER ON THE RESETTLEMENT OF SLOVENE MONKS

The following letter was sent by Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac to Ante Pavelic asking him to permit a group of Slovene Trappist monks to occupy the three-centuries old (but now abandoned) monastery of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Orahovica. The monks had been exiled by Hitler, as the Serbian clergy had been exiled by Pavelic.

Poglavnik!

I have the liberty to address you about the following matter:

Oo. Trappists had to temporarily leave their monastery in Reichenburg and now they are homeless, temporarily guests of their brothers in the monastery "Marija Zvijezda" in Banja Luka. Whereas they would very gladly like to found their own monastery somewhere in the NDH, which is why I kindly ask you, Poglavnik, to grant them a place, a house and some land, so that they could establish their own monastery.

The order of Trappists is a contemplative order, who by their life of penance, prayers and fasting invoke blessings from the heavens.

Trappists are also occupied with agriculture and industry and in that way they can do a lot of good for their surroundings, giving the best example of how land should be rationally farmed and all its powers exploited, so that farmers and industrialists could learn a lot of useful things from them for the common welfare of all.

The monastery of the oo. Trappists train youth for the next generation at the monastery and teach them in various crafts. At Reichenburg they already had several members of the Croatian nationality, and even now there are several members of the Croatian nationality with them. In time, with the support of the state authorities, an economy school could be founded.

Whereas the oo. Trappists lost everything in Reichenburg, now

they are without any resources and it is understandable that they cannot pay now for accommodation nor land. In Reichenburg the oo. Trappists had 380 hectares of fine land, including forests, but of course they would be satisfied now with a smaller parcel.

In Reichenburg there were 80 monks and 12 cadets together with about 10 servants. In Banja Luka there are now 30 of them, and some still in Reichenburg, and others are dispersed in various places, but they are all hoping that they could again gather in a common monastery family. Perhaps they could be given the Serbian monastery in Orahovica (once the monastery of our Pavlins).

It is an honor for me to sincerely recommend to you, Poglavnik, that the oo. Trappists should be settled in this archbishopric in order to contribute spiritually and economically to the archbishopric and to the welfare of the entire NDH.

Please accept, Poglavnik, on this occasion the expression of my exceptional respect.

In Zagreb, 3 October 1941,
Dr. Alojzije Stepinac, Archbishop

Filing Information:

Title: Stepinac's Letter on the Resettlement of Slovene Monks

Source: Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, pp 703-704 (Zagreb, 1948). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: October 3, 1941

Added: May 17, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/stepinac/text/as0007.txt>

German General in Zagreb

Zagreb, 3.12.1941

TO THE CROATIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

Z a g r e b

According to reports I received from several sources on 19.11 [November 19], in a single action of retaliation and cleansing in the area southwest of Petrinja, 800 men, women and children were murdered, several villages were burnt down and a lot of cattle were transported to Zagreb.

Since that area is in German occupation zone, and since these sorts of actions as a rule usually result in the expansion of rebel movement, I request, out of the responsibility I have for German occupation troops, for an urgent and detailed report about these events.

German General in Zagreb

Glaise

Major-General

Document number 4481.

Filing information:

Title: Report on the Murder of 800 Civilians near Petrinja

Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: December 3, 1941

Added: May 24, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/german/text/ger0001.tx>

INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA
HEADQUARTERS OF THE
3rd POLICE REGIMENT
Number 585

Report on the death of
peasants in Jablanica

TO THE SUPREME POLICE HEADQUARTERS
Z A G R E B . -

Banja Luka, 4. December 1941.

Commander of the police station Orahovo with report number
184 of 1 December 1941 reports:

"On 30 November 1941, according to a telegram report from the
district chief in Bosanska Gradiska of 29 November this year
in the villages of Trebovljani and Bistrica, Bosanska
Gradiska district, I discovered that:

On 25 November 1941 some Ustase companies came around at
15:00 hours in the villages of Sovjak and Milosevo, Bosanska
Gradiska district, and took away from Sovjak 57 and from
Milosevo 50 people: mostly boys from 12 to 15 years of age,
who were shot by machine guns and slaughtered with knives on
26 November 1941 around 6:00 hours a.m. in the Jablanica
River.

On 25 November 1941, Ustase came by a cemetery in the village
Milosevo, where local peasants were burying someone, and they
took away all peasants from that funeral (about 20 of them),
left the dead man unburied and killed all those peasants in
Jablanica.

On the same day Ustase took away 7 Orthodox [grkoistocnjacke]
peasants from villages Orahovo, Bistrica and Trebovljani,
Bosanska Gradiska district, who were in the same way killed
in Jablanica, and who were mostly completely poor and

peaceful peasants.

Because of this there is anxiety among the Croatians, and among Orthodox people great commotion and alarm.

The citizens of Orahovac and Bistrica, no matter their religion, were until today very peaceful and honest peasants, except one who is a member of a rebel gang for some time and who was an outcast among the peasants for many years.

Following the instructions of the district chief I instructed and advised peasants to be peaceful and to stay in their homes, that nothing will happen to them and that they should trust in the protection of the authorities and the law."

I deliver the above report in relation to the report of this regiment, number 579 of 3 December 1941, for your knowledge and competence.

COMMANDER, COLONEL;
Novak

SENT TO:
Supreme police headquarters,
Directorate for public order and safety Zagreb,
Banja Luka military zone B. Luka,
Headquarters of II military area Brod na Savi
Commision for establishment of public order B. Luka

Filing information:
Title: Report on the Death of Peasants in Jablanica
Source: Archive of the NDH. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.
Date: December 4, 1941
Added: May 24, 2003

Original Placement:
<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ndh/text/ndh006.txt>

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
ZAPOVJEDNIŠTVO
3. ORUŽNIČKI PUKOVNIK
J. S. Broj 585/Taj.

Izješće o pogibli
seljaka u Jablanici.

VRHOVNOM ORUŽNIČKOM ZAPOVJEDNIŠTVU

Banja Luka, 4. prosinca 1941.

ZAGREB.-

Zapovjednik oružničke postaje Orahevo sa spisom Broj 184/
Taj. od 1. prosinca 1941. izvješćuje:

Dne 30. studenog 1941. prema usmenoj izjavi vojne zapovijedi
kotarskog predstojnika u Bos. Gradišci od 29. studenog t.g. u selu Trstov-
ljanima i Bistrici, kotar Bos. Gradiška ustanovio sam:

Dne 25. studenog 1941. neke ustaške satnije istoga dana oko
15 sati, došle su u selo Sovjak i Miloševa, kotar Bos. Gradiška, te iz sela
Sovjaka pokapali 57 a iz Miloševa 50 osoba i to: većinom dječaka od 12
do 15 godina, koja su 26. studenog 1941. oko 6 sati u jutro u rijeci Jab-
lanici, iz strojnih pušaka poubijali i sa niševima poklali.

25. studenog 1941. ustaše su našle pored groblja u selu
Miloševa, gdje su ondašnji seljaci nekoga sahranjivali, te su sve seljake
kojih je na pogrebu bilo /oko 20/ pokapali i mrtvaca nesahranjena osta-
vili, te isto u Jablanici poubijali.

Istoga dana ustaše su iz sela Orahevo, Bistrica i Trebov-
ljana, kotar Bos. Gradiška, sa sobom kao vođice odveli 7 seljaka grkoistoč-
njačke vjere, koje su na isti način, u Jablanici poubijali i to većinom
sasvim siromašnih i mirnih seljaka.

Radi ovoga slučaja kod Hrvatskog naroda zavladao je zab-
rinutost i strah a kod grko-istočnjaka veliko uzbuđenje i uznemirenost.

Gradjani općine Orahevo i Bistrica bez razlike na vjeru
do danas su bili vrlo mirni i poštteni seljaci, osim jednog koji se je od
prije izvjesnog vremena nalazi u pobunjeničkoj bandi i taj je kao otpada-
ak među seljacima još iz ranijih godina.

Prema dobivenim ustavima od kotarskog predstojnika podučio
sam i posavjetovao seljske da budu mirni i da se zadrže kod svojih kuća,
da im se ništa neće dogoditi i da vjeruju u zaštitu vlasti i zakona."

Dostavljam prednje izvješće u vezi izvješća ove pakovnije
J. S. Broj 579/Taj. od 3. prosinca 1941. s molbom na znanje i nadležnost.

RAZASLATO:

Vrhov. oružnič. zapovjedništva,
Ravn. sa jav. red i sig. Zagreb,
Banjalučkom voj. području B. Luka,
Zapov. II. voj. zbora Brod na Savi
Povj. 3. vojske u post. j. r. i per. B. Luka



ZAPOVJEDNIK, PUKOVNIK,

[Handwritten signature]

6. XII/1941

VRHOVNO
ORUŽNIČKO ZAPOVJEDNIŠTVO

T. Broj 1338 J. S.

Primaljena 6. 12. 1941.

MINISTARSTVO

Not Found

The requested URL /documents/pavelic/text/ap0002.txt was not found on this server.

Apache/1.3.33 Server at www.pavelicpapers.com Port 80

"THE INSATIABLE PARASITES"

In February 1942, Interior Minister Andrija Artukovic made an important policy speech to the rubber-stamp NDH parliament, called the Sabor. After running through a list of triumphant achievements, Artukovic devoted the bulk of his speech to the issue of the "Jewish Question." His reasoning - that the Jews created Communism to take over the world and destroy gentile nations, and that Jews and Communists are thus indistinguishable from one another - should be familiar to anyone who has read the speeches of Goebbels or any other Nazi ideologue. A transcript of the speech, upon which this translation is based, was published immediately thereafter in Narodne Novine, the official gazette of the NDH government, leaving no doubt that Artukovic's views had official sanction.

...Immediately after the founding of Yugoslavia, all the enemies of the Croatian people - the Jews, the Communists, and the Freemasons - united with those of the so-called "Piedmont of the Balkans" [Serbia] in order to destroy the Croatian people and suppress all national aspirations.

In the life of Yugoslavia, it was the Jews - who worked for and prepared the world for revolution - alongside their two most important international allies - the Communists and the Freemasons, who especially distinguished themselves. These three national groups have attempted with all their might to destroy everything Croatian they could find.

They tried to win our intelligentsia to their side and isolate it from the Croat people, either through subterfuge - that is, flattering them with titles, lucrative positions among them - or by force. They tried through different organizations and offices to estrange the Croatian youth from the

religion of their fathers and from the family hearth, and to get the workers into so-called "unions" which fought on a class basis, to estrange them from their own people and turn them against one another.

First, it was the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and, later, the United Labour Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia, that tried to mislead the Croatian worker and set him against his own people. They tried to impoverish and humiliate the peasant, in a state of financial dependence and beggary, in political chaos and cultural darkness, in order to be able, at any given moment, to trade him away, to barter on his sentiments like he was a bale on the exchange.

All this was done by the Jews, one of the most dangerous international syndicates, in order to achieve the goals of World Jewry, readying the world for the revolution by which the Jews will gain full mastery over all material possessions of the world and all the power in the world, when other nations will serve as a means to their dirty profits and their insatiable greed and ravenous thirst for control.

International Jewry was aided in this fight by two other international syndicates: the Communists, who preached the gospel of their proletarian state, and the Freemasons, who preached the gospel of their fraudulent "enlightened spirit," their "love for their fellow man."

The Jews were to achieve these aims relying as much on their own international affiliations as that possessed by the Communists: because Communism is the child of Jewry and one of the principle levers by which the Jews aim to take control of the world. The Communists wanted to destroy the leadership of individual nations and take power in the name of the workers. But these workers were, of course - had to be - led by the Jews, which is exactly how

it was.

Through various organizations, the Judeo-Communists tried to bring about the disintegration of the Croatian national body, to kill the aspirations of its youth, the love for family and the homeland, to stir up hatred between the classes and to enslave the peasantry in such a way that the peasant loses all self-awareness, the knowledge of what it is to be Croatian.

The Croatian people, having re-established the Independent State of Croatia, could do nothing else but to clean off the poisonous and insatiable parasites - Jews, Communists and Freemasons - from their national and state body.

They have strangled the Croatian people and retarded all sectors of their national life, destroying and poisoning not only family life, their beliefs, their morals, their culture and their youth, but also that vital national spirit, Croatian self-expression, Croatian self-consciousness. The Independent State of Croatia, led by the Ustase, finding itself in a state of siege and self-defense against these insatiable and poisonous parasites, has indeed settled the so-called Jewish Question through resolute and sound actions.

Source: Narodne Novine, February 26, 1942.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0013.txt>

The Career of Andrija Artukovic

Excerpt from *Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America*

The Ustashi was less than a year old when Andrija Artukovic, then a twenty-nine-year-old lawyer, swore his oath of allegiance before the crucifix, the revolver, and the dagger. He seemed a natural Ustashi recruit. The eldest son of a family of Croat farmers living in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Artukovic was raised to be a devout Catholic and a fierce supporter of an independent Croatia. And as Eichmann supervised the conversion of the brick kilns into ovens where thousands of Serbs and Jews were burned alive. Death at these camps, though, was not just by anonymous fire. The Ustashi, more so than even the Gestapo, demanded a more personal involvement in their evil.

The Ustashi murderers killed their victims with an atavistic passion: throat slashings, eye gougings, tongue extractions, axe decapitations, and disembowelments - all were common ways of death for "enemies of the state."

The Ustashi seemed to lust after barbarism, personally challenging each other to respond more wildly to Pavelic's "call to blood."

At Jasenovac, contests were conducted to see which Ustashi could execute the fastest with his graviso, a long, curve-bladed knife. Petar Brzica was the champion - his graviso cut through 1,300 throats in a single night. For nearly four years the killings continued. Artukovic's executioners hunted in the towns and cities of Croatia for those he had labeled "the poisonous destroyers and insatiable parasites."

His men were very effective: Over 300,000 Yugoslavs were victims of the Ustashi. And, despite all the

killings, Artukovic personally demanded more excess.

It was Artukovic, according to Yugoslav documents, who ordered Chief of Police Franjo Truhar: "Kill all the Serbs and Jews without exception."

It was Artukovic who warned the mayor of Cerin: "if you can't kill Serbs or Jews you are an enemy of the state."

It was Artukovic who scolded Simun Buntic for killing only two Serbs: "You should not have come to me at all if you have not killed two hundred Serbs."

But as the Reich crumbled, so did the independent state of Croatia. On May 4, 1945, the German troops pulled out of Croatia and the Ustashi followed. For Pavelic and Artukovic, the years on the run began once more. They changed into civilian clothes and, under the protection of the retreating Nazis, managed to reach Austria.

The [Roman Catholic] Church, which had supported them in power, now supported them in defeat. Pavelic and Artukovic moved through a network of Austrian monasteries, disguised as Father Benarez and Father Gomez. Pavelic, always cautious, clipped his distinguishing bushy eyebrows, grew a beard, and wore false glasses. Using a passport in the name of Dal Aranyos, a priest, he sailed from Rome in 1948 to Buenos Aires.

Quoted from Blum, Howard. Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America, p 154.

Original Placement: <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0006.txt>

A CENTRE OF FRANCISCAN USTASHISM

Evelyn Waugh, the famous British novelist, spent the latter part of World War II as part of an Allied mission to the Communist-led partizans of Tito, together with his friend, Randolph Churchill. Waugh despised the Communists - and Tito in particular - and later savaged them both in his novel *Unconditional Surrender*. He also circulated a report damning the Yugoslav authorities for persecuting the Catholic Church. This excerpt from a letter to his superior describes the attitude of the Franciscans he had interviewed about the pre-war period. Since 1922 Sarajevo had been under the administration of Archbishop Ivan Saric.

For some time the Croat Franciscans had caused misgivings in Rome for their independence and narrow patriotism. They were mainly recruited from the least cultured part of the population and there is abundant evidence that several wholly unworthy men were attracted to the Franciscan Order by the security and comparative ease which it offered. Many of these youths were sent to Italy for training. Their novitiate was in the neighborhood of Pavelic's HQ at Siena where Ustasha agents made contact with them and imbued them with Pavelic's ideas. They in turn, on returning to their country, passed on his ideas to the pupils in their schools. Sarajevo is credibly described as having been a centre of Franciscan Ustashism.

Source: Captain Evelyn Waugh to Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean. Quoted in Rhodes, Anthony. *The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators, 1922-1945*, p 328.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/saric/text/is0002.txt>

Tisserant received me very politely and courteously. The conversation lasted for an hour and a half. Because of his interesting claims, statements and his thesis regarding our general position in Europe and in the world, I will try to illustrate them in broad strokes. The Cardinal among other things said: "Your Fascist friends are laughing at your independence and freedom, at the existence of the Croatian state. I am hearing this directly from their high political leaders. Your king, the Duke of Spoleto, will never come to Croatia. He says that he will not go to Croatia, because they made him the king of a country that is not a kingdom, because it depends on Germany as well as on Italy. In Croatia everybody rules more than Croats... Father Simic himself led an armed group of people who destroyed Orthodox churches. I know for sure that Franciscans in Bosnia and Herzegovina have behaved just as miserably. That sort of thing isn't done by cultured and civilized men, let alone priests..."

The Germans only recognized the Croatian Orthodox Church after they together with us slaughtered all the priests and after 350,000 Serbs perished. Therefore, what right do we have to complain and claim that Catholics are carriers of culture and carriers of faith? The Serbs in the struggle with the Turks gave for the West and Catholicism as much as we did, and maybe even more. However, only Croats got the title Antemurale Christianitatis.

Filing Information:

Title: Letter: Rusinovic on Meeting with Cardinal Tisserant

Source: Letter from NDH Ambassador Nikola Rusinovic to FM Mladen Lorkovic. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. *Magnum Crimen*, p. 890. (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: March 6, 1942

Added: February 19, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0017.tx>

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ANTE DOSHEN

In this document, Office of Strategic Services informant SK (alias S. Karan) makes reference to one Ante Doshen, a Croatian being held on immigration charges by the United States government who had, by hook or crook, managed to receive letters of endorsement from several influential American politicians. SK recommends drastic action be taken in the case, suggesting means which might seem harsh, except in a time of war. Further reference to Doshen, or to any action which might have been taken, does not appear in the other OSS files in our possession.

S.K.
Yugo.

March 31, 1942

Re: Ante Doshen

The above subject is being held by the U.S. Imm. authorities in Pittsburgh, Pa., that is, he is out on bail pending trial due this month. For the last 7 months, the subject was able to have his case adjourned time and again. He managed to elicit letters of reference from U.S. Sen. Davis of Penna., U.S. Sen. Guffey, Penna., Myor Sculley, of Pittsburgh, Pa. and Judge Elenbager of Pittsburgh.

Doshen has been and still is, one of the best agents of Ante Pavelic in this country as U.S. law agencies are aware of. Regardless of our constitutional [sic] rights, this man should not receive the benefits of said rights which he has flagrantly violated for years, as his rcord [sic] shows. Even if this man is convicted on illegal entry and a technical charge of perjury, he still would not receive his just punishment.

It happens that U.S. is now an ally of the Kingdom

of Yugoslavia in military sense. Dispensing with the proverbial red tape and usual technicalities, there is nothing to prevent the Yugoslav Military High Command "to summon one Capt. Ante Doshen, in Reserve, to report for military service." In case of his refusal, he could be turned over to said Yugoslav Military as a deserter.

SK/Y

[handwritten:] GB reports copy above given FBI

Source: NARA.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/oss/text/oss001.txt>

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S.K.
Yugo.

SECRET

March 31, 1942

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Re: Ante Doshen

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Box 12 of 20

Bay 12 of 20

REVEREND HUGOLIN FEIS

Judging by his reports, Office of Strategic Services informant "SK" found the most fervent supporters of the Ustase among Croats in America spread among the clergy. In this submission to the OSS, SK takes note of a parish priest from St. Louis, Missouri who had written what sounds like a maudlin work of theater dedicated to the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia and the quisling state under Ante Pavelic set up in Croatia in their wake.

S.K.
Yugo.

March 31, 1942

Re: Rev. Hugolin Feis,
Croatian Cath. Friar

The above subject is the parish priest at the Croatian Rom. Cath. Church of St. Joseph, in St. Louis, Mo. For years past, he has been an active agent of Dr. Ante Pavelich, the present puppet ruler of Croatia.

This friar is a pronounced fascist and violently anti-democratic in principle. After the downfall of Yugoslavia and the proclamation of "Indenpendent [sic] State of Croatia", friar Feis wrote a stage play, entitled:

In Spirit of Freedom, Patriotic Play in 3 Acts,
"10. IV. 1941. Indenpendent [sic] State of Croatia,
Written by: Rev. Hugolin Feis, Franjevac (Franjevac is an Order of Friars)

In this play Feis writes in part:

My indictment is against some of those Croats, who, without conscience fooled the Croatian people, who shamefully enacted the Judas role of treason

against their people, who by all means and subtleties, endeavored to neutralize all patriotic, homedefenders movement, for freedom and indenpendence [sic] of a Croatian State. Pilates, Judas Iscariots..... Why did they congratulate Russia, as the "Mother of Slavs", when our descent is strictly "Croatian" and our crib "Aryan"! The Croatians were imbeciles when they ran after "Slavism" and "Yugoslavism"

En quote.

This friar can be compared to those German friars and missionaries in New Guiena, who operated as a "Fifth Column" and recently led Jap units through the jungles of that Allied territory.

It would be advisable to take this friar into custody as an enemy allien [sic] and active propagandist of Ante Pavelic.

SK/Y

[handwritten:] 1/7 GB reports copy above given FBI

Source: NARA.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/oss/text/oss002.txt>

S.K.
Yugo.

March 31, 1942

Carded

Re: Rev. Hugolin Feis,
Croatian Cath. Friar

SK Reports 405

The above subject is the parish priest at the Croatian Rom. Cath. Church of St. Joseph, in St Louis, Mo. For years past, he has been an active agent of Dr. Ante Pavelich, the present puppet ruler of Croatia.

This friar is a pronounced fascist and violently anti democratic in principle. After the downfall of Yugoslavia and the proclamation of "Independent State of Croatia", friar Feis wrote a stage play, entitled:

In Spirit of Freedom, Patriotic Play in 3 Acts,
*10. 1V. 1941. Independent State of Croatia,
Written by: Rev. Hugolin Feis, Franjevac (Franjevac is an Order of Friars)

In this play Feis writes in part:
My indictment is against some of those Croats, who, without conscience fooled the Croatian people, who shamefully enacted the Judas role of treason against their people, who by all means and subtleties, endeavored to neutralize all patriotic, homedefenders movement, for freedom and independence of a Croatian State. Pilates, Judas Iscariots..... Why did they congratulate Russia, as the "Mother of Slavs", when our descent is strictly "Croatian" and our crib "Aryan"! The Croatsians were imbeciles when they ran after "Slavism" and "Yugoslavism" En quote.

This friar can be compared with those German friars and missionaries in New Guiana, who operated as a "Fifth Column" and recently led Jap units through the jungles of that Allied territory.

It would be advisable to take this friar into custody as an enemy allien and active propagandist of Ante Pavelic.

SK/Y

1/7 GB reports copy also given FBI
88



The Croatian Central Committee

Many Croatian-Americans, as OSS agent S. Karan or "SK" was often at pains to point out, were shocked by the actions of the leadership of the Croatian Catholic Union and others who continued to defend Pavelic and the Ustase regime after the NDH declared war on the free world. As a result, several ephemeral ad-hoc organizations began to sprout up to forward a fervently pro-Allied agenda. This report concerns one of them, along with reporting a few other items of interest to the Office of Strategic Affairs, including an update on former American Ustase organizer Ante Doshen's immigration status.

S.K.
Yugo.

April 7, 1942
Detroit, Mich

RE: Croatian Affairs

There is being organized a "Croatian Central Comitee" [sic] in Pittsburgh and Alleghany County, for purposes of promoting Yugoslav unity on American principles regardless of racial background. The Comitee will sponsor patriotic rallies and meetings for noted American and Yugoslav speakers.

The "Croatian Central Comitee" will represent various Croatian organizations such as: Croat fraternals, Singing Societies, Dramatic Societies, Clubs and some Parishes. The president is Magistrate Lukasz and Marko Vinski is the secretary and the motive power behind the whole Comitee. This endeavor on part of the Croatians will have a very constructive affect towards unity among those elements under the existing circumstances.

The "Croatian Natl Council" whose president is J.D. Butkovich, and against which the Serbs created a tirade in the past, is now a dead issue.

Butkovich went to Colorado for the holidays and there are

rumors that he might resign as the president of the Croat. Fraternal Union. However, the Croatian I.W.O. wants him to stay, because he is their link and medium for any of their manipulations in the Fraternal. Butkovich always had their support for this reason.

Ante Doshen has been in New York since last Thursday and is due back in Pittsburgh April 8th. Senators Davis and McGuffey and Mayor Scully of Pittsburgh, have revoked their endorsements of Doshen.

The Croatian Frat. Union requested the Yugoslav Embassy to inform them how to send 3000 packages to the Yugoslav prisoners of war. They were even refused an answer by Fotich. The idea apparently is on part of Fotich, that the Serbs have nothing in common with the Croats even where the prisoners of war are concerned. Incidentally, Germany and Italy are therefor advised that the Crations [sic] are on their own...

SK/Y

Source: NARA.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/oss/text/oss008.txt>

SECRET

S.K.
Yugo.

551

April 7, 1942
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Re: Croatian Affairs

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SK/Y

SECRET

2-4120/20

Serb National Federation

OSS agent S. Karan, or "SK" was charged with investigating all Yugoslav disapora groups. The following report details a conversation with Branko Pekich, a Serbian-American leader and identified elsewhere as one of SK's prewar friends. The American line at the time was that all divisions had to be put aside for the war effort, and this included anti-Yugoslav Serbs as well as Croats. Louis Adamic, referred to in paragraph three, was an influential figure in Washington circles who devoted his efforts during the war to forwarding the agenda of the pro-Yugoslav Slovene-American National Council (SANC) before being felled by illness. Yovan Duchich was the former Yugoslav Ambassador to Spain and, after arriving in America in the early days of the war, one of the founders of Serbian National Defense.

S.K.
Yugo.

April 8, 1942
Pittsburgh, Pa.

RE: Serb Natl. Federation

Today, S.K. interviewed Branko Pekich, Gen. Sec. of the Serb Natl. Fed. Mr. Pekich informed S.K. that two F.B.I. agents visited him yesterday and asked him the reason for the Federation's anti-Croatian propaganda. (Mr. Kosto Unkovich, the local Yugoslav Consul requested the local F.B.I. Office to pay the Federation's secretary a visit and caution them on their destructive propaganda. Mr. Unkovich asks that this request remain confidential. For years, Mr. Unkovich has been combatting all anti-Yugoslav propaganda and has closely cooperated with U.S. authorities)

Mr. Pekich went on to say, that he and his organization, did not attack the Croat-Americans, but directed their verbal attacks against those Croats in Croatia who had murdered 300,000 Serbs. He cannot understand why he and the Serbs in this country should be prevented to inform the public of said Croatian atrocities perpetrated on Serbs and substantiated by

Dean of Cantenburry and reporters of the American Press e.tc. Furthermore, Pekich claims that the Serbs have the right to choose their own form of post war State and government, in as much the majority of the Croats had already elected to proclaim their own with the Axis whom the Serbs are fighting with the aid of the Allies. Further, that the Croatian members of the Yugoslav Cabinet in London, had written [sic] to the British goverment [sic] behind the back of the Yugoslav Premier and other Serb ministers, asking the British goverment for enlargement of the Croatian frontiers, at the expence of the Serbs in future Yugoslavia.

Mr. Pekich continues, that the Serbs are perturbed at the influence that Mr. Louis Adamic is exercising in our own State. Dept. in view of Mr. Adamic's past anti-Serbian attitude. It appears that Mr. Pekich honestly believes that all those alleged Croatian atrocities are true and therefor the Serbs should retaliate in kind and totally divorce themselves from the Croats. Pekich is unable to conceive, that Yovan Duchich and other instigators have deliberately played on his honesty and emotions to use him and his Natl. Federation, to promote their plan of action against the realm of Yugoslavia. Pekich maintains, that the so called Yugoslav Croats and Yugoslav Serbs, are scheming for a post war Yugoslav republic and abdication of King Peter, II. Mr. Pekich does not believe in this form of possible plebiscite. It was pointed out to Pekich that the Axis are taking advantage of this disunity to their interest and embarrassing the Allied war effort. S.K. asked Pekich to write and submit a text of their policy. He replied that they had expressed themselves sufficiently in the "Srbobran". S.K. told him that it was only for certain public consumption and a personal explanation is in order due to the dissention caused by the "Srbobran". Mr. Pekich said he will consult his associates on the subject.

SK/Y

Source: NARA.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/oss/text/oss006.txt>

S.K.
Yugo.

April 8, 1942
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Re: Serb Natl. Federation

553

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SK/Y

The Croatian Homedefenders

Ustase co-founder Branimir "Branko" Jelic visited New York in the 1930s and founded the Domobran, or "Home Defenders" as an American branch of the Ustase movement (the name would later be used by the Croatian regular army - roughly the equivalent of the Wehrmacht). The group was raided by the FBI and shuttered after the American entry into the war, though many of the prominent leaders moved on to other organizations. Several of the Domobran leaders were priests, such as the Reverend Ivan Stipanovic and, mentioned below, Reverend Oskar Suster. The "Congress" mentioned in the third paragraph refers to a Slavic conference which met in Detroit around the time this report was filed. The "CFU" is the Croatian Fraternal Union, an open organization which had several Ustase adherents scattered among their members, but remained (as it does today) a respectable and patriotic Croatian-American group which was later even targeted by Ustase attacks. "Duchich" is Jovan Ducic, former Yugoslav Ambassador to Spain and head of the Serbian National Defense.

S.K.
Yugo.

April 29, 1942
Detroit, Mich

RE: Yugoslav Affairs

Rev. Oskar Suster, of the Croat. Cath church at 921 Melbourne, appears to be still the spiritual leader of the defunct "Croatian Homedefenders". Although this organization has ceased to function after the authorities clamped on their exponents, Rev. Suster continues to uphold Ante Pavelich, the nazi puppet in Croatia. On several occasions when some Croat organization would prepare a social affair of democratic and patriotic design, Rev. Suster proceeds to sabotage it by whispering [sic] to individual parishioners that such a gathering was un-Croatian and ungodly. If some Croat dies who was not a follower of Ante Pavelich, Rev. Suster usually excuses himself when called to perform the last rites, by stating that "this person was not a true follower of the

Cath. church.["]

Recently, Rev. Suster was preparing a Croatian event for which he had tickets sold. Some Amer. Croats decided to use this occasion to delare [sic] themselves patriotic and condemn Ante Pavelich and his nazi overlords. Rev. Suster was advised of this move by his stooges and called the whole thing off and redeemed the tickets to the purchasers. It seems that this friar is still using his priestly offices for the benefit of his boss, Ante Pavelich.

When Milan Petrak, ed. of the "Zajednicar" was here for the Congress, he was given a talking to by Adam Suletich, sec of the local C.F.U. Lodge, and Ivan Marohnic, Atty. He was told to show more patriotic spirit in his paper besides waving an Amer. flag to cover up. It appears that Petrak thinks he does not have to go any further in his patriotic gestures then [sic] he did previously, with an attitude that no one can prove anything against him. Petrak was and is a rabid anti-communist and considers this line sufficient armor of all around patriotism for any other purpose in mind.

Urosh Seferovich, sec. of the local Serb. Natl. Def. Counl. is steadily [sic] seen in gambling joints, playing stakes as high as \$200.00 a night. He is here on visitors passport and collects money for the Amer. Red Cross. Sometime ago he was accused by a Serb of holding out on the Red Cross, which organization took the matter legally but had to drop it for lack of sufficient and willing witnesses. Seferovich continues to gamble and collect for the Red Cross - through the medium of the Duchich's propaganda bureau.

SK/Y

Source: NARA.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/oss/text/oss007.txt>

S.K.
Yugo.

April 29, 1942
Detroit, Mich.

2419

Re: Yugoslav Affairs

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Recently, Rev. Suster was preparing a Croatian event for which he had tickets sold. Some Amer.Croats decided to use this occasion to declare themselves patriotic and condemn Ante Pavelich and his nazi overlords. Rev. Suster was advised of this move by his stooges and called the whole thing off and redeemed the tickets to the purchasers. It seems that this friar is still using his priestly office for the benefit of his boss, Ante Pavelich.

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SK/Y

The Croatian Catholic Union

This report on the Croatian Catholic Union by Office of Strategic Services agent S. Karan, or "SK" was the result of a fortnight's stay in Gary, Indiana, while Karan was also visiting (and writing desultory reports on) the Serbian National Defense organization. Six days later, Karan reported on a tumultuous meeting of the Board of Directors of the CCU in which he expressed his fear for the safety of the ardently pro-Allied (and anti-Pavelic) editor of the CCU's organ Our Hope. Reverend Cuturic and George Rakic are also mentioned in an OSS report here.

S.K.
Yugo.

May 3, 1942
Gary, Ind.

RE: Croatian Catholic Union
125 W. Fifth Av.
Gary, Ind.

The above Union is a fraternal catholic organization with about 100 lodges scattered all over the U.S.

The Board of Directors are as follows:

Executive Board:

X Rev. F.J. Cuturic, Spiritual Leader
2823 Princeton Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

X George Rakic, Supreme President,
125 W. 5th Ave.
Gary, Ind.

John Cavlovic, Supreme Vice-Pres.
1252 Sandusky Ave.
Kansas City, Kan.

X George Ramuscak, Supreme Sec.
125 W. 5th Ave.
Gary, Ind.

Joseph G. Pavlic, Supreme Treas.
125 W. 5th Ave.
Gary, Ind.

Board of Trustees.

X Rev. M.S. Hranilovic, President
847 Crouse St.
Akron, Ohio

Paul Salopek, Sec.
1111 Kennedy Ave.
Duquesne, Pa.

Joseph Erdeljac, Member
2501 E. 82 St.
Cleveland, Ohio

Paul J. Domsich, Member.
1537 - 121 St.
Whiting, Ind.

Iggy Jurkovich, Member
1124 Wilcox St.
Joliet, Ill.

Supreme Trial Board.

X Rev. John E. Juricek, Pres.
5912 So. 36 St.
Omaha, Neb.

Tomo Bullum, Sec.
1042 Sunset Blvd.
Los Angelos, Calif. [sic]

John Rozman, Member

17515 Goddard Ave.
Detroit, Mich.

Grgur Mekic, Member
50 Simon Ave.
Lackawanna, N.Y.

Andro Grahovac, Member
9618 Escanaba Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

Editor of the Organ, "Our Hope"

Francis Kolander
125 W. 5th Ave.
Gary, Ind.

Chief Med. Examiner.

Dr. John F. Ruzic
23 55 W. 63 St.
Chicago, Ill.

Legal Adviser.

A.L. Zivic
508 Union Natl. Bank B'ldg
East Chicago, Ind.

Junior Order Director.

X Rev. V. Ardas
2260 Adams St.
Gary, Ind.

All those marked by an "X" in front of their names, are
pronounced supporters of Dr. Ante Pavelich, the Axis puppet

ruler of Croatia. The C.C.U. is under the supreme influence of Dr. David Zrno, the Franciscan Provincial of Croatian Catholic Section of that Order.

Dr. Zrno is a declared agent of Dr. Ante Pavelich. Through the influence of Dr. Zrno, Rev. F. Cuturic was elected at the last convention of the aforesaid organization as the Spiritual Leader of the same, according to the by-laws, the Spiritual Leader is the highest officer of the Union. Rev. Cuturic was publishing articles regularly in the "Indenpendent [sic] State of Croatia" a weekly, used to be published in Pittsburgh by the "Croatian Homedefenders" up to the month of March of this year, which organization was entirely pro-fascist and organized upon orders of Dr. Ante Pavelich.

To control the action of this C.C.U., one Stanislav Boric, who is here on a temporary visa as a visitor, was employed as an organizer of the aforesaid Union, with headquarters in the main office at, 125 W. 5th Ave., Gary, Ind. Stanislav Boric came to the United States a few years ago from Zagreb, where he was employed by the Hrvatski Radisa, a trade organ. He was sent here by Col. Kvaternik, who is now in command of the Axis-Croatian army of Dr. Ante Pavelich. It is a well known fact, that the said Boric was put in the office of the C.C.U. to control the action of the Board for the benefit of Axis propaganda in this country. Since Boric's arrival, those marked with an "X" have redoubled their propaganda for the cause of the Axis.

Up to this date, the Board of Directors of the said C.C.U. has never issued any statement condemning the present Quisling government [sic] of Dr. Ante Pavelich in Croatia. Francis Kolandar, the editor and an extremely patriotic American citizen, publicly condemned Pavelich, Hitler and the Axis puppets in general and called upon the Board to draw a resolution to the same effect. For this, Mr. Kolandar was violently condemned himself by those marked "X" and a campaign is now on to have him ejected from his office.

It is advisable to take proper action to eliminatethe present Board of Directors and all of the Axis sympathizers in the said organization. This organization will have a quadruannual

convention beginning the 20th of September, 1942, in Steelton, Pa. At least the following should be eliminated: "X" Rev. F.J. Cuturic, George Rakic, George Ramuscak, Rev. M.S. Hranilovich Rev. J.S. Juricek, Rev. V. Ardas.

During the last war, Rev. Hranilovich was a pronounced Austrian propagandist and since the last war, has continuously worked against the national interests of Yugoslavia. He is the father-in-law of Stanislav Boric. The most suitable and patriotic person for the Spiritual Leader would be Rev. Separovich, who is in charge of the Croatian Rom. Cath. Parish in Milwaukee, Wis. He is the most respected and liberal of all members of the Croatian Franciscan Order in America.

The proper person for the President of this organization would be Mr. Joseph Erdeljac, of Cleveland, Ohio, at present a member of the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Francis Kolander, the present editor of "Our Hope" would be the proper person for the office of Supreme Secretary, as he is well qualified for said work in every way and is an ardent American citizen. He has a son in the U.S. army.

The addresses of the Lodges of this organization will be submitted in the reports to follow.

SK/Y

Source: NARA.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/oss/text/oss009.txt>

ACTIVITIES OF DR. A PAVELICH'S EXPONENTS

In this report, Office of Strategic Services informant "SK" follows one Luka Grbich, the former publisher of a defunct paper called the Independent State of Croatia, the most prominent Ustase mouthpiece in the United States before the war. The CCU mentioned below is an abbreviation for the Croatian Catholic Union. The editor of Our Hope and his travails within the CCU are outlined by SK in a further report, available here. The activities of several other pro-Ustase priests in America are also noted. The "Ban Subasich" noted in the penultimate paragraph is Ivan Subasic, pre-war governor of autonomous Croatia within Yugoslavia, who disobeyed party orders from Vladko Macek and fled with the Royal government. He later became head of the government-in-exile and initialed the agreement with the Communist Partizan forces under Tito.

S.K.
Yugo.

May 5, 1942
Gary, Ind.

RE: Activities of Dr. A. Pavelich's Exponents

On about April 20th last, Luka Grbich, former publisher and editor of the defunct organ "Indenpendent [sic] State of Croatia", made another of his regular visits to the C.C.U. in Gary. He was driven in an auto by one Luka Kalanj, of Chicago, another exponent of Dr. Pavelich. Grbich and Kalanj went into a huddle with Stanislav Beric and George Rakic of the C.C.U. after which Grbich and Kalanj drove back to Chicago. While in Chicago, Grbich was in confab with Rev. Bojanich and F.J. Cuturic another two birds of a feather. Previous to this Grbich paid a visit to Rev. Oskar Suster in Detroit, Mich. While in Gary, Grbich was asked if

he was still collecting cash of the priests. He slyly replied that the priests usually take and not give. It is a well known fact, that all these mentioned and others have been regular cash contributors to Grbich and the "Independent State of Croatia" in the past. It now appears that Grbich is in the role of liaison between the higher ups in their continuous scheme of propaganda and dissension.

Recently, Rev. Ravlich of So. Chicago, another garbed propagandist, sent a "Mother's Day" letter to the editor of "Our Hope", which said in effect: "To remember our mothers, who cannot peacefully [sic] sleep thinking about their sons which are suffering in this war". The editor perceived that this was another piece of subtle propaganda, intended to demoralize some of its readers. The editor therefor changed the wording of this letter for publication.

Rev. Grubisic and Andrianic, of the "Sacred Heart" Croatian church of So. Chicago, visited their brethren in the C.C.U. about 10 days ago and discussed the merits of the present war.

They were asked for their opinion as to who will win this war. These two hooded solons fidgeted and beat around the bush for a safe answer depending who was listening. Both finally allowed that this was anybody's war, with pick your own. However, they went on record as saying, that no one can be sure if America will win this war. At the last Easter services in the So. Chicago Croat church, Rev. Andrianich reportedly told his congregation, "that our Croatia was now ressurected [sic], thank God".

When the Yugo. Minister, S. Kosanovich spoke in Gary at a Yugoslav rally, two of Duchich's men hung around the entrance and warned all the Amer. Serbs whom they would recognize, not to enter "as this was not a Serbian rally". Gov. of Croatia, Ban

Subasich, is expected to speak at a rally on May 17th and already Duchich's agents are making the rounds and warning the Serbs not to attend this "Croatian rally". They have adopted the technique of sending female emissaries on these errands, figuring that any enraged citizen will not take a sock at a woman. Cases have already occurred where old Serb and Croat neighbors are now calling each other murderers, traitors and what not. The same incidents are reportedly taking place in defence plants when the former friends meet. Duchich's crowd seems elated with this success of their efforts and gleefully [sic] accuse these unfortunate Croats to their fellow Americans as "dangerous alliens". [sic] Ban Subasich is expected to speak at a Yugoslav rally on May 10th in Chicago.

Other reports will follow.

SK/Y

Source: NARA.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/oss/text/oss004.txt>

S.K.
Yugo.

May 5, 1942
Gary, Ind.

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S.K.

(2)

They were asked for their opinion as to who will win this war. These two hooded solons fidgeted and beat around the bush for a safe answer depending who was listening. Both finally allowed that this was anybody's war, with pick your own. However, they went on record as saying, that no one can be sure if America will win this war. At the last Easter services in the So. Chicago Croat church, Rev. Andrianich reportedly told his congregation, "that our Croatia was now ressurected, thank God".

When the Yugo. Minister, S. Kusanovich spoke in Cary at a Yugoslav rally, two of Duchich's men hung around the entrance and warned all the Amer. Serbs whom they would recognize, not to enter "as this was not a Serbian rally". Gov. of Croatia, Ban Subasich, is expected to speak at a rally on May 17th and already Duchich's agents are making the rounds and warning the Serbs not to attend this "Croatian rally". They have adopted the technique of sending female emissaries on these errands, figuring that any enraged citizen will not take a sock at a woman. Cases have already occurred where old Serb and Croat neighbors are now calling each other murderers, traitors and what not. The same incidents are reportedly taking place in defence plants when the former friends meet. Duchich's crowd seems elated with this success of their efforts and gleefully accuse these unfortunate Croats to their fellow Americans as "dangerous alliens". Ban Subasich is expected to speak at a Yugoslav rally on May 10th in Chicago.

Other reports will follow.

SK/Y

NDH AMBASSADOR ON STEPINAC IN ROME

In the Spring of 1942 - more than a year after the massacre of the Serbs in the NDH - Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac paid a visit to the Vatican for an interview with Pope Pius XII. This letter from the NDH ambassador to the Vatican describes his conduct during his stay.

As you must know, His Grace Stepinac has now returned to Zagreb after a twelve-day visit to Rome. He was in fine form and took a pugnacious attitude to all enemies of the State! He submitted to the Holy Father a nine-page type-written report. He showed it to me and I can assure you it stands for our point of view. In attacking the Serbs, Cetniks and Communists, he has found things to say which even I had not thought of. No one will be allowed to attack the Independent State of Croatia and show the Croatian people in a bad light.

This was precisely the reason why he went to Rome, in order to stigmatize the lies that have spread in regard to the Holy See.

Source: Letter from Nikola Rusinovic, NDH Ambassador to the Vatican, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zagreb, May 9, 1942. Quoted in Falconi, Carlo. The Silence of Pius XII, p 314.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/stepinac/text/as0003.txt>

AXIS PROPAGANDISTS WITHIN THE CROATIAN CATHOLIC UNION

This report on a tumultuous board of directors meeting at the Croatian Catholic Union was filed shortly after several other penetrating reports on pro-Ustase elements within the Croatian-American community. Several of the figures below, including Rev. Cuturic and George Rakic, are also mentioned here. SK spells the editor's name both "Kolendar" and "Kolander," an inaccuracy which seems improbable if the editor was actually a government informant, as his suspicious colleagues in the leadership of the CCU seem to believe.

S.K.
Yugo.

May 9, 1942
Gary, Ind.

RE: Axis Propagandists within the
Croatian Cath. Union

At the meeting of the Board of Directors of the C.C.U., held in September, 1940, Mr. Kolendar, editor of "Our Hope" the C.C.U. Organ, presented a resolution which condemned the dictators and aggressors who started the war. The resolution called for a display of an American flag at the meetings of the Lodges. Rev. F.J. Cuturic, spiritual director, of the C.C.U. spoke against the resolution as being "politics". Rev. M.S. Hranilovich, chairman of the Board of Auditors, also spoke against it, stating that the introduction and mention of dictators is "offensive" to the heads of other governments, and asked that this be omitted, as the resolution is O.K. otherwise. He also added that "who knows what will happen within the next six months". (This was after the collapse of France). The president, George Rakic also agreed with them, that no offense should be given to the dictators. When Mr. Kolendar

refused to have the resolution emasculated according to their sentiments, it was not passed.

Kolendar then remarked that he could not understand their attitude inasmuch, if they are American citizens and that he would be ashamed to express himself in this fashion. The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Board, held June 9, 1941, contain the following excerpts:

"Since Brother Editor has been repeatedly reminded to be cautious in writing about political questions and parties, and since various compliments [sic] in connection with such writing are coming against him, therefor [sic], Brother Editor is hereby again and for the last time being admonished to be very cautious in writing about political questions and to avoid all political partisanship, because "Our Hope" is no political paper". This was a few weeks after Kolender published an article in "Our Hope" entitled, "An answer to a Hitlerite", in which Kolender condemned a Hitler's sympathizer for attaching Pres. Roosevelt. (The Hitler sympathizer is one Rev. F. Bakorich, of 610 No. Hill St., Los Angeles [sic], Calif.). Kolender also denounced Hitler and his stooges in American in another column of an issue before the meeting in question. The meeting did not question Kolender nor, did they name any articles as being what they termed "political". When Kolender asked the president, Rakic, to tell him which articles he deems political, so that Kolender may be governed in the future, Rakic refused to point any article. [sic] Sec. Ramuscak remarked to Rakic not to answer to Kolender anything "as he wants to trap you". Later on and recently, the same admonition ensued about the "political writing" when Kolender wrote articles on Hitler and his Axis, in true light. Kolender carried in translation most of Pres. Roosevelt's speeches during that time, giving prominence to his condemnation of Hitler. Again at the Sept., 1941, meeting, Rev. Cuturic stated, that Kolender was giving too much space to "propaganda",

but when pressed for identification of such articles, Cuturic declined to identify said articles.

When the puppet government of Croatia declared war on the United States, Kolander wrote an article intitled [sic] "Let us wipe out this shame", and explained that the people of Croatia were Hitler's slaves and had nothing to do with this declaration of war, and that we should show our condemnation of this act by buying Defense Bonds and declare our loyalty to the United States in appropriate resolutions. Kolander also started publishing the names of Lodges and the amounts of Defense Bonds they bought and their donations to the Red Cross. Heading the list, was a condemnation of Ante Pavelic and his declaration of war upon the United States. This was during the last week of December and first two weeks of January, 1942.

On January 22, 1942, president Rakic called Kolander into the office of sec. Ramuscak. He also called treasurer Joseph Pavlic. Rakic held the issues of Our Hope in which appeared that article condemning Pavelic and his declaration of war and the list of Lodges with amounts of Defense Bonds bought. Rakic declared, that he had received several complaints on account of these statements against Pavelic and Independent State of Croatia. Kolander stated, that the condemnation concerns not the Croatian people, but Hitler's stooge, Pavelic, as anyone can plainly read. Rakic said that we must look out for the interest of the organization and asked Kolander to drop out of the Lodge list all reference to Pavelic. Sec. Ramuscak also denounced this reference to Pavelic and accused Kolander of enmity to the Croatian cause. Kolander had printed a resolution of Lodge #7, of McKeesport, Pa. condemning Pavelic and Hitler by name.

Since the by-laws provide that the president supervises the editing and publishing of the official organ, Kolander had to drop the reference

to Pavelic from the Defence Bonds list and substitute a slogan for "Buy a share in America". On Feb. 10th, 1942, Rakic again reminded Kolander, that publishing articles against Pavelic was against the interests of the organization and not a proper thing to do.

These Hitler adherents are steadily [sic] conniving how to get rid of Mr. Kolander as they are in terror in case he should denounce them to the U.S. authorities. Kolander might even be physically in danger in this respect.

SK/Y

Source: NARA.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/oss/text/oss005.txt>

S.E.
Yugo.

May 9, 1942
Gary, Ind.

RE: Axis Propagandists within the
Croatian Cath. Union.

2422

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SK/Y

REPORT ON THE SLAUGHTER OF SERBS NEAR PROKUPJE

This report dated October 15, 1942 quotes an official from the "greater region" or county (velika zupa) of Prokupje on the state of Partizan and Chetnik activities in the area, and generally corroborates the report of a police official from Slunj regarding the state of insecurity in the region due to guerrilla attacks. The author here - an official of the NDH - also concurs that it was the Ustase massacres that led to the current troubles, and cites three examples. One is the Glina Church Massacre, when Serbs gathered inside a church, ostensibly for conversion to Catholicism, only to be shot, stabbed, and burned alive inside. Only one victim survived that beastial attack, the bare details of which are confirmed by this report. The last half is largely concerned with the infiltration of Communists into the region: Tito's Partizans had by now been driven out of Montenegro, Serbia and the Sandzak and were looking to set up a base in Bosnia. This document exists in several copies and was most likely circulated through the Interior Ministry and passed on to both Italian and German representatives.

The report for the greater region of Prokupje in Karlovac for the month of October of this year was submitted, and reads:

"In the area of the Vojnic and Topusko districts the peace was disturbed by the Partizans. The Partizans dominate the entire area of the Vojnic district except for Vukmanic, and they also dominate the entire area of the Topusko district except Topusko itself.

"Toward the end of July last year, peace and order were violated for the first time in Vojnic district when a hand grenade was thrown into a room in the

post office building in Tusilovac. On the same day three or four telephone poles were cut down near Brezova Glava. The perpetrators could not be found, so two days after that a punitive expedition, formed by larger unit of Ustase from Glina, went to the scene of the crime. According to the information available to the office of this greater region [velika zupa], the Ustase from Glina applied measures that were a little too drastic in response. About 400 women and men of Vojnic district were killed, and their property confiscated and destroyed. A battalion from Karlovac joined the Ustase unit from Glina as reinforcement. However, this battalion of the preparatory brigade from Karlovac retired after some 14 days. It seems that the ones from Glina didn't like the company of those from Karlovac, because those from the Karlovac battalion were of the opinion that the outlaws should be captured, and not the peaceful population and women.

"Because of reprisals like this, much of the Orthodox population fled to the forests, though they were still at that time mostly unarmed, and they would return to their homes only when there was no army in their villages.

"At that time the first attacks on smaller police or domobran patrols occurred, and attacks were mostly committed with hunting rifles and pistols, so the patrols were disarmed, and in that way the outlaws slowly armed themselves with army weapons, even with automatic rifles. The first larger disarmament occurred in October at the garrison in Tusilovac. That attack was led by Galjer with his wife Nada, and he had about 50 armed outlaws with him. The garrison in Tusilovac of 18 men with a machine gun was disarmed. Thus the garrisons in Vojnic district fell one-by-one, and the outlaws were supplied with weapons. In January 1942. there was a disarmament in Vojnic itself, which happened to 470 men, so on that occasion the Partizans got up to 470 rifles, about 40 automatic rifles, 8

machine guns and 4 mortar canons. This is how it all started in Vojnic district.

"During the summer, in the neighbouring district of Vrginmost there was another awkward ramble by those same Glina Ustase. A teacher from Vojisnica, Nikica Generalovic, who finished his studies at the teacher's college in Karlovac, who was married to a Catholic woman, whom he didn't ask even on their wedding day to convert to the Orthodox religion, who never engaged in politics and was generally known as a very good man, gathered in his and surrounding villages about 2000 Serbs and led them under a Croatian flag to Vrginmost with the intention to convert them to Catholicism.

"When they arrived in Vrginmost, those people were loaded onto trucks and taken to Glina. In Glina they were brought into the church by groups seemingly for conversion, but all of them were slaughtered inside the church. Obviously, because of that, the whole population of Vrginmost district fled to the forest on sight of any army, especially Ustase.

"In the neighbouring district of Slunj, on St. George's Day, Serbs killed one Croatian family. Of the family killed were their father, their mother, their grandmother, a son of 16 years and a daughter who was 4 years old, while only by chance was their 10 year old daughter and their 2 year old son saved. That was in Hrvatski Blagaj. As a reaction to that a punitive expedition was sent to Hrvatski Blagaj, which captured about 500 Serbs and shot them all. One of them saved himself from a pit in which they threw him with the others, thinking he was already dead. In the other two districts emotions started to boil over among the Serbs in the same way, and it didn't take long for someone to exploit that boiling and start an uprising.

"It seems that, after Galjer and his wife Nada came to Vojnic, Vrginmost and Slunj districts this anger

became more distinct. Up until then no Communist spirit was noted among the Serbs, that is among those outlaws, but after the arrival of Galjer and his group, it can be perceived that the outlaws do not act like Serb nationalists, but like Partizan-Communists. There is even evidence that they started purging their ranks of Serb nationalists or Chetniks in a most radical manner.

"Those were the beginnings, and our authorities could not predict the final form or the significance of what was happening then. For every attack by the outlaws, reprisals against their population were organized, so it can be said today that except in a few places all of Kordun is in the hands of the Partizans.

"In Jastrebarsko district the unrest also began last summer, sometime in August. The uprising was started exclusively by foreigners - that is, people who weren't born in Jastrebarsko district. Peasants in the area of Krasic municipality noticed foreign elements moving toward one village nearby. The police station in Krasic, reinforced by a preparatory brigade from Krasic sent a combined patrol to conduct reconnaissance. That patrol was ambushed and an Ustase named Hrzic was killed, and one policeman seriously wounded. That was the first attack on our armed forces. Immediately operations with reinforced troops began in that area and achieved unexpected success. Over 30 Communists were captured, all foreigners who had been hidden by local peasants in their houses. After that cleansing operation there was absolute peace and order in Zumberak, that is in the area of the Jastrebarsko district until sometime in the middle of July of this year. All during the summer the movement of individuals through Zumberak was noticed once again, and even one police patrol had a skirmish with two of them, after the two pulled out their revolvers when the policemen asked them for identification papers. The lay of the land in Zumberak, with its forests and hills is very

suitable for hiding of large groups of outlaws and Partizans, and besides that its position along Italian border, which is not protected at all, serves especially well for outlaw Chetnik actions, and even large groups from Slovenia can move without interruption. It seems that their main reason for coming here is due to the position of Zumberak, and this summer large groups and now smaller groups of Slovenian Partizans began arriving in the area, remaining here for several months (3 months lately). Partizans from Kordun and Banija wanted in every way to establish contact with the Partizans of Zumberak, that is with Slovenia itself, so they sent one larger group of Kordun Partizans to Zumberak. Thereafter peace and order in Jastrebarsko district was violated exclusively by foreign groups, who flowed into the hills of Zumberak.

"One part of PISAROVINA DISTRICT is positioned on the right side of Kupa and borders with Glina, Vrginmost and Vojnic districts. That part of the district, considering the circumstances, was under the influence of events in the bordering districts. Besides in that part of the district the majority of the population is Orthodox, who were battered harshly by operations against the outlaws around Christmas last winter. Some villages were razed, so those people were left without their houses and even without the families who had stayed behind at home.

"In this part of the district last year conversions to Catholicism were stopped by the Orthodox themselves. About 17,000 people applied voluntarily for conversion. However, at that time in Pasinja municipality there was a man who worked as commissar, who tried in every way to obstruct that conversion and finally ended it completely. This put an end to the peace that came with conversion.

"The part of the district on the left side of Kupa is mostly inhabited by Catholics, so it could be

saved from attacks inflicted by roaming Partizan squads, if Kupa was closed in such way that Partizans couldn't cross from the right to the left bank of Kupa.

"From the above, it can already be concluded even without a special reply to this request, that safety for individuals and property does not exist in the greater region. What happened in the Autumn of 1941 was just the beginning, and it has today become a sad fact.

"Only one part of Vukmanic municipality in the Vojnic district remains in our hands, defended by about 100 men. If we compare our position in Vukmanic with the position of Brezova Glava, which was defended by 500 men - Ustase, domobrans and policemen with very powerful weapons, even cannons and well fortified positions, then it can be concluded what kind of safety there is in Vukmanic. Vukmanic can fall at any moment now, and very soon it will no longer be possible to send any relief.

"In the Vrginmost district we are holding Topusko municipality, and the garrison in Topusko numbers 400 men. Topusko is surrounded by Partizans and communication with neighboring places is very insecure, as those places are monitored by Partizan patrols. Until few days ago the connection between the seat of this greater region and Topusko was kept through Petrinja and Glina. However in the last few days that connection was cut off or put in a condition of complete insecurity, which was proven by an attack on Glina itself. The connection between Topusko and Kladusa is also cut off, as Partizans are in control even there. It is only a matter of time and the survival of Topusko looks to be very short indeed, unless our garrisons are reinforced and a strong action of cleansing begins.

"The Jastrebarsko district is at the moment in the best position, because Partizans from the area of the Jastrebarsko district retreated to area of the

Pisarovina district and partially to the Vojnic district due to operations by the Italian Lombardia Division and our armed forces.

"The area of the Karlovac district is full of primarily Partizan squads which move across that area, during which they cause damage by burning state buildings, demolishing railroad tracks, et cetera. Lately, the municipalities of Skakavac and Barilovic are in great danger, as Partizans seem to intend to liquidate the garrisons in those municipalities. Several villages near Barilovic and Skakavac are completely held by Partizans.

"The same situation as in the Karlovac district exists in the part of Pisarovina district which lies on the left bank of Kupa, that is Partizan squads in that area are often passing through. The rest of the district on right bank of Kupa is completely insecure.

"As it can be seen from everything above, the safety of people and property in this region is very poor and in some areas there is none."

The above is delivered for your information. --

ZA DOM SPREMNI!

Under the authority of the Minister of the Interior,
For the Ministry within the Greater Region,

Josip Troyer

Source: Archive of the NDH, quoted in Zlocini: Na Jugoslovenskim Prostorima u Prvom i Drugom Svetskom Ratu, Zbornik Dokumentata Vol 1. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ndh/text/ndh003.txt>

LETTER TO MINISTER ANTHONY EDEN

After leaving Yugoslavia in the aftermath of the German invasion of the country, the Royal Yugoslav government settled in London and was, until late in the war, the recognized government-in-exile of the state. General Draza Mihajlovic, leader of the Chetniks, was elevated to the portfolio of Defense Minister, and the details in the following letter come from his wireless communications with the exiles.

Copy.
(C 11449/6789/G).
S.P. No.

ROYAL YUGOSLAV EMBASSY,
195, QUEEN'S GATE,
LONDON, S.W.V.

13th November, 1942.

Dear Mr. Eden,

With reference to my letter, S.P. No. 531, of the 24th October last, and to your reply No. C 10892/5789/G of the 12th November, I beg to bring to your notice the following further reports received from General Mihailovitch in this matter:

1. Apart from the 600,000 Serbs whom the Ustashis have already massacred, they have resumed their planned mass execution of Serbs, still left in Pavelitch's "Independent Croat State".
2. The Hungarians, in addition to the known massacres already committed, have enlisted in Backa all the Serbs in their forces, with the intention of sending them to the Russian front. These, however, are fleeing into fields and forests. The Hungarian authorities persecute their families and manhandle them in the most brutal way to compel

them to disclose where the male members of their families, capable of military service, are hiding.

3. From the concentration camp at Zemun, Srem, all those capable of manual labour have been transferred to the island of Ada Kale, in the Danube, to fell trees. They are dying in great numbers, as they receive only 50 grammes of food a day.

4. In the neighbourhood of Kraljevo, Serbia, there are at present 7,000 Germans, having at their disposal nine 50-ton tanks. Two thousand of them are members of the German minority from the Yugoslav Banat. They intentionally provoke incidents in order to obtain pretexts for the mass shooting of civilians.

5. In the district of Kopaonik, Serbia, two or three divisions of Germans, Croats in German uniforms, and Bulgarians undertook to "clear", on the 8th October, the districts of Kopaonik, Zeljina and Goca. They burned and pillaged all the villages and killed a great number of innocent inhabitants. They threw them alive into the fire, and ill-used girls of fifteen years of age. The number of dead in the village of Kriva Reka in Kopaonik amounts to 690 men, women and children. The village church was set on fire and 120 people were burned in it. Dogs and birds carry about parts of dead bodies, as the Germans have prohibited their burial. After these massacres, the Germans, the Croats and the Bulgarians withdrew to their garrisons.

I beg to renew my request that the source of the foregoing information may kindly be kept secret when use is made of it.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

(signed) M. Nintchitich.

t. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign
Affairs.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0015.txt>

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The Fate of Father Franjo Rihar

Letter from Minister of the Interior Andrija
Artukovic to Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac, on the
fate of Croatian priest Franjo Rihar and seven
Slovene catholic priests expelled by the Germans to
the NDH

Zagreb, 17 November 1942.

In connection with your esteemed request of 2nd
November 1942, notice is hereby given that Franjo
Rihar, by the decree of this office of 20th April
1942, no 26417/1942 was sentenced to forced
detention in the concentration camp at Jasenovac
for the period of three years... because as pastor
of Gornja Stubica he did not celebrate a solemn
high mass on the anniversary of the founding of the
Independent State of Croatia... nor did he consent
to sing the psalm Te Deum Laudamus, saying that it
was nowhere prescribed in ecclesiastical usage.

Quoted in Hubert Butler, The Sub-prefect Should
Have Held His Tongue, p 288, London 1990

Original Placement: <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa005.txt>

I visited the Cardinal Secretary of State to deliver the Poglavnik's letter for the Holy Father along with an artistically printed Latin translation of the Ustase Principles, according to the regulations for delivering items from sovereigns to the Holy Father. In this formality of the protocol, which I was warned about, it can be seen that the Vatican indeed considers the Poglavnik a sovereign. The Cardinal leafed through the book with great interest, expressing his amazement as to how we can print such pretty things.

The Holy Father was obviously pleased by this sign of attentiveness. The Holy Father was especially interested about the work of the Ustase Youth, about which he was told various things by my oldest daughter.

... Further on in the conversation the Holy Father told me that he regrets that everyone cannot recognize who is the primary, the singular and the true enemy of Europe and why, indeed, one truly common Crusade War against Bolshevism cannot be started. ...

Filing Information:

Title: Letter: Lobkowicz on His Meeting with the Pope

Source: Trial of Lisak, Stepinac, Salic, et al, Zagreb 1946, p. 332. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen, p. 893 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: February 9, 1943

Added: February 12, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0014.txt>

... Spellman received us very politely and said straight away: "There's not much you can tell me about your affairs that I don't know. I'm well informed on everything and know the Croatian Question well. A few years ago I traveled through your country and even then the difference between Belgrade and Zemun, not to mention Zagreb, told me enough. There are two worlds. They cannot co-exist."

We pointed out [that is Lobkowicz and his Jesuit secretary Wurster] that the present Croatian State is in the position of being the advanced guard of Catholicism and Western civilization towards the East and that the frontier on the Drina guarantees the maintenance of the Catholic position in that sector; and that any kind of re-establishment of Yugoslavia would mean not only the annihilation of the Croat people but also of Catholicism and Western culture in those regions. Instead of a western frontier on the Drina, we would have a Byzantine frontier on the Alps. Spellman agreed with these observations and added that President Roosevelt wants freedom for all peoples and that Croats certainly won't be excluded.

He added that he is personally doing as much as he can for us, but that we have many enemies and that one against many can't do much. He is very satisfied with Croats in his bishopric, both priests and believers. He pointed out again that he is very well informed about us, partly through the secretary of the archbishop of Zagreb, Dr. Lackovic, who also visited him. He was given the Gray Book and the remaining copy of the Ustase Principles in Latin. - He leafed through the books with interest and asked: "Does president Roosevelt have this?" We replied that he probably doesn't have it. He then said that we could have delivered this to Roosevelt's ambassador in Vatican, Tittman. He had forgotten that our country, the NDH, is at war with the USA, and that we cannot have contacts with Roosevelt. I explained this to him, and he understood, but from his attitude I have the impression that he will deliver the book and the Ustase Principles to president Roosevelt himself.

Filing Information:

Title: Letter: Lobkowicz on Meeting with Cardinal Spellman

Source: Diplomatic report by Count Erwin Lobkowicz, NDH
Ambassador to the Vatican. Quoted in Falconi, Carlo. The
Silence of Pius XII, pp. 371-372. Also Novak, Viktor. Magnum
Crimen (First Edition, Zagreb 1948) p 894. Translated by
Sinisa Djuric.

Date: March 6, 1943

Added: February 12, 2004

Original Placement:

[http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0006.tx](http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0006.txt)

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The Eastern Schism is penetrating the Catholic ranks and threatens to accomplish its dark goals. The victory of the Great Serbian idea would mean the destruction of Catholicism in the Northwestern Balkans, in the state of Croatia. The mentioned documents do not leave us in any doubt. Moreover, there is no question that such a fatal event would have significant consequences far beyond the borders of Croatia. The waves of Orthodoxy and offensive Byzantinism would strike at the borders of Italy, while until now they had been breaking against the Croatian Front Wall [Antemurale Christianitatis].

Moreover, because of the work of Croatian clerics, especially Franciscans, the foundations were laid for the renewal of Catholicism in Bulgaria by converting many Paulicians, and the remnants of believers in Skanderbeg's Albania have been saved, and in the event of the destruction of the sole Catholic nation in the eternally restless, Orthodox and Islamic Balkans, many other scattered groups would be affected.

Holy Father, today the eyes of the whole of humanity, bleeding from thousand wounds, are directed toward you as the one who by the elevated meaning of your name brought miserable humankind what they require - heavenly peace. By bringing peace to the world, Holy Father, think of the Croatian people who were always faithful to Christ and to you. The young Croatian state was created in more horrible and difficult circumstances than any other state in the last several centuries. By desperately fighting for its existence, Croatia is showing at every turn that it wishes to remain faithful to its Catholic traditions and to ensure a better and more clear perspective for the Catholic Church in this part of the world. On the other hand, with the loss or ominous curtailments - thousands of the best Croatian believers and priests would gladly and voluntarily sacrifice their lives to prevent this horrible possibility - not only about 240,000 converts from the Serbian Orthodox faith would be destroyed here, but also the entire Catholic population of these areas together with their churches and convents. In the natural order of things, unless God performs a great miracle, the progress of Catholicism is closely tied with the progress

of the Croatian state. The survival of Catholicism depends upon the survival of this state. The salvation of Catholicism is at the same time the salvation of Croatia. Holy Father, we deeply believe in God's mercy and in God's righteousness, and you are their chosen instrument. I recommend to your paternal care and to our prayers our Independent State of Croatia, believing that this is also the best means to recommend the holy faith in my homeland and in the Balkans.

In the Holy Heart of Jesus always your most loyal archbishop and metropolitan of Zagreb.

Filing Information:

Title: Stepinac's Address to Pius XII

Source: Trial of Lisak, Stepinac, Salic and co, Zagreb, 1946.

Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen, pp. 788-789. (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: May 18, 1943

Added: February 19, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/stepinac/text/as0006.txt>

Among other things he [Marcone] told me the following:
"Archbishop Stepinac in general reported positively about Croatia to the Vatican. It can be noted that in the Vatican they are more sympathetic to Croatia and better informed about it. Archbishop Stepinac was advised in the Vatican to try to be as cordial as possible in relations with Croatian state authorities." Cardinal and Secretary of State Maglione told Marcone that he fears for the fate of the Croatian state after this war. It is well known that Cardinal Maglione until recently had a very negative opinion of Croatia... Marcone told me further on that the Pope sent a special blessing to our Poglavnik on the occasion of his name-day. ...

Filing Information:

Title: Letter: Lobkowicz on Stepinac's Meeting with the Pope

Source: Trial of Lisak, Stepinac, Salic, et al, Zagreb 1946, pp 325-326. Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen, p. 895 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: June 10, 1943

Added: February 12, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0016.txt>

Towards the end of the conversation the Pope told me that the Croats are a good Catholic nation and that he is very pleased that he had an opportunity to speak with the Poglavnik, about whom he hears everywhere with great pleasure and comfort that he is a practicing Catholic. I confirmed this to him and added that the Poglavnik will soon come to Italy and that I am convinced that it will be his wish on that occasion to seek his blessing. The Pope replied to this: "I will very gladly give my blessing to him on that occasion..."

Filing Information:

Title: Letter: Lobkowicz on July 1943 Meeting with the Pope

Source: Trial of Lisak, Stepinac, Salic, et al, Zagreb 1946.

Quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen, p. 894 (First Edition, Zagreb). Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: July 13, 1943

Added: February 12, 2004

Original Placement:

[http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0015.tx](http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0015.txt)

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NDH AMBASSADOR ON STEPINAC'S SECOND VISIT TO ROME

In the Spring of 1943, many understood that the NDH had tied its future to a falling star. Archbishop Stepinac had all along disagreed with some policies of the Ustase - there is little doubt of it - but publicly defended the regime to the very people who could need to know the truth about the ghastly barbarities of the NDH. In this letter, the new NDH Ambassador to the Holy See recounts the Archbishop's second visit to Rome. Four months later, Stepinac provided Father Krunoslav Draganovic with the Vatican contacts necessary to build the Ratline to smuggle Ustase fugitives out of Europe.

...he had kept quiet about some things with which he is not at all in agreement in order to be able to show Croatia in the best possible light. He mentioned our laws on abortion, a point very well received in the Vatican. Basing his arguments on these laws, the Archbishop justified in part the measures used against the Jews, who in our country are the greatest defenders of crimes of this kind and the most frequent perpetrators of them.

Source: Letter from Count Erwin Lobowicz, NDH Ambassador to the Vatican, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zagreb, May 1943. Quoted in Falconi, Carlo. *The Silence of Pius XII*, p. 315-316.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/stepinac/text/as0004.txt>

ODL. 660

Priedlog za ODLIKOVANJE

Prezime i ime	LUBURIA K a d a.
Dan, mjesec i godina rođenja, te mjesto rođenja	1926. Ljubuški.
Vrst oružja (struka) i čin djelatni ili pričuvni, od kada se nalazi u U.O.S.	Ustaška dužnostnica legera Stara Gradiška 19. X. 1942.g.
Jedinica (točna naznaka udjelbe)	Ustašak dužnostnica legera Stara Gradiška.
Kratak opis djela (dan, doba, oznaka mjesta, dokazi, skice)	31. XII. 1943.g. 1. I. 1944.g. i 6. I 1944.g. iztakla se je hrabrošću i požrtvovnošću, okolo spašavanja i odpremanja ranjenika, te je zaslužna što je veliki broj ranjenika spašen i na vrieme ukazana pomoć.
	<i>E. Z. w</i>
Za što se predlaže (odlikovanje, promaknuće, pohvalu)	Za odlikovanje brončanom kolajnom s glavnikom za hrabrosti.
Svjedoci djela	Zapovjednik III. bojne stk. S. Bosak
Oženjen, neoženjen, zavičajno mjesto, zanimanje u građan- stvu, škole svršio u građan- stvu, vojsci	/. Ljubuški, 4. raz. pučke.
Datum i podpis predložitelja	10. siječnja 1944.g. Zapovjednik III. bojne stk. S. Bosak
Predlozi viših predpostavljenih	

Predlozi viših predpostavljeni



Ja
Poglavnik
Nezavisne Države Hrvatske

svojom odredbom broj Oc.-896-Zv.Kol-1944.

na priedlog

podjeljujem

ZELJEZNU KOLAJNU KRUNE KRALJA ZVONIMIRA NA RATNOJ VRPCI

BUŽDON Maji, ust.dužnostnici Stara Gradiška/T.br.8722-Zv.Kol/				
FLANJAK Ljubici,	"	"	"	/T.br.8723-Zv.Kol/
ČOP Ankici,	"	"	"	/T.br.8724-Zv.Kol/
JANJIC Meli,	"	"	"	/T.br.8725-Zv.Kol/
LUBURIC Nadi,	"	"	"	/T.br.8726-Zv.Kol/
OBRADOVIC Božici,	"	"	"	/T.br.8727-Zv.Kol/

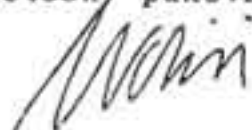
za požrtvovan rad oko spašavanja i odpremanja ranjenika
na dane 31.XII.1943., 1.I.1944. i 6.I.1944.godine.

La Dom spremni!

Dano u Zagrebu, dne 27.ožujka 1944.

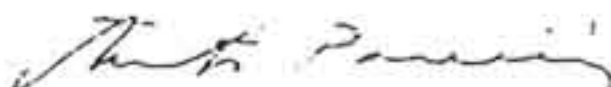
MINISTAR ORUŽANIH SNAGA

Ustaški pukovnik:



Poglavnik

Nezavisne Države Hrvatske



Wm

Thos. P. P. P.

Eyewitness Account of Fra Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic

an excerpt from an interview with Jasenovac survivor Dr. Nikola Nikolic, on concentration camp worker and priest Fra Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic

...[Fra Filipovic's] voice had an almost feminine quality which was in contrast with his physical stature and the coarseness of his face... I was hardly seated, and as I sank into my sad thoughts, I heard the orders "Fall in - Fall in!"

...Old Ilija, an Ustasha, appeared in the threshold of the hut, a revolver in one hand and in the other, a lash... Before us passed six men, their hands tied before their backs with chains. The Ustashi had their revolvers loaded and aimed. Fra Sotona walked over and approached our group.

"Where is our new doctor?" I knew he meant me.

"He is here," someone replied. He came a little nearer, looking at me with an insolent, ironic, bizarre manner.

"Come here, doctor," he said, "to the front row, so that you will be able to see our surgery being performed without anesthetic. All our patients are quite satisfied. No sighs, nor groans can be heard. Over there are the head and neck specialists, and we have need of no more than two instruments for our operations."

And Fra Sotona caressed his revolver with one hand and his knife with the other ... Looking at these victims who, in a few moments would be in another world, fear written on each face, no one could penetrate the depth of their moral abyss. They silently watched the gathering crowd of more

pitiful people, more condemned people like themselves.

Fra Filipovic approached a group of them. Two shots rang out, two victims collapsed, who began to twitch with pain, blood surging from their heads intermingling with the brain of one or the eyes of the other.

'Finish off the rest!' cried Filipovic to the executioner as he put his revolver away.

Testimony of Dr. Nikola Nikolic, quoted in Novak, Viktor. Magnum Crimen.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/filipovic/text/mfm0001.txt>

The Efficiency of Mass-Slaughter

Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic on his creation: Jasenovac

It is estimated that a total of about 200,000 people met their death there during 1941-1942. Crowds of Jewish children were burned alive in the old brick ovens, transformed into crematoria.

Vjekoslav Luburic, commander-in-chef of all the Croatian camps, announced the great "efficiency" of this slaughterhouse at a ceremony on October 9th, 1942... During the banquet which followed, he reported with pride: "We have slaughtered here at Jasenovac more people than the Ottoman Empire was able to do during its occupation of Europe."

Quoted in Paris, Edmond. Genocide in Satellite Croatia, 1941-45, p 132. (Chicago, 1961)

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0005.txt>

GERMAN INSPECTION OF AN USTASE CONCENTRATION CAMP

From a report filed by German Plenipotentiary
General in Serbia and Croatia, General Edmund
Glaise von Horstenau

We now went into the concentration camp in a converted factory. Frightful conditions. Few men, many women, and children, without sufficient clothing, sleeping on stone at night, pining away, wailing and crying. A camp commandant - in spite of the later, favorable judgment of the Poglavnik - a rogue; I ignored him but instead told my Ustase guide: "This is enough to make you puke." And then worst of all: a room along whose walls, lying on straw which had just been laid down because of my inspection, something like fifty naked children, half of them dead, the other half dying. One should not forget that the inventors of the KZ were the British in the Boer War. However, such places have reached their peak of abomination here in Croatia, under a Poglavnik installed by us. The most wicked of all must be Jasenovac, where no ordinary mortal is allowed to peer in.

Quoted from Glaise von Horstenau, General Edmund. "En General in Zweilicht: Die Erinnerungen von Edmund Glaise von Horstenau" (Peter Broucek, editor); vol 3, p 167

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0004.txt>

GERMAN REPORT ON AN USTASE ATROCITY

From a report by the German Plenipotentiary General in Serbia and Croatia, General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau.

We saw no sign of [guerrillas] but there were plenty of ownerless horses and cattle, not to mention innumerable geese. At Crkveni Bok, an unhappy place where, under the leadership of an Ustase lieutenant-colonel, some 500 country folk from fifteen to twenty years had met their end, all murdered, the women raped and then tortured, the children killed. I saw in the River Sava a woman's corpse with the eyes gouged out and a stick shoved into the sexual parts. This woman was at most twenty years old when she fell into the hands of these monsters. Anywhere in a corner, the pigs are gorging themselves on an unburied human being. All the houses were looted. The "lucky" inhabitants were consigned to one of the fearsome boxcar trains; many of these involuntary "passengers" cut their veins on the journey.

General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau, *En General in Zweilicht: Die Erinnerungen von Edmund Glaise von Horstenau* (Peter Broucek, editor); vol 3, p 168

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0010.txt>

A CRUSADE OF DESTRUCTION

From the Special Assignment in the Southeast, the memoirs of German Minister Plenipotentiary to Southeast Europe Dr. Hermann Neubacher

A Croatian crusade of destruction directed against the Orthodox Serbs erupted, a crusade that belongs among the most brutal mass murder undertakings in the entire history of the world....

Alongside this explosive national situation, religious conflict drew the Catholics, Orthodox Serbs and Muslims against one another. Once, when I spoke to a Cetnik leader in Montenegro about ending attacks on the Muslims - which he did promise me, and he kept his promise - I received an answer that could have come from the anecdotes of Marco Miljanov back in the time of the Turkish occupation: "He who takes Islam, is no longer a Serb!"

The slaughter of the Orthodox Serbs undertaken the Ustasha leaders and led by the Poglavnik (head of state) of Croatia, Ante Pavelic, reminds one of the religious wars of bloodiest memory. "A third must become Catholic, a third must leave the country, and a third must die!" This last point of their program was accomplished. When prominent Ustasha leaders claimed that they slaughtered a million Serbs (including babies, children, women and the elderly), that is, in my opinion, a boastful exaggeration. On the basis of the reports submitted to me, I believe that the number of defenseless victims slaughtered to be three quarters of a million.

When I once again brought up the truth about the terrible atrocities around me in Croatia, Adolf Hitler said to me:

"I have also told the Poglavnik that one does not
exterminate such a minority: it is simply too
large!"

Quoted from Neubacher, Dr. Hermann. Special
Assignment in the Southeast, p 18-30.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0006.txt>

MEASURES AGAINST THE JEWS OF CROATIA

From the trial of Adolf Eichmann, this is the testimony of Alexander Arnon, a Jewish survivor of the Holocaust. This excerpt deals with the early measures taken against the Jewish population, which began April 11, 1941 - one day after German troops arrived in Zagreb, and Slavko Kvaternik declared the Independent State of Croatia in the name of Ante Pavelic.

State Attorney Bar-Or: I should like to call Mr. Alexander Arnon.

[The witness is sworn].

Presiding Judge: What is your full name?

Witness: Alexander Arnon. Family name Arnon.

Presiding Judge: Do you understand Hebrew?

Witness Arnon: I request permission to answer the questions in Serbo-Croatian or German.

Presiding Judge: Where do you live, Mr. Arnon?

Witness Arnon: In Tel Aviv.

State Attorney Bar-Or: How old are you, Mr. Arnon?

Witness Arnon: Sixty-three.

Q. Where did you live until the outbreak of war with Yugoslavia on 10 April 1941?

A. In Zagreb.

Q. What did you do in Zagreb?

A. I had several occupations. At first I was secretary of the Jewish Community in Zagreb. Then I was director of HICEM, the emigration organization. Later I was territorial director of JOINT, secretary general of the territorial committee for aid to refugees.

Q. When you speak of "territorial committee" - do you mean of the whole of Yugoslavia?

A. Yes.

Q. I should like you to tell the Court, as briefly as possible, about this first year, after April 1941, about what you saw, what you did, what you learned at first-hand about persecutions of the Jews.

A. In order to be able to provide a clear picture of the events in Yugoslavia, I should like to be allowed to give an introduction about the structure of the Yugoslav Jewish community.

Before the Second World War, 75,000 Jews lived in Yugoslavia, that is one half of one percent of the total population of Yugoslavia. The 75,000 Jews were organized in 117 autonomous Jewish religious communities, which were united in the Federation of Jewish Communities in Belgrade, and the orthodox communities in the Federation of the Orthodox Jewish Communities.

The Jews of Yugoslavia played an important role in the economic, social and cultural life of Yugoslavia - less so in the political sphere, except in Serbia, where two Jews were members of Parliament representing the Yugoslav National Party before the First World War. The Jews of Yugoslavia had a healthy Zionist life - 102 Jewish communities had a Zionist majority. The Zionists had kindergartens and elementary schools, as well as a theological seminary in Sarajevo. There was latent anti-Semitism actually only in the Croatian part of

Yugoslavia.

Presiding Judge: I think we shall shorten the general survey. We heard a comprehensive review at the beginning of the trial - the witness may not know this - not just about Yugoslavia, and we cannot go into these details. Surely this is not the purpose of the evidence.

State Attorney Bar-Or: I have now reached the point where I shall start my questions.

Presiding Judge: My remark was actually not meant for you, but for the witness, because I see that he also digresses from what you want to ask him.

State Attorney Bar-Or: I promise, Your Honour, that I shall interrupt him immediately if I shall see that he digresses. I actually wanted to speak about Croatia now, and I shall direct the witness to it. He has just said - and here I should really like to have him speak about these events - that latent anti-Semitism existed actually only in Croatia. My question is: Were you in Croatia on 10 April 1941?

Witness Arnon: Yes.

Q. What happened during the first days in Zagreb? Please tell the Court about the establishment of the independent state of Croatia, to the extent that the matter is connected with the persecution of the Jews there.

A. On 10 April 1941, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the German troops entered Zagreb. At 5 o'clock Marshall Kvaternik proclaimed the Independent State of Croatia. On 11 April, at 11 o'clock in the morning, the first Gestapo man arrived at the Jewish Community offices where I worked. It was the eve of Passover, and we were distributing mazot and charity.

Q. And he confiscated all the Community's money?

A. He proclaimed that the whole building, two floors, was confiscated, and that all those present were under arrest. He declared the same thing with regard to the Hevra Kadisha (burial society) next door, which was in a separate building, together with the refugee committee. An interrogation began which lasted for hours.

Q. What was the subject of the interrogation?

A. I knew at once that all the archives of the Community had been examined during the previous night, as he asked questions which related directly to the files on which I had worked.

Q. How about the money which was in the Community offices at that time?

A. There were about 700,000 Dinars in the Community offices. He confiscated these at once and sealed the cashbox with a red stamp, and on it the words Gestapo - Geheime Staatspolizei could be seen.

Q. Immediately after this strong measures began to be taken against the Jews in Croatia?

A. Not in actual fact. The papers began to incite against the Jews the very same evening. On shops one could see notices "Jews - Entrance Forbidden!" and similar things.

Q. Who were the active elements in the population in connection with anti-Jewish acts in Croatia?

A. They were the Ustashi, the so-called Croatian Fascists, who had remained in the country, had not emigrated, and had prepared the revolution inside the country.

Q. Who helped them?

A. Very many ethnic Germans.

Q. Residents of Croatia?

A. Yes.

Presiding Judge: What is the meaning of "had not emigrated" - I did not understand this expression.

Witness Arnon: The Croatian Ustashi, the members of the so-called Frank party. Frank was the founder of the party for an independent Croatia. They split into two groups. One group emigrated to Italy before the thirties, among them the so-called Poglavnik Pavelic with his band of 12,000 persons. And the others, who remained in the country and prepared the revolution.

State Attorney Bar-Or: Had these Ustashi also been in contact with Berlin before the War?

Witness Arnon: It seems to have been so, and we had proof for it.

Q. Was anti-Jewish legislation promulgated in Zagreb in April 1941, and then in June?

A. Before the promulgation of the first laws concerning Croatian citizenship, that is a week or two after the entry of the German troops, all Jewish lawyers in Zagreb had been arrested and taken to a camp in Kerestinetz near Zagreb. On 30 April the first law about Croatian citizenship was published. Shortly afterwards there appeared the laws about the protection of the Aryan race and of Croatian honor.

Q. Can you see this document, No. 1438?

A. Yes, of course.

Q. What is it?

A. These are the regulations about the so-called

solution of the Jewish Question.

Q. What is their main contents?

A. This is the regulation which, first of all, blocked all bank accounts, confiscated all safes, and sequestered all storage depots, while prohibiting the handing over of anything to the Jews.

Q. What is the date of this legislation?

A. 26 June 1941.

Presiding Judge: This will be T/889.

State Attorney Bar-Or: Now I show you Prosecution document No. 1623 of 21 May 1941. What is it about?

Witness Arnon: Mainly about the establishment, or administration, of public order and security.

Q. Was this the administration which operated in the Ministry of the Interior?

A. Yes, within the Ministry of the Interior.

Q. Did this administration operate within the Ministry of the Interior?

A. Yes.

Q. This regulation is signed by the Minister of the Interior?

A. No, by the Minister of Justice.

Presiding Judge: I see the signature of Kvaternik here.

Witness Arnon: It is signed Dr. Mirko Puk.

Presiding Judge: Here it is signed Kvaternik.

Perhaps we are not talking about the same thing.
Where do you see the signature of the Minister of Justice?

The witness points to the signature.

Presiding Judge: But this has apparently not been translated; it has also not been translated into German.

State Attorney Bar-Or: The original, which will be submitted to the Court at once, also contains several additional provisions. I request that the witness be shown the regulation signed by Eugen Kvaternik on 13 May 1941, which carries the signature of approval of the Minister of the Interior.

Presiding Judge: Yes, this is what was translated into German. The approval is dated 14 May 1941.

State Attorney Bar-Or: It is signed by the Head of the Authority for Public Order and Security and approved by the signature of the Minister of the Interior, Artukovic.

Presiding Judge: Kvaternik was the Head of the Office for Order and Security?

Witness Arnon: Yes.

State Attorney Bar-Or: Was this the office responsible until the end for carrying out the operations against the Jews?

A. Yes, certainly.

Presiding Judge: This document will be marked T/890.

State Attorney Bar-Or: Mr. Arnon, on 22 May 1941, Regulations appear which mention the Nuremberg Laws, about the wearing of the "Jewish Star," the

prohibition of contact with Aryan personnel, etc.,
is this correct?

Witness Arnon: Modelled on the Nuremberg Laws, yes.

May I be permitted a digression. At the beginning of May a compulsory payment of 100 million gold dinars was imposed on the Jews. Simultaneously the first arrests were made, allegedly for the purpose of guaranteeing this compulsory payment.

Presiding Judge: What was the value of the dinar at that time?

Witness Arnon: Officially sixty dinars were equal to one dollar. Later on the contribution was raised by another fifty million gold dinars. The regulation about the wearing of the Jewish Star appeared on 11 May.

State Attorney Bar-Or: You can see here a yellow patch, and on it a Star of David. What is under the Star of David?

Witness Arnon: "Z" - Zidov - Jew. All Jews had to wear this sign, including second and third generation baptized Jews; it had to be worn on the left breast and on the right shoulder.

Presiding Judge: Do you wish to submit this, or would you rather keep it?

State Attorney Bar-Or: Perhaps the Court would be satisfied with looking at it.

Presiding Judge: You could perhaps photograph it, if you wish. I understand that he wants to keep it.

State Attorney Bar-Or: We shall photograph it and submit the picture.

Witness Arnon: I may have another one at home. I am quite ready to hand it in. In actual fact it must

be said that all Jews, even babies in prams, had to wear this sign. We had several cases in Zagreb where officers of the German army were indignant and tore the sign off the children.

Source: The Trial of Adolf Eichmann, Session 46.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0011.txt>

AS THE SURVIVING JEWS REMEMBER ARTUKOVIC

This transcript and translation of an article from the Yugoslav press was originally circulated by the American Jewish Congress in the United States; the original has not yet been located. No author is listed on the transcript. The date and the first paragraph indicates that it was probably in response to the rather pro-Artukovic articles which were appearing in the American press at the time of his extradition hearing, particularly in papers owned by the Hearst syndicate.

AS THE SURVIVING JEWS REMEMBER ARTUKOVIC

Some 80% of the Jews in Croatia were Liquidated
During His Rule

Yugopress, March 9, 1958

"The Jewish question has been solved through resolute and sound moves," Andrija Artukovic, the then Ministers of Internal Affairs and Security Chief of the "Independent State of Croatia," recorded in a speech in February, 1942. Sixteen years later, at the moment when, after a seven-year dispute over formal questions, the substance of the Yugoslav demand for the extradition of this war criminal is again coming up for consideration before the District Court in Los Angeles, a group of aged people still recall with horror the methods used to reach that "solution". The group is that of some one-hundred individuals who are spending their declining days in the Home for Old People of the Federation of Jewish Communes in Yugoslavia in Zagreb; there is not a single one among them but that he has not sampled the Ustashi and Nazi concentration camps and prisons.

The majority of the inmates of this Home for Old People have survived by sheer accident, frequently representing the sole survivors of large families. Their memories of the hair-raising sufferings and tortures in the concentration camps of Pavelic's and Artukovic's Croatia are comparable with the darkest pages from the recollections of those who have survived the nightmares of the Nazi concentration camps at Mathausen and Auschwitz.

Living in this Home today is 75 year-old Fanika Svabenic, a woman whom Artukovic's way of "solving" of the Jewish question had cost the lives of over a hundred members of her family and closer relatives in Zagreb, Koprivnica, Bjelovar and Podravska Slatina. The victims include such next of kin as all her four daughters, four sons-in-laws and four grandsons. Three of her sons-in-law were killed in the concentration camp at Jasenovac and her daughters with their children at the Auschwitz camp in Germany.

Then there is the aged Juhiel Poljokan and his wife Rahela; they have lost over sixty members of their next of kin and closer relatives. Rahela Poljokan had three brothers and five sisters. Now she has none because Artukovic's men have liquidated them all. From the whole family only a child has survived.

The President of the Home's Curatorium, Rafael Montiljo, himself has been a victim of dreadful persecution. He lost his whole family, four married brothers with their children, and his sister. He hails from Bosnia, which province also formed part of Pavelic's quisling state after the partition of Yugoslavia during the last war.

"In our Home," Montiljo said, "the majority of the old men and women are from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In my native province, Bosnia, the majority of the Jews were liquidated through Artukovic's cruel measures. Only a few have

survived - those who had managed to flee or who had joined the anti-fascist fighters. In 1941 there were 11,000 Jews living in Sarajevo; only 800 have survived the war. Of the 14,000 Jews in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina a mere 2,000-odd have survived."

A member of the Home's Curatorium, Hlanka Doner, also was imprisoned, together with her husband, a noted lawyer, she said:

"Just now we have about a hundred old men and women in the Home. Over-all they lost more than 1,500 of their dearest ones, whether next of kin or very close relatives. Last year Hermina Rosenberg died and she had lost eight sons in the massacres organized by Artukovic. And when we were burying another old woman, one Kardos recently, inscribed on her tombstone were the names of over twenty victims from that single family."

The Vice President of the Jewish Commune in Zagreb, Dr. Milan Polak recalls the murder of 170 Jewish youths aged from 16 to 19 years who had been brought to the "Danica" concentration camp at Koprivnica.

"In May, 1941 I myself was interned in that camp when those 170 young men were brought from Zagreb," Dr. Polak related. "Artukovic's Ustashi had managed to round them up by a ruse, having told them that they were wanted for road building work. They ordered them to put on the best clothes they had, then they affixed yellow badges on their chests and back which, by special order of Artukovic, all Jews had to wear. Afterwards these youths were isolated, completely despoiled, tortured with hunger, ultimately being taken to Jadovno, in Lika, and killed, every last one of them. For this, too, Artukovic bears responsibility because, as in the case of so many other crimes, these youngsters as well were liquidated on his orders and instructions."

The President of the Jewish Commune in Zagreb, Dr. Lav Singer, stated: "Nearly 80 percent of the Jews in Croatia were killed during Artukovic's era in power, from April, 1941 to October, 1942.

Artukovic, who had participated in the enactment of laws and who issued all orders and instructions for the commission of these crimes not only against the Jews and Serbs, but his own Croat co-nationals, bears the responsibility for all these horrors. In 1941 there were 75,000 Jews in Yugoslavia. Of this number 60,000 perished during the Nazi occupation. A good part of the Jews were resident in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Artukovic was exercising power as Minister of Internal Affairs of Pavelic's quisling government. Therefore, we, the Jews of Croatia, also endorse the demand that this criminal be extradited and brought to trial, this being dictated by justice and the conscience of mankind," Dr. Singer concluded.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0012.txt>

YUGOPRESS, March 9, 58.

AS THE SURVIVING JEWS REMEMBER ARTUKOVIC

Some 80% of the Jews in Croatia Were Liquidated During His Rule:

"The Jewish question has been solved through resolute and sound moves," Andrija Artukovic, the then Minister of Internal Affairs and Security Chief of the "Independent State of Croatia," recorded in a speech in February, 1942. Sixteen years later, at the moment when, after a seven-year dispute over formal questions, the substance of the Yugoslav demand for the extradition of this war criminal is again coming up for consideration before the District Court in Los Angeles, a group of aged people still recall with horror the methods used to reach that "solution". The group is that of some one-hundred individuals who are spending their declining days in the Home for Old People of the Federation of Jewish Communes in Yugoslavia in Zagreb; there is not a single one among them but that he has not sampled the Ustashi and Nazi concentration camps and prisons.

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"In our Home," Montiljo said, "the majority of the old men and women are from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In my native province, Bosnia, the majority of the Jews were liquidated through Artukovic's cruel measures. Only a few have survived - those who had managed to flee or who had joined the anti-fascist fighters. In 1941 there were 11,000 Jews living in Sarajevo; only 800 have survived the war. Of the 14,000 Jews in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina a mere 2,000-odd have survived."

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THE USTASE AND "HONORARY ARYANS"

Author Hannah Arendt on the Decimation of Croatia's Jewish Community

The great body of middle class Jews, so characteristic of Western and Central Europe, did not exist in the East; in its stead we find a thin layer of upper-middle-class families who actually belonged to the ruling classes and the degree of whose assimilation - through money, through baptism, through inter-marriage - to Gentile society was infinitely greater than that of most Jews in the West.

Among the first countries in which the executors of the Final Solution were confronted with these conditions was the puppet state of Croatia, in Yugoslavia, whose capital was Zagreb. The Croat government, headed by Dr. Ante Pavelic, very obligingly introduced anti-Jewish legislation three weeks after its establishment, and when asked what was to be done with the few dozen Croat Jews in Germany, it sent word that they 'would appreciate deportation to the East.' The Reich Minister of the Interior demanded that the country be judenrein by February, 1942, and Eichmann sent Hauptsturmfuhrer Franz Abromeit to work with the German police attache in Zagreb. The deportation were carried out by the Croats themselves, notably by members of the strong fascist movement, the Ustashe, and the Croats paid the Nazis thirty marks for each Jew deported. In exchange, they received all the property of the deportees. This was in accordance with the Germans' official 'territorial principle,' applicable to all European countries, whereby the state inherited the property of each murdered Jew who had resided within its boundaries, regardless of his nationality.

...The original deadline of February, 1942, could

not be met, because Jews were able to escape from Croatia to Italian-occupied territory, but after the Badoglio coup Hermann Krumey, another of Eichmann's men, arrived in Zagreb, and by the fall of 1943 thirty thousand Jews had been deported to the killing centers.

Only then did the Germans realize that the country was still not judenrein. In the initial anti-Jewish legislation, they had noted a curious paragraph that transformed into 'honorary Aryans' all Jews who made contributions to 'the Croat cause.' The number of these Jews had of course greatly increased during the intervening years. The very rich, in other words, who parted voluntarily with their property were exempted. Even more interesting was the fact that the S.S. Intelligence service had discovered that nearly all members of the ruling clique in Croatia, from the head of government to the leader of the Ustashe, were married to Jewish women. The fifteen hundred survivors among the Jews in this area - five per cent, according to a Yugoslav government report - were clearly all members of this highly assimilated, and extraordinarily rich, Jewish group. And since the percentage of assimilated Jews among the masses in the East has often been estimated at about five per cent, it is tempting to conclude that assimilation in the East, when it was at all possible, offered a much better chance for survival than it did in the rest of Europe.

Quoted from Arendt, Hannah. Eichmann in Jerusalem.

from The Trial of Adolph Eichman

Q. Do you know a place called Sabac? What does it remind you of?

A. Austrian, German and Czech refugees, who were on their way to Israel via the Danube at the beginning of 1941, and who were stopped at the Yugoslav-Romanian border when war broke out between Germany and Yugoslavia, were taken to Sabac. In Sabac 900 of these refugees were shot.

Q. Mr. Arnon, do you remember an extradition request from the Zagreb authorities while you were in Ljubljana?

A. I was in hospital in Ljubljana after an operation when two Italian officials, one in uniform and one in civilian clothes, came and wanted to examine my status after an extradition request had been received from Zagreb. They asked me to report to the police station after leaving the hospital. When I appeared before the prefect, he told me that he had let my file disappear since, formally, the law had not been adhered to: The extradition request from Croatia was sent directly to the District Government in Ljubljana, without passing through the official channel via the Foreign Ministry.

Q. You were not extradited?

A. No.

Q. You told the Court how many Jews there were in Yugoslavia before the outbreak of the War in 1941. How many were left after the War?

A. As I said, there were 75,000 Jews in Yugoslavia, of whom 60,000 were killed. Thanks to the generous gesture of Marshall [sic] Tito, 8,000 Jews were

able to come to Israel from Yugoslavia with all their movable property. 2,000 may now be in various parts of North and South America, Canada and Australia. 5,000-6,000 live in Yugoslavia today.

Q. I should like to remind you of an article. Tell the Court, please, whether you remember it. It is Prosecution document 1624. It is an article which was published by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Artukovic, in the Croatian "People's Journal," No. 26, of 26 February 1942. It deals with the solution of the Jewish Question. Do you remember it?

A. Yes. I heard the speech by Andre Artukovic on the radio, and besides, I read it in the papers.

State Attorney Bar-Or: I should like to submit the text.

Presiding Judge: This will be Exhibit T/891.

State Attorney Bar-Or: I have completed my questioning.

Presiding Judge: Dr. Servatius, do you have any questions to the witness?

Dr. Servatius: Here, also, I have no questions.

Judge Raveh: You told us that you had to report many times to the Gestapo office in Zagreb. Was this the only Gestapo office in Croatia, or were there other offices in Croatia?

Witness Arnon: In Zagreb there was the central office of the Gestapo in the very well-known Nasicka building. In other parts of Yugoslavia we know only about Gestapo branch offices in Osijek and Sarajevo.

Q. Were there representatives of the Gestapo in the camps?

A. No.

Q. Did you remain in Ljubljana until the end of the War?

A. No. In August 1942 I was sent to the so-called Libero Confino, in Alba near Cuneo.

Q. Was this under Italian authority?

A. It was in Italy.

Q. And you remained there until the end of the War?

A. No. After the surrender of Italy I fled to a small village called Robbi near Alba and went into hiding with a peasant. On 20 September 1943 I escaped to Switzerland with my family.

Judge Halevi: Mr. Arnon, you mentioned Artukovic several times as a persecutor of the Jews. How did he escape from liberated Yugoslavia?

Witness Arnon: He fled like all other ministers of the Pavelic government, he reached Italy, obtained a passport under an assumed name and fled to South America.

Presiding Judge: Where are you [sic: is he] living now?

Witness Arnon: In New York or in California.

Judge Halevi: Did he carry out the measures against the Jews at the order of the Germans?

Witness Arnon: I cannot say definitely that it was at the order of Germans, because I have no proof. But this was generally known.

Q. You mentioned your activities on behalf of the Joint several times. You visited the Representative of the Joint in Budapest three times. What was his

name?

A. Mr. Blum, who lives now in Israel.

Q. You said that both he and Dr. Joseph Schwartz in Portugal gave you, or sent you, money?

A. Yes.

Q. And at the request of the Joint you were released from detention?

A. Probably.

Q. How could the Joint make that a condition? You say they made it a condition, that they would not give money unless you were released. Did the Gestapo have an interest in these funds which were to be turned over to the Jews in Croatia?

A. Yes, it did, because it was a matter of dollars.

Q. One more question: I am not sure that I heard correctly when you said that in one camp hundreds of thousands of Serbs were exterminated?

A. Hundreds of thousands.

Q. In what year was that?

A. Beginning in 1941, and until the end.

Q. And who killed them?

A. The Ustashi.

Presiding Judge: Thank you, Mr. Arnon. You have completed your evidence.

Quoted from The Trial of Adolf Eichmann, Session 46

Excerpt from The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Judgment

....Anti-Jewish laws were published [in Croatia] already in 1941 (T/889), and on 25 February 1942, Artukovic, the Croatian Minister of the Interior, delivered a speech in parliament, calling for the purging of the state of its Jews (T/891).

Evacuations began in the year 1943. On behalf of the Accused's Section (T/907 and p. 1142 of his Statement T/37), Abromeit dealt with these matters in co-operation with Helm, the Police Attache at the German Embassy in Zagreb. The concentration of Jews in preparation for the expulsion was carried out by the Croatians (Ustachis) themselves. The Croatian Government consented to pay to the Reich thirty Reichsmark for each evacuated Jew (T/903). On 19 January 1943, an agreement was drawn up between Helm and Abromeit, on the one hand, and the Croatian Government on the other (T/907). Helm and Abromeit divided the work between them, leaving Helm to supervise activities within the state, while Abromeit was responsible for the evacuation of Jews across the borders of Croatia.

On 4 March 1943 Helm cables the Foreign Ministry that the evacuation of 2,000 men is imminent and requests that the Accused be informed (T/908). On 10 April 1943, the Accused's Section enquires (signed by Guenther) when the evacuation will begin (T/910). The evacuation is carried out. On 15 July 1943, the RSHA enquires from the Police Attache about 800 Jews who, according to rumours, are still in concentration camps, and demands action for their evacuation to the East (T/916). A further letter sent by the Accused's Section during the same period deals with 400 Jews in Croatia for whom the Jewish Agency made efforts to obtain immigration permits to Palestine. Immigration permits for 75 children from amongst these 400 Jews were already confirmed. The Accused's Section issues an order to prevent the immigration to

Palestine of the 400 Jews, by their early evacuation to the East.

A part of Croatia was under Italian occupation. The Italians rounded up and arrested the Jews in the area, but did not deport them from the country (T/905-906). After the Badoglio coup, the RSHA took action in this area as well, and Abromeit was ordered to see to the evacuation of the Jews who still remained there (T/919, dated 16.9.43). For this purpose, a special Operations Unit of the RSHA, commanded by Krumei, was sent there in October (T/920, dated 15.10.43).

According to an official Yugoslav report (T/892, p. 9), only 1,500 out of 30,000 Croatian Jews remained alive...

Quoted in The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Judgment

Original Placement: <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0004.txt>

UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USTASHI MONSTER

Review of History of the Yugoslav Jews, by Yosef Algazi. From Haaretz, November 11, 1993.

In relation to the role that the Catholic Church played during the existence of the horror regime of the "Independent Croat State", [Dr. Zvi] Rotem comes to the conclusion that it didn't withstand the test of times, neither in relation to minorities (Jews, Serbs and Gypsies) nor toward the clergy itself, when it became known to them that the priests themselves are actually participating in the bloody extermination work. Also even the Jews who were converted remained defenseless. Rotem explains that the senior and favoured position that the clergy enjoyed during the "Independent Croat State" was exploited by the Church to fight against the Orthodox Church "while shedding a lot of blood". This process also brought to the regeneration of the fanatic religious anti-Semitism and its war against Serbs and Jews became a common slogan openly pronounced.

Rotem mentions the good relations which existed between the Vatican and the "Croat Independent State", connections which were "a sweet and stabilizing factor concerning the Ustashi regime... this regime really enjoyed the visible and covert support of the Vatican." These and more: There were no steps taken not even in the inner jurisdictional Church, not during the war and not after the war, against the clergy people who committed cruel crimes... The supreme moral institute of the Catholic Church expressed itself less than all the others - and did even less than that - in the question of punishing the war criminals.

Yakir Eventov describes briefly the Jewish way of life in Bosnia at the beginning of the 20th

century, and Yaakov Maestro reviews the history of the Jews in Sarajevo between the two world wars. The Jews in Sarajevo were divided into two communities Spharadim and Ashkenazim. The detailed review of the Jewish institutes in Sarajevo and their extensive activities in many fields indicate clearly that in this community existed strong solidarity and much concern for the weak and poor, but from this magnificent community, that was destroyed during World War Two with one sweep by the Nazis and Ustashis, were left at the end of August 1942 about one hundred Jews only. "The situation was like that until May 1945, when the city was liberated," concludes Maestro.

Source: "Under the Government of the Ustashi Monster: History of the Yugoslav Jews Reviewed," by Yosef Algazi. Haaretz, November 11, 1993.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0007.txt>

JASENOVAC: A SYSTEM OF TERROR

an excerpt from "Historian Ivo Goldstein testifies in Sakic War Crimes Trial," Hina News Agency, June 1, 1999.

The trial of Dinko Sakic, commander of the World War Two Ustashi concentration camp of Jasenovac, continued before the Zagreb County Court on Tuesday with the testimony of Ivo Goldstein, 41, a history professor at the Zagreb Faculty of Philosophy.

Goldstein said that while studying the history of Croatian Jews, mainly those from Zagreb, he also studied the documentation about the Jasenovac camp where, according to his estimates, about 18,000 Jews were killed...

"The authorities of the NDH carefully planned and organized the system of terror", Goldstein said, adding this was visible from numerous provisions adopted by those authorities.

The system of terror began immediately after the Ustashi arrived in Zagreb, on April 17, 1941.

"The fundamental act for the terror campaign" Goldstein said, was a law on the defense of the people and the state, which stated that all who sullied the honor of the Croatian people and of the NDH would face the death penalty.

Two months after the law was adopted, numerous racial provisions against Jews and Serbs were also adopted. "The provision on sending undesirable ones into camps was adopted in late November 1941 and it officially legalized the camps system", Goldstein said.

He said Croatia's 26 camps were one of the basic links in the Ustashi terror chain. The main purpose of the camps was to eliminate as many people as

possible, to which one of statements by then
Interior Minister Andrija Artukovic bears witness.

In late April 1941, Artukovic told the German press
the NDH would solve the "Jewish issue" in
the same way Germany was doing it, adding the NDH
would strictly abide by the racial laws which had
been adopted on the German model.

"Although a Jewish background is determined by
one's mother, the NDH faithfully interpreted a
German law according to which every person whose
grandfather or grandmother were Jews was a Jew
himself", Goldstein said, adding in the NDH,
the Jewish issue was treated as a racial issue.

"So when Jews would convert to Catholicism, it
meant nothing, unlike with the Serbs, who saved
themselves by undergoing baptism," he
explained.

Goldstein said the location for the Jasenovac camp
had not been chosen randomly; it had good traffic
connections, was protected by two rivers, and was
at approximately the same distance from the areas
populated by Jews...

Quoted from Hina News Agency, June 1, 1999.

"Historian Ivo Goldstein testifies in sakic
war crimes trial" Uncredited Author.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0003.txt>

RECOLLECTION OF THE JEWS

An excerpt from the book Jasenovac: The Recollections of the Jews, published in 1972. Adolf Friedrich, like most Jasenovac survivors, mentions below the "granik." The granik was quite possibly the most diabolical contribution by the Ustase to the forensics of mass murder. It consisted of a sledgehammer, attached to a length of rope and a pole. The condemned would mount a dais and the executioner would pull the rope, with the sledgehammer coming down like the blade of a guillotine, only to smash the prisoner's skull. According to survivor testimony, the granik was located just a few meters from the banks of the Sava so the bodies, after disembowelment, could be dumped into the river afterward. Hundreds of prisoners were executed by the granik on a nightly basis.

Just killing people and leaving it at that would not satisfy the Ustashe. Every few days they would organise mass hangings to be carried out in front of everybody, the whole camp. And so, one day they singled out thirty prisoners and took them to Zvonara [the Bell Tower]. After fourteen days of terrible torture they were hanged in front of the entire camp which was lined up for that purpose. [Dinko] Sakic, the commander, read out the sentence of the irregular court martial, which they were sentenced by because they were accused of being linked with the Partizans. Eight days after this, ten Orthodox Serbs were killed, and five days after that, six electricians. Over this whole period of time they would take old and weak and would lead them out to the Granik.

Source: Jasenovac: The Recollection of the Jews

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0012.txt>

Encyclopedia of the Holocaust

Excerpt from the Jasenovac entry, Encyclopedia of the Holocaust

Jasenovac, the largest concentration and extermination camp in Croatia. Jasenovac was in fact a complex of several subcamps, in close proximity to each other, on bank of the Sava River about 63 miles (100 km) south of Zagreb. The women's camp of Stara Gradiska, which was farther away, also belonged to the complex.

Jasenovac was established in August 1941 and was dismantled only in April 1945. The creation of the camp and its management and supervision were entrusted to Department II of the Croatian Security Police (Ustaska Narodna Sluzba, UNS), headed by Vjekoslav (Maks) Luburic, who was personally responsible for everything that happened there. Scores of Ustase (Croatian fascists) served in the camp. The cruelest was former priest Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic, who killed scores of prisoners with his own hands.

Some six hundred thousand people were murdered at Jasenovac, mostly Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and opponents of the Ustase regime. The number of Jewish victims was between twenty and twenty-five thousand, most of whom were murdered there up to August 1942, when deportation of the Croatian Jews to Auschwitz for extermination began. Jews were sent to Jasenovac from all parts of Croatia - from Zagreb, from Sarajevo, and from other cities and smaller towns. On their arrival most were killed at execution sites near the camp: Granik, Gradina, and other places...

In April 1945 the partisan army approached the camp. In an attempt to erase traces of the atrocities, the Ustashe blew up all the

installations and killed most of the inmates. An escape attempt by the prisoners failed, and only a few survived.

Quoted from Gutman, Israel (Ed.), Encyclopedia of the Holocaust, Vol. 2, page 739

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0007.txt>

A CAMP CALLED JASENOVAC

Excerpt from journalist Robert Fisk's article on a visit to Jasenovac

"The most terrible scene I witnessed was when the Ustasha took a group of internees from Camp IIIc. They looked like skeletons in a state of almost total collapse, with swollen legs, complete physical and psychological wrecks after life behind barbed wire, under the open sky, in mud, with no food or water. They had been told they were going to pick plums. They passed before us with smiles on their faces, in which pity for us could be seen, because there would be plums where they were going, and that meant food... Evening came and the gentle southern breeze brought desperate screams... The killers had started 'picking plums.'"

- Vladimir Cvija from Zagreb, a survivor of a World War II concentration camp in Yugoslavia.

...Fifty years ago, the Croats took Branko Jungic from his Bosnian village and forced him to kneel on the bare earth at place called Jasenovac. Then they cut off the Serb's head with a saw. They did it quite openly. They even took photographs, one showing Jungic on his knees, his left arm extended to keep balance in the initial moments of agony, mouth open in horror as his uniformed tormentors posed proudly around him, the great saw already cutting into his flesh. Another snapshot shows the young man's severed head, a cloth cap perched above his eyes, a cigarette crudely pushed into his still open mouth. In the neighboring town of Banja Luka, they still keep the saw.

They display other implements on the site of the Jasenovac concentration camp; axes that were used to slice off the heads of women and children, a

mass gallows, arm sheaths with knives attached - a German-made contraption - that allowed the Croatian Ustasha militia to cut the throats of their captives with the least physical effort...

Shortly before Yugoslavia fell apart once more, Ljubomir Ivanic, director of the Bosanske-Krajine archives in Banja Luka, let me read through some of the 50,000 German and Ustasha files abandoned by the retreating Wehrmacht in 1945.

Among those archives - housed in a former Austro-Hungarian army barracks that served as a Wehrmacht intelligence office in 1942 - I found hundreds of Croatian military orders appropriating the homes and property of Serbs. On those pages, Ustasha officers recorded with Teutonic thoroughness the gift to their loyal followers of farms and smallholdings from which the original Serbian and Muslim owners had been driven.

"Cleansing" was the word used in the files, the documents written by the men who invented that dreadful expression.

Quoted in "A Camp Called Jasenovac" by Robert Fisk, San Francisco Examiner, Sept 26, 1992.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/jasenovac/text/ja0008.txt>

A VOW OF SILENCE

Subtitled "Did Gold Stolen by Croatian Fascists Reach the Vatican?", first published in US News & World Report, March 30, 1998. This is the first and most widely-circulated news story to focus exclusively on the issue of the fate of the Ustase treasury after the war.

...In recent months, new evidence has forced victims and accomplices alike to confront that nearly forgotten question: What happened to the loot? The Nazi plunder has been traced to banks in Switzerland, Sweden, Portugal, and other neutral countries that were secretly helping the Nazis stash stolen gold or launder it to buy war materiel. One state after another has opened its archives and banking records to aid the search, with one glaring exception: the Vatican.

The Vatican's continuing secrecy means the evidence is incomplete, but already declassified documents from the archives of the United States and other nations suggest that - with the aid of Croatian Catholic priests - Ustasha plunder made its way from Croatia to Rome, and possibly to the Vatican itself. Some of the stolen wealth was used to help Croatian war criminals flee to South America.

"We make no charges against the Vatican, but we keep building a very damning picture," says Elan Steinberg, executive director of the World Jewish Congress. "Because of their silence in the face of accumulated evidence, the failure to uncover the truth can only be laid at the doors of the Vatican"...

Church blessing. The Croatian connection, however, is the core of the new evidence that suggests the

Vatican might have directly handled funds stolen from the victims of the Nazis and their allies. From 1941 to 1945, the Ustashes exterminated an estimated 500,000 Serbs, Jews, and Romany (Gypsies) and looted their property. They demanded ransom amounting to 1,00 kilograms of gold from all the Jews in Zagreb, only to ship them to concentration camps and kill them anyway. It is a matter of historical record that the Croatian Catholic Church was closely entangled with the Ustashes. In the early years of World War II, Catholic priests oversaw forced conversions of Orthodox Serbs under the aegis of the Ustasha state; Franciscan friars distributed Ustasha propaganda. Several high Catholic officials in Yugoslavia were later indicted for war crimes. They included Father Dragutin Kamber, who ordered the killing of nearly 300 Orthodox Serbs; Bishop Ivan Saric of Sarajevo, known as the "hangman of the Serbs"; and Bishop Gregory Rozman of Slovenia, a wanted Nazi collaborator. A trial held by the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission in 1946 resulted in the conviction of a half-dozen Ustasha priests, among them former Franciscan Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic, a commandant of the Jasenovac concentration camp where the Ustashes tortured and slaughtered hundreds of thousands with a brutality that shocked even the Nazis.

As more secret documents become public, however, one priest emerges as the most significant player of all. The Rev. Krunoslav Draganovic, a Franciscan, had been a senior official of the Ustasha committee that handled the forced conversion of Orthodox Serbs. In 1943, the Ustasha arranged with the Croatian Catholic Church to send Father Draganovic to Rome. There he served as secretary of the Istituto San Girolamo, a seminary for Croatian monks that was in fact a center of clandestine Ustasha activity. Draganovic also became Ustasha leader Ante Pavelic's unofficial emissary to the Vatican, and de facto liaison to the Pontifical Relief Commission, a Vatican

organization that aided refugees during and after the war.

The ratline. According to secret reports from the U.S. Army's Counterintelligence Corps (CIC), written just after World War II and since declassified, Draganovic and his collaborators at San Girolamo provided money, food, housing, and forged Red Cross passports for a number of Ustasha war criminals seeking to escape justice. Through an underground railroad of sympathetic priests, known as the "ratline," the Ustashas could move from Trieste, to Rome, to Genoa, and on to neutral countries - primarily Argentina - where they could live out their days unpunished and unnoticed. Along the ratline, virtually the entire Ustasha leadership went free. "All these people were escaping - and this at a time when just getting a meal in Rome was a major accomplishment," recalls William Gowen, a CIC officer in Rome after the war.

The copies of memos filed by Gowen and other members of the counterintelligence corps, now stored in U.S. Army archives at Fort Belvoir, Va., contain a wealth of detail on suspicious comings and goings at San Girolamo. The dispatches leave little doubt that the ancient walled compound at Via Tomacelli 132 was more than an ordinary monastery. "San Girolamo is honeycombed with cells of Ustasha operatives," Gowen wrote on Feb. 12, 1947. "In order to enter this monastery, one must submit to a personal search for weapons and identification... The whole area is guarded by armed Ustasha youths in civilian clothes, and the Ustasha salute is exchanged constantly." From a source inside the compound, Gowen even managed to obtain Draganovic's secret files, which, Gowen reported on Sept. 5, 1947, "indicate clearly Draganovic's involvement in aiding and abetting the Ustasha to escape into South America."

Another Croatian priest living at San Girolamo was also active in smuggling war criminals, documents

show. A recently declassified memo, believed to have been written in 1946 by an agent of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) - the precursor of the CIA - reports that a priest called Father Golik was supplying false passports and money to members of the Ustasha. Golik, the memo says, was alleged to be "chief sponsor of all Croats resident in Rome, with special attention to the needs of former Ustasha members." The memo reports allegations that the Ustashas "are given a monthly allowance of 6,000 lire per person [the equivalent of \$2,700 today], in addition to the privilege of cheap meals at the San Girolamo mess."

Croatian Catholic officials were funneling money to war criminals even after they escaped to Argentina, documents show. According to cable intercepts cited in a 1947 U.S. diplomatic report, Pavelic escaped in November 1947 to Buenos Aires, where he was said to have been met by a retinue of Catholic priests. Newly declassified documents also show that Bishop Rozman was funneling money to South America from a Swiss bank account set up "to aid refugees of the Catholic religion." U.S. military attache Davis Harrington reported on March 9, 1948, that Rozman "is going to Bern to take care of these finances. The money is in a Swiss bank, and he plans to have most of it sent through to Italy and from there sent to the Ustashas in Argentina."

Further clues about the path of Ustasha gold are provided by Croatian National Bank records uncovered last fall by an American historian of Croatian descent. According to Jere Jareb, author of *Gold and Money of the Independent State of Croatia Moved Abroad*, the documents show that 288 kilograms of gold was removed from the Croatian National Bank and the state treasury on May 7, 1945 - the day that Germany capitulated. By Draganovic's own testimony, part of that treasure landed in his hands. The "Golden Priest," as Draganovic was known, acknowledged to the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission that he doled the money out to Ustasha

soldiers and Croatian civilian refugees. (Though called to testify, Draganovic was never charged. He later returned to Yugoslavia and died there in 1983.)

When in Rome. But does any of the evidence implicate the Vatican itself? The strongest indication so far is a memo that first prompted the State Department's interest. The memo, dated Oct. 21, 1946, was discovered last summer in the declassified files of the U.S. Treasury Department. Written by OSS agent Emerson Bigelow, it reports that money sent by Ustasha from Croatia to Rome after the war had been partly intercepted by the British, but that 200 million Swiss francs - the equivalent of \$170 million today - were being held in the Vatican for safekeeping. According to "rumor," the memo says, the money was being used to finance Croatian war criminals in exile.

When the Bigelow memo was released last year, the Vatican swiftly dismissed it, insisting that the charges could not be true. But some researchers who have studied World War II intelligence matters note that other archival documents counter the notion that a Vatican-Ustasha link is implausible on its face. One is a British diplomatic memo from Oct. 17, 1947, cited in the 1991 book *Unholy Trinity* by journalist Mark Aarons and former Justice Department Nazi-hunter John Loftus. According to the memo, a San Giralomo priest named Father [Dominik - Ed.] Mandic was a "liaison to the Vatican" who was involved in converting Ustasha gold, jewelry, and foreign exchange into Italian fire.

Other reports mention Ustashes meeting with Vatican officials or even living in the Vatican. The British Foreign Office reported in January 1947 that Pavelic himself, by that time a wanted war criminal, was living "within the Vatican City." An earlier report by Gowen, in October 1946, noted that Pavelic was in Rome and in contact with

Draganovic. Documents include accounts of Ustashas being hidden at the pope's summer residence at Castel Gandolfo and being seen driving in Rome in cars with Vatican license plates. The recently declassified Golik memo reports that Ustashas ate at the papal mess and that Father Golik was "declared to be in close contact with the Vatican."

The Vatican's tolerance of the Ustasha during the war was no secret. On the recommendation of Zagreb Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac - who had blessed Pavelic at the opening of the Croatian parliament - the pope established informal diplomatic relations with the independent state of Croatia, and his envoy made regular rounds of Ustasha headquarters. In 1941 and in 1943, at a time when his excesses were known, Pavelic was granted two private audiences with Pius XII. The pope explained that he received the Ustasha leader simply as a Catholic, not as head of the Croatian state. The pontiff's decision was widely reported - and widely deplored - at the time. In July 1941, Francis D'Arcy Osborne, the British ambassador to the Vatican, wrote: "[Pius's] reception of Pavelic... has done more to damage his reputation in this country than any other act since the war began."

Source: "A Vow of Silence: Did Gold Stolen by Croatian Fascists Reach the Vatican?" by Susan Headden, Dana Hawkins and Jason Vest. U.S. News and World Report, March 30, 1998.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0010.txt>

May 6, 1951

EXILE DENIES TITO CHARGE

Artukovich Says Extradition Is Sought as Anti-Communist
LOS ANGELES, May 6 (U.P.) - Andrea Artukovich, former Cabinet minister of a Nazi-dominated Croatian puppet government, today denied Yugoslav charges he was "one of the worst of war criminals."

M. Artukovich, found last week working as a \$100-a-week bookkeeper in his brother's construction concern here, said he was sought by Marshal Tito's Government because he was an anti-Communist and partly because of the age-old conflict between the Serbs and the Croats.

Yugoslavia has charged him with being the right-hand man of Croatian Government leader Ante Pavelic, who was alleged to have ordered the slaughter of 1,000,000 Jews and Serbs under the direction of Hitler.

"At no time in any of the positions which I held did I have jurisdiction over the secret police, Ustaska Nadzorna Sluzba," M. Artukovich said, "and I never signed any death warrants."

M. Artukovich will appear before immigration officers tomorrow in an attempt to obtain a permanent resident's permit. He is living with his wife and four children in a seaside colony near here.

Filing Information:

Title: News: Exile Denies Tito Charge

Source: United Press. Transcribed by Erica Case.

Date: May 6, 1951.

Added: November 26, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0016.txt>

EXILE DENIES TITO CHARGE

Artukovich Says Extradition Is Sought as Anti-Communist

LOS ANGELES, May 6 (UP)—Andria Artukovich, former Cabinet minister of a Nazi-dominated Croatian puppet government, today denied Yugoslav charges he was "one of the worst of war criminals."

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THE HAND OF THE USTASHA

It was once believed that the Interior Minister of the Independent State of Croatia, Andrija Artukovic, ceased any involvement in Ustase activity once he entered the United States. This letter suggests otherwise. Jess Nathan was a crusading editor at the Valley Jewish News, one of the few publications in California to investigate the background of the defendant during the original Artukovic extradition hearings of the 1950s. This letter to a Jewish-American official is undated but is believed to date from 1958. The pattern of harassment of investigators looking into Ustase crimes, it should be noted, continues to this day.

Dear Al:

Thanks for the news from Yugoslavia re Artukovic. And thanks for your expression of support. The V.J. News looks for an increasing volume of backing from the community as we continue this campaign. I think you will be interested in knowing that the hand of the Ustasha is operating in the United States. During the past three weeks I have been threatened, as well as my wife and children, with death and/or maiming via telephone. Please believe me when I say that regardless of what may happen to me... the Valley Jewish News will continue its fight in bringing this "despicable remnant of the middle-ages to justice."

Jess Nathan
Co-editor of the
Valley Jewish News

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0011.txt>

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Jess Nathan
Co-Editor of the
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4/8

W. M. M. M.
aka G. W. M. M.

LA TIMES ON ARTUKOVIC EXTRADITION HEARING

This Los Angeles Times article from March 11, 1958 is somewhat representative of the mass media coverage of the Artukovic extradition process in the 1950s: somewhat confused of the identity of the defendant (described here awkwardly as an "ex-Slav official") and focusing more on the legal precedents in the case rather than an independent investigation of the defendant. Two things of note: the Justice and State Departments were both taking an ambiguous role in the continuing affair, and that the Supreme Court reversed the judge's appalling ruling that Artukovic's role in the slaughter in wartime Croatia somehow constituted a "political crime." The judge's nonchalant treatment of Artukovic in the final two paragraphs was subject to a pointed critique in a later extradition hearing in the 1980s.

EXTRADITION HEARING SET FOR EX-SLAV OFFICIAL

Southland Man Surrenders to Fight his Return to Face War Crimes Charges

Los Angeles Times,
March 11, 1958

An extradition hearing to determine whether Andrija Artukovic, former Croatian Minister of the Interior under a Nazi regime, will be extradited to Yugoslavia to face trial for alleged war crimes has been scheduled for June 16.

Artukovic surrendered yesterday to U.S. Judge Pierson M. Hall when a mandate from the U.S. Supreme Court ordering the extradition hearing was filed before the judge.

Artukovic had been at liberty on his own recognizance for the past four years after Judge Hall, who originally passed on the Yugoslavian demand for extradition, ruled that the extradition proceedings hinged on a question of political crimes rather than a straight criminal proceedings.

RULING UPHELD

Judge Hall ruled that the alleged crime, which according to the Yugoslavian government was that of ordering execution of numerous people during the Nazi regime, was a political crime and therefore Artukovic was not subject to extradition. Subsequently, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Judge Hall's ruling, but recently the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a ruling that an extradition hearing should be held.

Atty. George Danielson, representing the Yugoslav government asked that Artukovic be held on a bond of \$50,000 pending the extradition proceedings, but Judge Hall set the bond at \$1000.

"I don't believe that Mr. Artukovic is going to go anywhere," Judge Hall declared. "This matter has been before me for six and one-half years and every time Mr. Artukovic was scheduled to appear in court he has done so.

"He has a family - a wife and five children - and I don't think he is going to go anywhere."

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0010.txt>

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Los Angeles Times

Vol. LXXV, Tues., March 15, 1950 No. 99

ARTUKOVIC IN CALIFORNIA

During the 1950s, Jewish organizations were almost alone in monitoring the activities of Andrija Artukovic in California. This letter is an indication of the "celebrity status" that the overseer of all concentration camps in Croatia had acquired in Southern California, where he spent the next thirty years of his life.

August 22, 1958

To: Mr. Will Maslow
From: Otto Schirn

It will interest you to learn that Artukovic was the featured speaker at a public meeting in San Pedro on August 6th under the auspices of the Catholic Maritime Clubs. You will find herewith a copy of the newspaper item reporting in detail on his speech.

By way of background information, may I inform you that the president of the club, City Councilman Patrick Ahern of Long Beach, was contacted by a number of anti-Artukovic Yugoslavs before the meeting calling his attention to the bad effect the appearance of Artukovic would have in many circles. I also understand that representatives of the United States Department of Justice made unofficial and informal approaches to Ahern, but all this was to no avail...

...

Best regards.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0014.txt>

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The enclosed ad appeared recently in several Los Angeles newspapers and I am sending it to you for your information and comment. I understand that the House Committee on Un-American Activities will be in Los Angeles during the next two weeks, with closed hearings beginning on August 25th and open hearings scheduled for September 2nd.

Finally, I want to inquire whether we have reacted in any way to the document on the Arab Boycott sent by the Public Services Division of the State Department to all those who write to the Secretary of State on this matter. The document is dated May 6, 1958, and contains a number of statements with which we ought to take issue.

Best regards.

Dear Mary: For your information
Did you get my memo of July 18th?
Best regards
O.A.

"FOR THE RELIEF OF ANDRIJA ARTUKOVIC"

This bill was introduced before Congress on January 6, 1961 by James Utt of California, and proposes to grant extraordinary liberties to the highest-ranking Nazi to settle in the United States after the war. Andrija Artukovic had entered the country illegally, with an Irish identity certificate identifying him as "Alois Anich." As the State Department had already by this time caused a halt in the extradition process, this bill was an attempt to grant its namesake peace of mind from any and all future attempts to restart the process (of course, granted "payment of the required visa fee.")

87th CONGRESS
1st Session

H.R. 2185

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
January 6, 1961

Mr. Utt introduced the following bill; which
was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary [sic]

A B I L L

For the Relief of Andrija Artukovic.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of
Representatives of the United States of America in

Congress assembled,

That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Andrija Artukovic shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of the enactment of this Act, upon payment of the required visa fee. Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota-control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year that such a quota is available.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0008.txt>

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS ON THE ARTUKOVIC BILL

This letter was sent on behalf of the American Jewish Congress to the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee in response to Congressman James Utt's introduction of a bill to grant permanent residence in the United States to Ustase Interior Minister Andrija Artukovic. The author appears to be at pains to restrain his outrage that a man who presided over the concentration camps of the NDH, and who furthermore entered the country with forged identity papers and on a mere travelers' visa, has been proposed for this "amnesty of one" in total contradiction to all laws of the United States. Two years later, Utt reintroduced this bill

February 13, 1959

Hon. Emanuel Celler
Chairman,
House Judiciary Committee
House Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

Re: H.R. 2844

My dear Congressman:

On January 19, 1959, Representative James B. Utt of California introduced a private bill, H.R. 2844, for the relief of Andrija Artukovic. This bill, if enacted, would in effect suspend the deportation of Artukovic ordered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1953, and deem him lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence. The American Jewish Congress

urges that the private bill be reported unfavorably because it believes that Artukovic, formerly Minister of Interior in the Nazi puppet state of Croatia, is unworthy of such special legislation.

Artukovic entered this country illegally from Ireland in 1948 with an Irish identity certificate but under a false name. His petition for readjustment of status under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 was denied and a final order of deportation has been pending against him since 1953.

In 1951, the Yugoslav Government filed a petition in the United States District Court for the Southern District of California requesting the extradition of Artukovic for murders and other crimes committed in Yugoslavia during World War II. An extradition hearing was conducted by Commissioner Theodore Hocke in Los Angeles between June 6 and July 8, 1958. Commissioner Hocke limited his function to determining whether there was sufficient competent evidence to justify Artukovic's trial for murder under the laws of California. He ruled that the Yugoslav Government had failed to produce such evidence, by American standards, to hold Artukovic on a charge of murder. The evidence at the hearing, however, demonstrated that he is morally unfit.

After Yugoslavia's collapse in 1941, Artukovic became the first Minister of the Interior of the Independent State of Croatia, established by the Yugoslav quisling, Ante Pavelic, with the open and armed support of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Croatia was never recognized by the United States or any of its allies but was recognized by Germany and Italy. On the contrary, our government fully recognized the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile.

Artukovic's tenure at the Ministry of the Interior was characterized by great brutality. As Minister of Internal Affairs, Artukovic was responsible for

the establishment of concentration camps in which great numbers of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies were destroyed. Introduced in evidence also was an issue of the official Croatian Gazette, which reprinted a speech by Artukovic delivered before the Croatian Parliament on February 24, 1942. In that speech he said the Croatian nation "could not act otherwise, but to clean its national body from such poisoned, dangerous creatures and voracious parasites: Jews, Communists and Freemasons." In the same speech Artukovic stated that Croatia had "solved, with an energetic and sound interference, the so-called Jewish question."

Certainly, the United States Congress is under no obligation to adopt emergency private legislation to grant permanent residence status, with its attendant possibility of naturalization, to a man who was in charge of concentration camps in a totalitarian state, who entered this country illegally under an assumed name, and who has given no indication by word or deed of any repentance or change of views. If the private bill in his relief is defeated, the United States Congress will at least have shown its abhorrence of the acts for which Artukovic is morally responsible, even though he perhaps cannot be proved guilty of murder under our statutes.

In the event that your Committee holds public hearings on this matter, we shall be grateful for the opportunity to appear and present our point of view.

Sincerely,

Dr. Joachim Prinz

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0009.txt>

COPY

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The requested URL /documents/documents/pavelic/index.html was not found on this server.

Apache/1.3.33 Server at www.pavelicpapers.com Port 80

United Croats of America

An unidentified document mentioning Artukovic in connection with the Second Convention of Croatian Unity on September 6, 1964. It was found among the papers of the American Jewish Congress.

September 3, 1964

A convention of the United Croats of America is scheduled to take place at the Hotel Commodore on Sunday, September 6th. It is called the Second Convention of Croatian Unity and according to a Croatian language paper published in Chicago (Danica - The Morning Star) Croatian representatives have been invited to attend from West Germany, Argentina, Belgium, Sweden, France, Austria, Great Britain, Venezuela, Italy and Chile.

According to well informed sources the United Croats of America which has a local branch at 552 W. 50th Street in New York and whose headquarters are reported to be at 3351 West Chrystal Street in Chicago, Illinois is allegedly a cover for members of the Ustashi Nazi organization which operated in pre-war Yugoslavia and which supported the Nazis on invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941. With the success of the Nazi offensive the Ustashi were installed as a puppet government in part of Yugoslavia with its leaders Ante Pavelic and Andrija Artukovic, who now lives in the United States.

The Ustashi was responsible for the mass murder of Jews, Serbs and other ethnic and religious groups of whom about 700,000 were massacred during the Ustashi regime.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0015.txt>

September 3, 1964

A convention of the United Croats of America is scheduled to take place at the Hotel Commodore on Sunday, September 6th. It is called the Second Convention of Croatian Unity and according to a Croatian language paper published in Chicago (Danica- The Morning Star) Croatian representatives have been invited to attend from West Germany, Argentina, Belgium, Sweden, France, Austria, Great Britain, Venezuela, Italy and Chile.

According to well informed sources the United Croats of America which has a local branch at 552 W. 50th Street in New York and whose headquarters are reported to be at 3351 West Chrystal Street in Chicago, Illinois is allegedly a cover for members of the Ustashi Nazi organization which operated in pre-war Yugoslavia and which supported the Nazis on invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941. With the success of the Nazi offensive the Ustashi were installed as a puppet government in part of Yugoslavia with its leaders Ante Pavelic and Andrija Artukovic, who now lives in the United States.

The Ustashi was responsible for the mass murder of Jews, Serbs and other ethnic and religious groups of whom about 700,000 were massacred during the Ustashi regime.

The Artukovic Case

Andrija Artukovic, the highest ranking Nazi criminal to find refuge in the United States, was born in 1899 in Austrian Herzegovina, which after World War I formed part of Yugoslavia. Trained as a lawyer, he participated in the prewar politics of Yugoslavia as a member of the extremist Ustasha, whose aim was the creation of an independent Croatia and thus the destruction of a unified Yugoslavia. During World War II, when the Ustasha assumed power in the Nazi puppet state of Croatia, Artukovic served as Minister of Internal Affairs. As such he was in charge of the police and paramilitary units that imposed the Ustasha system of terror. These forces established death camps where they murdered large numbers of men, women, and children including Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and Moslems. As the second highest ranking member of the Ustasha regime and as the man in charge of internal security, Artukovic was implicated in these crimes.

At the end of the war Artukovic fled from justice in postwar Yugoslavia. He first moved to that part of Austria occupied by the Western Allies, then illegally entered Switzerland, and finally made his way to Ireland. Traveling without a passport and using the false name of Alois Anich, he used an Irish Certificate of Identity to obtain a non-immigrant visitor's visa from the American consul in Dublin. On 16 July 1948 he thus illegally entered the United States as a "temporary visitor for pleasure." When his visa and two extensions expired in April 1949 and his application for permanent residence under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 was denied, he nonetheless remained in the United States, along with his wife and his foreign-born and American-born children.

Protracted deportation proceedings against Artukovic began in the early 1950s. To summarize briefly, in May 1951 the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) ordered him to show cause why he should not be deported. In June 1952 an immigration hearing officer ordered him deported on the grounds that he had overstayed his visitor's visa and had entered the country illegally without valid passport or entry documents. He sought a suspension of this order from the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) on the grounds that his deportation would impose economic hardships on the daughter

born during his illegal sojourn in the United States. In April 1953 the BIA upheld the deportation order in an opinion citing his prewar role in the "extremist, nationalist Ustasha," his arrest in connection with the assassination of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia in 1934, and his prominent role in the wartime Croatian "administration ... solely responsible for the conditions that existed in the concentration camps of Croatia, for massacres of Serbs, Jews and Moslems, and for the promulgation of laws setting up a government following the pattern of a dictator state." The BIA found it "difficult ... to think of any one man other than [the head of the Ustasha and chief of state Ante] Pavelic who could have been more responsible for the events occurring in Croatia during the period than was [Artukovic]."

Artukovic continued to reside in the United States. Yugoslavia did attempt to extradite him "for murder and participation in murder" but, as we shall see, Artukovic avoided extradition because the evidence presented by a communist state did not convince an American judge, and the INS did not move to deport him while extradition proceedings were pending. Further, in 1956 the INS notified Artukovic of his right to seek a suspension of deportation as authorized by the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) if he feared "physical persecution" were he to be returned to Yugoslavia. He did so. In May 1959 an INS Special Inquiry Officer [now called an immigration judge] found that Artukovic's fears of physical persecution if he were returned to Yugoslavia were well founded and suspended his deportation "subject to revocation at any time. Throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s, Artukovic continued to live in California with his family, undisturbed by threats of expulsion. Even Yugoslavia, which had vigorously pursued his extradition in the 1950s, gave up. But the waning of anticommunism and the growing concern about Nazi criminals made Artukovic's expulsion a more realistic prospect in the late 1970s...

On 16 October 1979 the Government, represented by the OSI, brought action in immigration court to revoke the 1959 stay of deportation. The immigration court held that it had no jurisdiction and that authority to act resided with the Board of Immigration Appeals. In the spring of 1981 the BIA revoked Artukovic's stay of deportation and once again ordered his deportation. Appealing this decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, Artukovic again succeeded in

preventing deportation. The court of appeals ruled that the Government could not simply revoke the suspension of the outstanding deportation order; instead it would have to prove again that Artukovic had assisted the Nazi persecutions and was therefore deportable...

In July 1952 the district court granted Artukovic's petition for habeas corpus because, contrary to the findings of the Department of State, Yugoslavia could not be recognized as Serbia's successor under the 1902 [extradition] treaty. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, however, agreed with the Department of State and overturned the district court's decision. The case was returned to the district court for yet another hearing on the habeas corpus petition and the court again granted it, but this time because the offenses with which Artukovic had been charged in the Yugoslavian indictment were political. Like most extradition treaties to which the United States is a party, the 1902 treaty prohibited the extradition of fugitives for "offenses of a political character"...

In 1984 the attempt to extradite Artukovic followed a more conventional course than had the effort of the 1950s. When Yugoslavia submitted its request to the Department of State, that agency - in contrast to the evasions of the 1950s - followed established procedure and forwarded the request, along with the necessary documents, to the Department of justice. Unlike the 1950s, when Yugoslavia hired its own attorney and the Department of justice took no active part, in the 1980s the OSI vigorously presented the case for the Government...

The crimes of the Ustasha documented by the Zagreb indictment included the murder of hundreds of specifically named Serbs, Gypsies, and Jews; the creation of the Jasenovac concentration camp, where hundreds of thousands of individuals were killed; and the following specific cases of barbarism:

1. tying families by their hands with wire, forcing them into a pit, and cracking their skulls with sledgehammers;
2. operating a crematorium at Jasenovac into which persons were flung alive;
3. herding Serbs into their Orthodox churches ... and then butchering them with knives;

4. medical experiments into the perseverance of human organisms;
5. slitting open the bellies of pregnant women;
6. drinking blood from the slashed throats of the victims;
7. inducing cannibalism among camp inmates;
8. mutilation of the living and the dead;
9. raping schoolgirls before their mothers;
10. catching infants on bayonets;
11. inventing new methods of torture;
12. throwing burning lime on the living in execution pits;
13. feeding food laced with caustic soda to starving children...

One witness, a former official of the wartime Croatian state, testified that when he attempted to remove the chief of the Sarajevo police for drawing up a list of 200 intellectuals to be deported to the Jasenovac concentration camp, Artukovic restored this police chief to his post and reprimanded the witness for "hindering" rather than "assisting ... to send all undesirable elements to the Jasenovac camp to starve there."

A second witness testified that when he appealed a German order to "persecute and kill Serbs" to Artukovic, whom he had known when they were students, the Minister of Internal Affairs told him that "it is necessary to slaughter and kill Serbs even without Germans suggesting it to you." And later Artukovic appointed this witness as head of a local police force with the general directive to "slaughter all Serbs, one and all, as well as Jews and Gypsies..." This witness further testified that various other local police chiefs appointed by Artukovic had told him that they had received similar orders from the minister.

This second witness also testified that Artukovic had in 1941 personally ordered the incarceration of the former national deputy Jesa Vidic in the Danica concentration camp; when this witness presented Olga Vidic's pleas to exchange title to a piece of property for her husband's release, Artukovic replied "...I will kill him and take... the land," a threat which he carried out. This witness also testified that on another occasion Artukovic had boasted: "You see how I am solving the Jewish question. First I take what they have and then I kill them all off, and in that way, as you can see, in a few months I have solved the Jewish problem... and not like

the Germans, who have prolonged the matter with the Jews for years."

A third witness, a former sergeant in the wartime Croatian army, testified that in October 1941, when he was serving as an escort for both Artukovic and Pavelic, he heard Artukovic order another soldier "to throw many Jews into the trucks," and later saw "some thirty to forty truckloads of Jews being taken towards Jasenovac accompanied by Artukovic." Later in the same year, when the witness accompanied a motorcade of "trucks full of arrested partisans, Jews and others, in my estimate some seven hundred people, among them many women and small children," he heard Artukovic order "that the back part of the autocade... be disposed of because it would be too much for the camp. So women, children and men were taken out of the trucks, in my estimate some 400-500 persons and by machine gun fire were killed..." This witness, who at times had served as Artukovic's driver, further testified about killings ordered by Artukovic in 1942 and 1943 and also about Artukovic's visits to Jasenovac concentration camp.

The fourth witness was a schoolteacher who had been deported during the war to several concentration camps, including one reserved for mothers with children under ten years old; she testified that in August 1942 Artukovic had inspected that camp in his Ustasha uniform, accompanied by Germans, shortly after 2,000 children had been gassed...

In addition the Government submitted the texts of wartime statements made by Artukovic and reported by the Croatian press, including one that "...the Croatian government wishes to resolve the Jewish problem in the same way as the German government did"...

Magistrate Brown emphatically rejected Artukovic's characterization of the mass killings in Yugoslavia during World War II as a political offense. Artukovic stood accused of having killed "for personal gain, racial or religious hatred, and/or impermissible vengeance upon disarmed enemy soldiers." Brown concluded: "Ridding a country of some of its population for such reprehensible reasons, as part of some larger political scheme, is not a crime of a 'political character' and is not thus covered by the 'political offense' exception to extradition"...

In his initial March 1985 order Brown certified Artukovic's extraditability on only one count: the murder of Jesa Vidic who, according to the testimony of the second witness, had been sent to a concentration camp and there killed on Artukovic's specific order. In his amended orders of May and August 1985, however, the magistrate held that there was probable cause to believe that Artukovic was responsible for the murder of:

1. Dr. Jesa Vidic;
2. between four and five hundred persons... by machine gun fire, after being removed by autocade... in 1941;
3. almost the entire population of several villages... by machine gun fire in early 1942;
4. approximately five thousand (5,000) persons... by rifle fire and otherwise... in 1942; and
5. several hundred persons... by machine gun fire and by being crushed under moving tanks... in 1943...

Artukovic petitioned the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California for a writ of habeas corpus, the only method of review open against an order certifying extraditability... On 6 February 1986 Judge Real rejected Artukovic's petition for a writ of habeas corpus and specifically adopted Magistrate Brown's amended opinion of 8 August 1985, entering it as the order of the district court.

Artukovic appealed Judge Reals's ruling to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit and sought an emergency stay of his extradition... The court of appeals found the contention that war crimes was not an extraditable offense particularly "absurd and offensive," and held that the affidavits depicting "...an array of heinous crimes involving Artukovic," who was "said to have participated in countless acts of murder and genocide," met the standard of "any evidence of probable cause." Finding no reason to grant Artukovic's petition, the court of appeals on 11 February 1986 refused to stay the extradition order.

That night (11 February), Justice William Rehnquist denied Artukovic's application to the U.S. Supreme Court for a stay of extradition pending his habeas corpus appeal. The next day, 12 February 1986, 38 years after he had illegally entered the United States, Artukovic, escorted by U.S. marshals, was flown from California to New York and put on a

plane for Yugoslavia.

Quoted from The Extradition of Nazi Criminals: Ryan, Artukovic, and Demjanjuk by Henry Friedlander and Earlean M. McCarrick (1997, The Simon Wiesenthal Center)

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/artukovic/text/aa0002.txt>

THE EXTRADITION OF ANDRIJA ARTUKOVIC

The entire decision against the Ustase Minister of the Interior Andrija Artukovic's eleventh hour appeal to avoid extradition to Yugoslavia on war crimes charges, almost thirty-five years after the original hearing. As Henry Friedlander and Earlean M. McCarrick write in The Extradition of Nazi War Criminals, the US government's position toward the highest-ranking war criminal to enter the United States was no longer characterized by "evasions," as it was when the original indictment was heard. "Unlike the 1950s," they write, "when Yugoslavia hired its own attorney and the Department of Justice took no active part, in the 1980s the [Nazi-hunting agency] OSI vigorously presented the case for the Government."

IN THE MATTER OF THE EXTRADITION OF ANDRIJA ARTUKOVIC.
ANDRIJA ARTUKOVIC, Petitioner, v. RICHARD RISON, Warden,
Respondent

Case Nos. CV84-8743-R (B), CV 85-3611-R

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE CENTRAL DISTRICT OF
CALIFORNIA

628 F. Supp. 1370; 1985 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 17012

August 8, 1985, Decided
August 9, 1985, Filed

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY:

As Amended; Adopted, February 6, 1986.

PRIOR HISTORY:

Amended Opinion, August 8, 1985.

JUDGES: Volney V. Brown, Jr., United States Magistrate.
Manuel L. Real, United States District Judge.

OPINIONBY: BROWN, JR.; REAL

OPINION: AMENDED OPINION

I

The Honorable Borislav Krajina, Federal Secretary for Justice of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia ["Yugoslavia"], by request dated July 19, 1984, sought the extradition of Andrija Artukovic ["respondent"] for prosecution in the District Court of Zagreb, pursuant to an indictment of February 29, 1984. The indictment charged "criminal offence against humanity and international law - war crime committed against the civilian population" ["war crimes"] proscribed by Yugoslavian Article 142, recently enacted. The 1984 indictment amended and incorporated an indictment of September 4, 1951, charging murder in violation of Article 135(2) then in force, of which indictment this Court takes judicial notice from its own records in *Karadzole v. Artukovic*, 170 F. Supp. 383 (S.D.Calif. 1959). n1

Pursuant to a complaint for extradition filed on November 14, 1984, respondent was arrested and held without bail. The complaint alleges that he "is duly and legally charged with murder, in violation of the laws of and in the jurisdiction of the Government of Yugoslavia;" that murder "is among the offenses enumerated in Article II of the Treaty of Extradition between the United States and Servia (now Yugoslavia) of May 17, 1902, 32 Stat. 1890 ["Treaty"], which is still in full force and effect; n2 that the offense charged "is a proper ground for this Court to order extradition pursuant to Title 18, United States Code, Section 3184;" and, that respondent should therefore "be surrendered to competent authorities of Yugoslavia."

II

The following questions must be answered:

1. Does respondent possess the requisite mental competence?
2. Is the action barred by the doctrine of res judicata?
3. Was due process violated by excessive delay in refileing for extradition?
4. Is evidence offered by the Government admissible?
5. Is the political character defense applicable?

6. Is the charging document specific?

III

The facts necessary for a determination of this matter are as follows:

During World War II, the Germans and Italians invaded Yugoslavia. On April 10, 1941, at the behest of the Ustasha, a political organization which was or became armed, the Axis permitted the creation of the Independent State of Croatia. Respondent became Minister of Interior and held other high offices. There was conflict between Croats, Serbians, Communists, Jews, Christians (Orthodox and Roman Catholic), Moslems and others, and these groups variously fought, persecuted each other and/or fled. Affidavits in evidence show that tens of thousands of atrocities were committed.

Among the older documents in evidence is the affidavit of Franjo Truhar, dated April 25, 1952 (Excerpts, Tab 10, pp. 65 et seq.). He is a self-described "Croat," who says the Ustasas made him Chief of Police in Zemun in April and May, 1941. It is his testimony that Jesa Vidic, a former national delegate, was

"imprisoned and sent at the request of Artukovic to the 'Danica' camp, where he was interned for a certain time. His wife, Olga Vidic, came to see me, and that was in July 1941, with a petition addressed to Minister Artukovic in which she offered to cede 150 Jutros [acres] of land if he permitted her husband to resettle in Serbia. I brought this request in person to Artukovic in Zagreb, and handed it to him, to which he answered me: 'What did you bring this petition to me for, I will kill him and take, not 150, but 300 Jutros of land.' Later Artukovic himself sent the order for Dr. JESA VIDIC to be killed, which was also carried out, and all of the land was taken and given to Ustasha Stjepan Vinek in Sremska Mitrovica."

A "new" affidavit in evidence is that of Avdic Bajro, dated July 6, 1984 (Excerpts, Tab 11, pp. 74 et seq.) Born in 1924, this witness says that, following training, in November, 1941, he was "ordered into the motorized unit of the state escort service to escort leader Pavelic, Andrija Artukovic Minister of Interior Affairs and other ministers of the NDH . . . Independent State of Croatia."

"I was also present by the end of 1941 at Kresimir's Trg when

an autocade of trucks full of arrested partisans, Jews and others, in my estimate some seven hundred people among them many women and small children, was taken, as I overheard Artukovic order Lahovski, to Kerestinac, the collecting camp in the vicinity of Zagreb. Artukovic followed the autocade to Kerestinac and as I was his escort I heard when Andrija Artukovic told Lahovski that the back part of the autocade of trucks must be disposed of because it would be too much for the camp. So women, children and men were taken out of the trucks, in my estimate some 400-500 persons and by machine-gun fire were killed by ustashas at the order of Artukovic, while the others were taken to Kerestinec camp."

This is a first-person account of the killing of certainly entirely helpless prisoners, at the direct order of respondent and in his immediate presence.

Witness Bajro also states that he accompanied the respondent and others in the beginning of 1942 to where Ustashas were carrying out a military offensive against partisans. He says that in the village of Vrgin Most respondent, "after learning that in the houses women, children and men were locked, [ordered] the tanks towards these houses, to penetrate them and destroy them completely together with all men, women and children inside"

Continuing his testimony, witness Bajro says:

"I remember well that while returning back we visited Vrgin Most again and that corporal Stilinovic informed chiefs Pivac Oreskovic and Saric that his whole unit was destroyed, as he said, in the vicinity of Vrgin Most in the fight with partisans and that some two hundred Ustashas died. When Artukovic heard that he ordered that all the population of the nearby villages be arrested and brought into the plain, which was done and many people, women and children were killed . . . by machine-gun fire of German production. Machine-guns were 'sharci' having 3000 bullets in a belt. I was also escorting Pavelic and Artukovic when they were visiting the site of Kozara because they wanted to see the positions at which some 500 to 600 ustashas had died in the battle with partisans. I know that on that occasion we drove to the monastery Moscenica, a very nice monastery, and Artukovic ordered Lahovski the commander of escorts to gather all civilian population from the houses, old ones, sick, women, children and men, to gather at least five thousand of them and to kill them all because five hundred ustashas have perished in the vicinity of the Moscenica monastery. This was done and a large number of civilian population from the nearby villages was gathered, mostly women and children and shot, some of them then and there close to the monastery and

some of them were taken away and killed later on."

These deaths on the return to Vrgin Most, and of civilians gathered from the vicinity of the monastery Moscenica, were not in the course of military action, but of persons "arrested" or "gathered" and, therefore, not a military threat.

The pertinent testimony of witness Bajro concludes with these words:

"I remember well that at the beginning of the year 1943 I was escorting Pavelic and Artukovic when they went to Samobor and on that occasion we came to a castle where some several hundreds of partisans, men and women, were imprisoned. I know well that the commander of operative groups of ustashas informed Artukovic and Pavelic that partisans were captured at Zumberk and Artukovic together with Pavelic ordered then, they both ordered, that all partisans imprisoned there, be killed which was done during that day and night and I have been present there. They were killed in such a way that they were taken to the field, tied and killed by machine-gun fire while some of them were passed over by tanks."

Respondent is now an older man, born on or about November 19, 1899. He suffers from a number of serious medical conditions, for which, since his arrest, he has received superb medical treatment, first at the Los Angeles County-U.S.C. Hospital, and then at the United States Naval Hospital at Long Beach. On the question of his competence, medical reports were received, physicians testified and the Magistrate personally observed respondent in the courtroom. His health has improved markedly since his arrest. Where before he was usually confused, during the daytimes he is now usually alert. Where before he was bedridden and had bed sores, he now walks, climbs stairs and has healed.

IV

1. Does Respondent Possess the Requisite Mental Competence?

It is necessary that respondent, first, be competent to assist in the preparation of his own defense. He has been sufficiently competent in this respect, according to the reports and testimony of his attending Navy physician, Dr. Hill, and of the court's own appointed Psychiatrist. It is necessary that respondent, second, be competent during the hearings. The required standard is set forth in Chavez v.

United States, 641 F.2d 1253, 1259 (9th Cir. 1981): he must be able to understand the nature of the proceedings and to participate intelligently to the extent his participation is required. Again, evidence and observation show the requisite mental abilities.

The Government's contention that the competence of Mr. Artukovic "is not a proper subject of inquiry in this extradition matter" is rejected. The Sixth Amendment guarantees him, as all persons before the court in matters affecting life and liberty, the effective assistance of counsel. Meaningful consultation between attorney and client is an essential element of competent representation. *United States v. Tucker*, 716 F.2d 576, 581 (9th Cir. 1983). Furthermore, respondent's Fifth Amendment right to a fair hearing requires that he be shown to have the minimum competence defined in *Chavez. Pate v. Robinson*, 383 U.S. 375, 385, 15 L. Ed. 2d 815, 86 S. Ct. 836 (1966).

2. Is the Action Barred by the Doctrine of Res Judicata?

In 1959, Commissioner Theodore Hocke rejected much of the evidence presented herein and denied the application for extradition. See *Karadzole v. Artukovic*, supra, 170 F. Supp. 383 (S.D. Calif. 1959).

Respondent contends that res judicata requires dismissal of this action. The Magistrate has, however, rejected respondent's motion to dismiss on this ground. The principle of res judicata is not applicable to international extradition proceedings. *Hooker v. Klein*, 573 F.2d 1360, 1368 (9th Cir. 1978), cert. denied, 439 U.S. 932, 58 L. Ed. 2d 327, 99 S. Ct. 323 (1978).

3. Was Due Process Violated by Excessive Delay in Refiling for Extradition?

Respondent further contends that due process was violated by a delay of 25 years in refiling for extradition. This contention is without merit. Due process may require dismissal of charges if it is shown that a pre-indictment delay caused substantial prejudice to the respondent's rights to a fair trial and that the delay was intentional so as to gain a tactical advantage over the accused. *United States v. Marion*, 404 U.S. 307, 324, 30 L. Ed. 2d 468, 92 S. Ct. 455 (1971). But the focus of inquiry must be whether the United States, not Yugoslavia, acted unconstitutionally. *Matter of Burt*, 737 F.2d 1477, 1487 (7th Cir. 1984). Respondent has not sustained his burden of proving either prong of the Marion rule.

Permitted to question, as on cross-examination, Neal Sher, Chief of the Office of Special Investigations, Criminal Division, United States Department of Justice, made available as a witness at the Court's request, respondent's counsel succeeded in showing only that the instant extradition action was indeed initiated at Yugoslav instance. There is no evidence, nor indeed suspicion, that the United States Government, or any of its agents, has been guilty of any wrongful conduct in connection with the instigation of this proceeding. Respondent may, of course, present the question of unfairness occasioned by a proposed prosecution more than forty years after the events mentioned in the indictment to the Secretary of State and, if necessary, to the Yugoslav court.

4. Admissibility of the Government's Evidence.

Respondent has moved to dismiss on the ground that the Government impermissibly introduced Yugoslavian Article 167 during rebuttal. This motion was denied, because the Government was permitted to reopen for this purpose, and because evidence that murder was proscribed in Yugoslavia at all pertinent times is otherwise before the Court. That Article 167 does not address aiding and abetting is irrelevant, in view of the provisions of Article II of the Treaty as to "participation" in enumerated crimes.

The Government, on behalf of Yugoslavia, has offered translations into English which have not been certified by the American Ambassador under 18 U.S.C. § 3190, although the Serbo-Croatian originals were. Respondent argues that these translations are, therefore, inadmissible. While § 3190 makes evidence certified as admissible in the tribunals of the requesting country admissible in our courts, it is not true that the Government may introduce evidence only by way of such certification. The English translations may be proved as any other fact. Respondent may challenge the accuracy of the Government's translations and/or offer his own. In re Extradition of David, 395 F. Supp. 803, 806 (E.D.Ill. 1975), *aff'd sub nom. David v. Attorney General*, 699 F.2d 411 (7th Cir. 1983), cert. denied, 464 U.S. 832, 104 S. Ct. 113, 78 L. Ed. 2d 114 (1983).

5. Political Offense Exception to Extradition

To successfully assert the "political character" defense, respondent must show that there was a political uprising or disturbance at the time of the offense and that the offense charged was "incidental" to, or part of the political

disturbance. *Eain v. Wilkes*, 641 F.2d 504, 515-16 (7th Cir. 1981), cert. denied, 454 U.S. 894, 70 L. Ed. 2d 208, 102 S. Ct. 390 (1981); *In re Castioni*, [1891] 1 Q.B. 149. Evidence of record amply supports the finding that uprisings and disturbances, within the meaning of the defense exception, existed in Croatia during all pertinent times. Nevertheless, respondent cannot avail himself of the defense merely because the alleged crimes occurred at the same time as a political disturbance. A rational nexus between the alleged crimes and the prevailing turmoil must be demonstrated. In searching for such a connection, the focus of inquiry is on the circumstances, and on the status of those harmed, and not on whether the acts merely were committed during the disorder. See *Ornelas v. Ruiz*, 161 U.S. 502, 511, 40 L. Ed. 787, 16 S. Ct. 689 (1896), where the Supreme Court concurred in the magistrate's refusal to apply the exception "in view of the character of the foray, the mode of attack, the persons killed or captured, and the kind of property taken or destroyed." [Emphasis added]

Those murders as to which it is hereinafter found there is probable cause to believe respondent committed do not come within the "political character" defense. Respondent's statement of his motives would be irrelevant. *Eain*, supra, 641 F.2d at 520. ("For purposes of extradition, motivation is not itself determinative of the political character of any given act.") The facts and circumstances in evidence show that the murders were not of a "political character" within the meaning of the Treaty; they were for personal gain, racial or religious hatred, and/or impermissible vengeance upon disarmed enemy soldiers. Ridding a country of some of its population for such reprehensible reasons, as part of some larger political scheme, is not a crime of a "political character" and is thus not covered by the political offense exception to extradition. *Eain*, supra, 641 F.2d at 521.

6. Specificity in the Charging Document

The Magistrate must make a determination as to whether each specific charge forms the basis for extradition, at least where, as here, the Treaty incorporates the principles of "dual criminality" and "specialty." *Caplan v. Vokes*, 649 F.2d 1336, 1343 (9th Cir. 1981). Thus there must be a focus on each count of the foreign indictment, complaint, warrant, summons, or other charging document. As is more fully discussed in the Order filed March 4, 1985, the Government's argument that prefatory language in the 1984 Yugoslavian indictment will support extradition for alleged murders of other than Dr. Vidic is rejected. Such language is not specific enough to permit this court to analyze dual

criminality sufficiently, or to ensure that the principle of specialty will be honored.

V

Preliminarily, it is noted that, by its instant request, Yugoslavia seeks to extradite the respondent to try him for the war crimes proscribed by Article 142, enacted long after the last of the alleged crimes was committed. That respondent could not be prosecuted under such an ex post facto law in this country is not significant in this proceeding: due process cannot be extended extraterritorially. *Kamrin v. United States*, 725 F.2d 1225, 1228 (9th Cir. 1984), cert. denied, 469 U.S. 817, 83 L. Ed. 2d 32, 105 S. Ct. 85 (1984), citing *Neely v. Henkel*, 180 U.S. 109, 45 L. Ed. 448, 21 S. Ct. 302 (1901). What is significant is that extradition can be achieved only for crimes mentioned in the Treaty. *Fernandez v. Phillips*, 268 U.S. 311, 312, 69 L. Ed. 970, 45 S. Ct. 541 (1925); cf. *Hooker v. Klein*, supra, 573 F.2d at 1368. War crimes are not mentioned in the Treaty. Even if they were, the principle of "dual criminality," incorporated in Article I of the Treaty, would not permit extradition for war crimes. Under "dual criminality," one can be extradited only if the offense charged in the requesting country is an offense in the place where the fugitive is found. *Collins v. Loisel*, 259 U.S. 309, 312, 66 L. Ed. 956, 42 S. Ct. 469 (1922). "War crimes" are not proscribed in California or the United States. For the same reasons, illusions to "genocide," as such, in the requesting papers and evidence, are irrelevant.

Implicitly recognizing the above, the Government seeks to extradite respondent only for "murder." At all pertinent times, murder has been a felony in California (Penal Code Sections 187 et seq.) and the United States. 18 U.S.C. § 1111. The Magistrate finds, from the testimony of the historian witnesses, that murder was proscribed by the government immediately preceding that of the Independent State of Croatia, and that this proscription was continued in effect during all pertinent times. Then and there respondent was protected by sufficient force, so that the laws under which he lived and acted were at no time those of military forces other than his own, such as those of the Axis powers. Furthermore, the present Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia proscribed murder no later than September, 1951 (see indictment at Excerpts, page 160) by means of Article 135, in evidence herein. n3 As has been shown, it is not an obstacle in this proceeding, although it may be in Yugoslavia, that Article 135 may be an ex post facto law as

to the crimes charged against respondent. As to murder charges, therefore, the Treaty requirements are satisfied.

VI

The Magistrate finds:

Much of the evidence presented herein apparently was rejected by Commissioner Theodore Hocke in 1959. *Karadzole v. Artukovic*, supra, 170 F. Supp. 383 (S.D.Calif. 1959). While such evidence raised the suspicion that the respondent participated in the creation and/or maintenance of concentration camps where predominantly Jews, Serbs, and Gypsies, women and children as well as men, were killed or permitted to die, it does not begin to rise to the level of probable cause which must be proved before an extradition can be certified. Other evidence, consisting of respondent's alleged proclamations and racist speeches, does not even raise a suspicion of extraditable misconduct, although it merits the opprobrium of all decent people. As to this evidence, which forms the great bulk of the material admitted herein, the words of Mr. Chief Justice Holmes in *Glucksman v. Henkel*, 221 U.S. 508, 512, 55 L. Ed. 830, 31 S. Ct. 704 (1911) are apposite:

"Of course a man is not to be sent from the country upon demand or surmise," but instead only upon "such reasonable grounds to suppose him guilty as to make it proper that he should be tried. . . ."

The affidavit of Franjo Turhar supplies ample probable cause to believe that respondent "participated" (Treaty, Article II, XII) in the crime of murder of Jesa Vidic, extraditable under Treaty, Article II, and accordingly he should be extradited to face this single charge, which is found in the 1984 indictment, page 200 of Excerpts.

The engagement on the first described visit to Vrgin Most appears to have been a prototypical military operation against an armed enemy. It is by no means certain that armed women, as well as men, were not among the partisans opposing respondent's troops. That some noncombatants may have been killed incidental to a military operation does not constitute murder. Upon his extradition, respondent may not be tried for these deaths at Vrgin Most. n4

The affidavit of Avdic Bajro provides overwhelming probable cause to believe that respondent was directly responsible for

the 400 to 500 killings of helpless prisoners at Kresimir's Trg, the deaths on the return to the vicinity of Vrgin Most, the deaths of the civilians gathered from the vicinity of the Monastery Moscenica, and the killing of the several hundred partisans of the castle near Samobor; and that he should accordingly be extradited to face a murder charge for each of these deaths, if they are alleged in a charging document before this Court.

VII

Disposition

The United States Attorney shall prepare a form of certificate for the crime of murder of Jesa Vidic for the Magistrate's signature. The effect of said certificate, however, is stayed to and including May 3, 1985, during which time the Court retains jurisdiction in this action. If, during the period of the stay, the Government serves and files an amended indictment, complaint, warrant or other charging document of Yugoslavia, duly certified and transmitted, alleging the crime of murder against respondent for each or any of the murders (other than that of Vidic) as to which it has been found there is probable cause to believe were committed by respondent, the Magistrate intends to certify these additional charges for extradition and trial. Upon such filing, respondent shall be afforded a hearing on the question of "dual criminality" and the form and content of any proposed further certificate for extradition.

Supplemental Proceedings

The Government timely filed a Submission of Supplemental Certified Documents containing, inter alia, an Amendment of Indictment, dated March 26, 1985, from the District Court of Zagreb, Yugoslavia. A hearing was held on the matter on May 1, 1985.

Respondent's counsel expressly refused to waive his presence, and the respondent was present throughout the hearing. After the proffer of evidence by each party on the question of respondent's then competence, the Magistrate's own observations, and oral argument, it was held that respondent was no less competent than during the evidentiary stages of the proceedings, when he was shown competent by medical evidence.

In the supplemental papers, Yugoslavia provided information which neither the Court nor the Government had requested. Held: only evidence of those laws and statutes of Yugoslavia and predecessor governments, which was introduced and argued at the earlier probable cause hearings, will be taken into account by the Magistrate.

An Amended Certificate of Extraditability is ordered filed and forwarded to the Secretary of State. The Amended Certificate is expressly limited to the following charges of murder:

-- Dr. Jesa Vidic;

-- Between four and five hundred persons murdered by machine-gun fire, after being removed by autocade from Kresimir's Trg towards Kerestinec, in late 1941;

-- The entire civilian population of several villages near Vrgin Most, murdered in a nearby valley by machine-gun fire in early 1942;

-- Approximately five thousand (5000) persons, murdered by rifle fire and otherwise near the Moscenica monastery in the Kozara region in 1942; and

-- Several hundred persons, captured in the Zumberg region, murdered by machine-gun fire and by being crushed under moving tanks, in the vicinity of Samobor Castle, in early 1943.

DATED: August 8, 1985.

ORDER ADOPTING OPINION OF MAGISTRATE

MANUEL L. REAL, UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

This matter is before the court upon a Writ of Habeas Corpus in the nature of a review of the decision of Magistrate Volney V. Brown, Jr., ordering extradition of petitioner to Yugoslavia to answer charges of murder.

The court has reviewed the entire record in this matter, has considered all of the evidence and arguments submitted by the parties in the extradition hearing and with this Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus.

IT IS ORDERED the court adopts the opinion heretofore filed by Magistrate Brown on all issues presented to him during the extradition hearing. The opinion of Magistrate Brown correctly states the law and is supported by evidence presented during the many hearings held by the magistrate. The opinion adopted is specifically that Amended Opinion filed August 9, 1985 and now instructs the Clerk to enter orders made therein as the Order of this court.

The Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus adds nothing to the review function of this court on the extradition question.

The petition is denied.

DATED: February 6th, 1986.

FOOTNOTES

n1 The following is the published chronology in this matter. Artukovic v. Boyle, 107 F. Supp. 11 (S.D. Cal. 1952), rev'd sub nom. Ivancevic v. Artukovic, 211 F.2d 565, (9th Cir. 1954), cert. denied, 348 U.S. 818, 99 L. Ed. 645, 75 S. Ct. 28 (1954), rehearing denied, 348 U.S. 889, 99 L. Ed. 698, 75 S. Ct. 202 (1954); Artukovic v. Boyle, 140 F. Supp. 245 (S.D. Cal. 1956), aff'd sub nom. Karadzole v. Artukovic, 247 F.2d 198 (9th Cir. 1957), vacated, 355 U.S. 393, 78 S. Ct. 381, 2 L. Ed. 2d 356 (1958), decision on remand, supra, 170 F. Supp. 383 (S.D. Cal. 1959).

n2 Ivancevic v. Artukovic, supra, 211 F.2d at 573.

n3 Article 135 provides in pertinent part: "(2) Whosoever takes the life of another in a cruel or treacherous way, or in such a way as to cause endangerment to the life of many persons, or for gain, or for the purpose of committing or covering up another criminal act, or for other vile motives, or whosoever takes the lives of several persons, shall be punished by imprisonment for at least 10 years or by death sentence."

n4 Respondent attempted to show that tanks were unavailable to him, for which reason the testimony of Bajro is untrustworthy. Such evidence, however, is unconvincing and does not "explain" why the evidence of this witness should be rejected.

Original Placement:

BACKGROUND MATERIAL ON KRUNOSLAV DRAGANOVIC

In this report from the Rome Detachment of the US Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps, Agents Caniglia and Ragonetti spell out what was known to their office in October of 1946: That Ante Pavelic was being protected by Father Krunoslav Draganovic, quite possibly with Vatican approval. The agents note that Draganovic "is considered the most important person" among the clique of Croatian Catholic priests in Rome, including his nominal superior, Dominic Mandic. It also mentions a report that Draganovic tipped off Ljubo Milos, a former high official at the Jasenovac concentration camp, before he could be arrested. Milos later became one of the primary commanders in a secret anti-Tito army called the Krizari, or "Crusaders," until his arrest, trial, and execution by the Yugoslav authorities.

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ROME DETACHMENT
ZONE FIVE
APO 512, US ARMY

APR:md

10 October 1946

Case No. B-4240

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav Don.

RE: Preliminary Background Material.

1. Pursuant to instructions from the Supervising Agent, this office and at the request of CIC, A-HQ, the following

information concerning Subject is on record in the files of this office.

2. Subject is presently located at Borgo Santo Spirito, No. 41, Rome, telephone -561076.

3. Subject is secretary of "Confraternita Croata", Church of San Girolamo, Rome, and is considered the most important person in the fraternity. This organization is known to have issued false identity cards to war criminals of USTASCIA background enabling them to escape Allied authorities.

4. This organization has a priest named Dominic MANDIC as a representative from the Vatican.

5. Subject was former secretary of Bishop SARIC. He keeps well informed as to Allied plans to apprehend USTASCIA activists. At one time Subject advised a Ljubo MILOS to escape from "Camp Fermo" as he was a wanted person. Subject is reported to be in communication with Ante PAVELIC former dictator of Croatia and leader of USTASCIA.

6. Subject possesses good documents and travels quite frequently.

AGENTS' RECOMMENDATIONS: It is recommended that this report be sent to CIC, HQ, AFH, for their information and disposition.

[signed] LOUIS S. CANIGLIA
Special Agent, CIC

[signed] ANTHONY P. RAGONETTI
Special Agent, CIC

Filing Information:

Title: Background Material on Krunoslav Draganovic

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: October 10, 1946

Added: May 17, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/army/text/ar0003.txt>

Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

Dr. DRAGANOVIC' has close contacts in Austrian political circles, especially with the Catholic clergy and with men of the ex-echancellor Dr. SCHUSCHNIG. Dr. SCHUSCHNIG lives with his family in the monastery of Dr. DRAGANOVIC' at Bergo Santo Spirito (in extraterritorial territory).

Three days ago, Dr. SCHUSCHNIG left for Austria under a false name. He carries with him a letter from Dr. DRAGANOVIC' which he has to deliver to the Croat Archbishop Dr. SARIC for a high ranking Ustasha official and ex-councillor of PAVELIC, IVANKOVIC.

Through the bishop STEINBACH in Salsburg and British chaplain, Capt. Dr. HAMAN, Dr. DRAGANOVIC received every information and Dr. HAMAN and the secretary of Bishop STEINBACH use him as courier between Austria and Italy.

Dr. DRAGANOVIC has contacts with Ustasha Headquarters in Austria and receives instructions and directives for political activity in Italy. Where Dr. PAVELIC Ante is hidden in Italy is known to ex-minister Dr. FARKOVIC', Mate, Dr. DRAGANOVIC' and priest WURSTER (WURSTER is now in Madrid, Spain, but according to reliable information, he comes to Rome from time to time in a plane with members of the Spanish Embassy). WURSTER has left hidden in "castelo dei angeli" (castel of the angels: reference probably made to Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome), a receiving and transmitting radio set with sufficiently powerful emissions.

The courier of PAVELIC', Ustasha Captain KRILIC works as his private secretary in the office of Dr. DRAGANOVIC. KRILIC also works for the information services of DRAGANOVIC'.

Recently, DRAGANOVIC was entrusted with the task of sending to Yugoslavia, via Austria, clandestinely of course, small groups of 3 persons (TROJKE) to carry out acts of sabotage. For this purpose has arrived from Austria a certain VRBAN (or URBAN) Drago, who will act as guide for the crossing of the Italo-Austrian border.

Last year when PAVELIC was in Florence, DRAGANOVIC knew this and was together with PAVELIC.

Information is available to the effect that Dr. STAMBUK (intimate collaborator of Dr. DRAGANOVIC) has received from the FSS in Rome SOPREK, copies of reports which mention the activity of Yugoslav emigration in Italy (Rome) and that these reports have come into the hands of Dr. DRAGANOVIC.

Dr. DUGONJIC Zvonko who was recently arrested by the FSS in Rome, during an interrogation, stole from Major SIMCOCK, a document which he later passed to Dr. DRAGANOVIC.

War criminals wanted by the British Authorities were hidden by DRAGANOVIC and later many were sent to South America. Thus DRAGANOVIC hid in Borgo S. Spirito 4, General PECNIKAR Vilko, in Via Concilla 15 KVATERNIK Eugen and in a monastery near the Colosseum, Minister FAKOVIC Mate.

All the documents from which it can be seen that Dr. DRAGANOVIC helped war criminals are ready. In other reports, the activity and contacts of Dr. DRAGANOVIC will be mentioned.

Filing Information:

Title: US Army File: Dr. DRAGANOVIC' Krunoslav

Source: US Army, declassified September 12, 1983.

Date: Unknown

Added: May 18, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/army/text/ar0004.txt>

07094
~~SECRET~~
Dr. DRAGANOVIC: Krunoslav

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DECLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 SEP 1993
CDR U.S. AIRCRAFT FORCE
1-609 DOD 62000-10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In a monastery near the Colosseum, Minister FALOVIC says.

All the documents from which it can be seen that Dr. DRAGANOVIC helped war criminals are ready. In other reports, the activity and contacts of Dr. DRAGANOVIC will be mentioned.

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REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 SEP 1983
BY CDR USA/NSCOM FOIPO
Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R

205526C/W 1129-19/12/52-
CONFIDENTIAL 09213

**SUPREME HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE
Office of Assistant Chief of Staff G-2:
FORWARD HEADQUARTERS.**

GBI/CI/CS/091.4-3

5 June, 1945.

SUBJECT: Apprehension of Croat Quislings.


TO : A C of S G-2, 12th Army Group. ✓
A C of S G-2, 6th Army Group.

Your attention is invited to the possibility that Ante ~~PAVELIC~~, Head of the Puppet Croat Government and ~~PUK~~, Minister of Justice in the same Government may be in the area under the control of your Headquarters.

2. It is requested that this Headquarters be informed if you have any information on their whereabouts and also in the event that they are apprehended in the future.

For the A C of S G-2:

Ext. 3203.


H. G. SCHEN,
Colonel, GSC,
G-2, CI.

COPY TO: A C of S G-5.

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13081

P/4615

1st Ind.

JWF/jar

Hq. ROME AREA ALLIED COMMAND, AC of S, G-2, APO 794, US Army
8 August 1945.

TO: Commanding Officer, Rome Zone CIC Detachment.

1. Referred to for investigation, specifically,
 - a. Is PAVELIC in Rome? b) if so, where, c) is the San Gerolamo Monastery used as a haven.
2. If PAVELIC is actually in Rome, he should be apprehended and arrested if possible.
3. Please contact SCI Unit "Z" for further details.

J. W. FISCHER
Colonel, GSC
AC of S, G-2

P/4615

2nd Ind.

GM-vv

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS, Rome Det., Zone Five, APO 512, U.S. Army.
26 August 1945.

TO: AC of S., G-2, Hq. Rome Area, METOUSA, APO 794, U. S. Army.

Submitted herewith, in triplicate, is report on Subject.

GONO MORENA,
Supervising Agent.

DISTRIBUTION:

- 3 - G-2, Rome Area.
- 1 - SCI Unit Z.
- 1 - SCI Unit Rome.
- 4 - file.

THEATER JUDGE ADVOCATE'S OFFICE
WAR CRIMES BRANCH
UNITED STATES FORCES, EUROPEAN THEATER

DATE 5 November 1945

TO: Central Registry, Counter-Intelligence Branch, G-2 Division, U S Forces,
European Theater, APO 757, U S Army. Attention: Lt Colonel Marr.

W.C.B. CASE NO. 000.6 EXT

- ☒ REQUEST PRESENT LOCATION OF SUBJECT
☐ REQUEST ALL AVAILABLE INFORMATION CONCERNING SUBJECT
☐ REQUEST APPREHENSION OF SUBJECT
☒ REQUEST NOTIFICATION OF SUBJECT'S APPREHENSION
☐ REQUEST INVESTIGATION OF LEADS AS INDICATED
☐ REQUEST INFORMATION AS TO WHERE, WHEN AND BY WHOM SUBJECT WAS ARRESTED

NAME (WITH ALIASES) Dr. Ante FAVELIC SEX Male
NATIONALITY Croatian AGE SINGLE MARRIED
FORMER ADDRESS OCCUPATION
DESCRIPTION: DATE OF BIRTH PLACE OF BIRTH
HEIGHT WEIGHT EYES HAIR BUILD
DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS

LAST KNOWN ADDRESS OR POSSIBLE WHEREABOUTS Subject is believed to be in custody in the United States Zone, but his exact location is unknown.

REASON WANTED: In connection with war crimes.

PREVIOUS HISTORY AND OTHER DATA Subject, former Chief of the Independent Croatian State - Croatian Nazi leader, is alleged to have committed numerous atrocities against Yugoslav nationals.

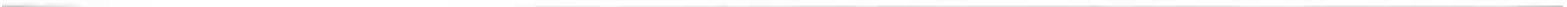
WIFE OR HUSBAND NATIONALITY AGE
ADDRESS
CHILDREN
FATHER ADDRESS
MOTHER ADDRESS

A request has been made by the Yugoslavian Government for extradition of subject. Do you object to his being extradited?

C. B. Mickelwait
C. B. MICKELWAIT,
Colonel, JAGD,
Deputy Theater Judge Advocate.

Form No. 21
(Summary or Information Form)

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1308

COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE CORPS
HONK DETACHMENT
ZONE FIVE
A.P.O. 512, US Army

FRP-EJL/gm

Case No. R-2803

29 August 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: PAVELIC, Ante

RE : Arrest of Subject.

1. Newspaper accounts of 24 August 1945 reported the arrest of Subject by Allied authorities in Austria. The article stated that PAVELIC was to be returned to Yugoslavia for trial as a war criminal.

RECOMMENDATION:

2. It is recommended that this case be considered closed.

FRANCIS M. FAVORINI,
Special Agent, CIC.

HARRY J. MURPHY,
Special Agent, CIC.

CONFIDENTIAL



470

8338
12 Oct. 46

SEX	PAFID ID	Age	Croatian	DATE
FIRST NAME	MIDDLE NAME	NATIONALITY	RANK	ORIGIN
AGE	DATE OF BIRTH	HEIGHT	WEIGHT	COLOR OF EYES
COLOR OF HAIR	IDENTIFYING FEATURES	TYPE GLASSES	SCARS	DEFORMITIES, ETC.
REGION	KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES	OFFICIAL CAPACITY	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS
PURPOSE OF STAY IN US ZONE	DATE OF ENTRY	INTO	AND	DEPARTURE
	FROM HIS ZONE	PLACE OF STAY IN US ZONE	REF	
		Austria		
		0874		

REMARKS: Filed in 390/39

DATE REFERENCE

9 April 46 Report - A.T.S. in Austria

AOL - S - 346 - 5000 - 626 - K 024

Reported by a violently revolutionary leader in Croatia who promoted his own Ustaše movement and took over the government in April 1941. He sold out to the Italians and Germans during the war. Photostat made and sent to WD - 7 NOV 1946

SECRET

16815.

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ROME DETACHMENT
ZONE FIVE
A.P.O. 512, U.S. ARMY

WEG:jc

17 January 1947

Case # 4512

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: Ante PAVELIC, Article in "L'ILLUSTRE" of Lausanne.

RE : Didier de Roussillon

1. A telephone request was received by this office from Colonel Snowden, Chief, CID, Austria for an investigation on an article printed in Swiss newspapers about an interview with Ante PAVELIC. Pursuant to instructions from the Supervising Agent of this Detachment an investigation was carried out by these Agents.
2. The article entitled "Quelques Minutes Avec Ante PAVELIC" and signed Didier de Roussillon was printed 7 November 1946 in the Lausanne "L'Illustré". It is believed to have been printed also in the Zurich "Illustrierte" at about the same time. From the article in "L'Illustré" the ROME newspaper "La Tribuna" printed an article entitled "Ante Pavelic attende di marciare su Belgio", 20 November 1946.
3. In the article the writer claims to have left Ciampino Airport, ROME, one morning in September and to have been ushered in to PAVELIC five hours later at a hotel in Graz, Austria. Two American Officers were present, the writer asserts. In the interview PAVELIC claims to have left Croatia, not because of TITO, but to preserve the peace of Yugoslavia. The two Americans smile, PAVELIC then asserts that Yugoslavia would be even more unfortunate if German imperialism be replaced by Soviet imperialism, and states that he is for all alliances (against Russia). The writer reflects that America and Britain are now PAVELIC's allies. The interview closes as the two Americans indicate the writer to leave.
4. A check at the Swiss Legation in ROME revealed that the article had caused a great stir and that Legation Officials had contacted Swiss newspaper men to ascertain particulars regarding "Didier de Roussillon". The result of their own investigation revealed that de Roussillon is unknown both to the Legation and Swiss newspaper men in ROME.
5. A check at the Military Permits Office, U.S. Embassy, ROME, revealed no record of a "Didier de Roussillon" going to Graz, Austria.
6. A check at Ciampino brought negative results since no such passenger was booked on either ACT or EATS (the article mentioned ATC). Nor was there any special flight with such a passenger on record at operations.

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... (the article mentioned ATC). Nor
was there any special flight with such a passenger on record at operations.

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SECRET

REMARKS:

The fact that "Didier de Roussillon" is unknown might prove only that the name is either false or a pen name. However, the complete lack of substantiating information in ROME tends to show that the whole incident did not occur. With the dialogue of the supposed interview, de Roussillon endeavors to prove only one point; that PAVELIC is being used by the Americans. PAVELIC's answers throw no light on anything and are, in the opinion of these Agents, contradictory. The statement that he left Yugoslavia not because of TITO but only to preserve peace is definitely contradictory. At the same time he is supposedly fighting secretly against TITO for Britain and the United States!

AGENTS' RECOMMENDATIONS:

Recommend case be closed.

George A. Zappala
GEORGE A. ZAPPALA
Special Agent, CIC

William E. W. Gower
WILLIAM E. W. GOWER
Special Agent, CIC

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SECRET

13087

COUNTY INTELLIGENCE GROUP
ROME DETACHMENT
ZONE FIVE
A.P.C. 512, U.S. ARMY

WBG:md

Case No. 4522

22 January 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICE IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: PAVLIS, Dr. Ante.

RE : Summary of Information.

1. Reports coming from many informants indicated that PAVLIS, Dr. Ante, the Croat USPOVIA Chief, has been in Rome at various times since the war ended and might be in Rome at the present time. Pursuant to instructions from the Supervising Agent of this detachment, an investigation was initiated.

2. Information having its source in reliable informants indicates that SUBJECT is at the present time in the extra-territorial walled-in compound on the left bank of the Tiber, at Largo Tevere Aventino, Rome. This compound has within its walls five Catholic organizations, a public wine shop, a public garage, a shop of one of the organizations, but open to the public, and one private residence.

3. The five religious organizations are: 1) The Monastery of St. Sabina of the Dominican Order; 2) The St. Alessio School for Roman Studies; 3) The Cavaliers of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta; 4) The Benedictine Monastery of St. Anselmo; 5) A children's school run by Nuns. The compound itself is situated on top of the Aventine Hill which has been built on since Roman times. As a result a conglomeration of buildings old and new now stands. The Hill itself is reputedly honeycombed with subterranean tunnels which link the individual building.

4. The area of the compound has been as carefully checked by this Agent as legal methods permit. The informants of this office have been unable to enter the compound but add that once inside, finding PAVLIS would be a very difficult problem if he lives underground inside an old construction which has long since been built on top of St. Alessio was

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relatively easy to enter and one could move about rather freely. Due to the large number of Italian civilians who come and go and the easy entrance it seems somewhat doubtful that PAVELIC would use this spot as a hiding place. The Villa of the Knights of Malta was inspected too. Special permission is required from the Grand Master of the Order, Prince Cicala who himself lives there 3 months of the year. Italian gardeners are at present the only inhabitants besides an Italian Consignor who takes care of the Chapel, St. Maria delle Priorita. This too, would seem an unlikely location for the Subject's hiding place as would the convent. The relatively new (1900) Benedictine Monastery St. Anselmo is very hard to enter. True, one can look at the Chapel and the Chapel Crypt and even the library by special appointment, but beyond that one can see nothing. Monks in this monastery are of all nationalities, American included. For this reason and also for the reason that a clandestine entry and exit, the building and walls being new, would seem not to be present. If PAVELIC is really in the compound, it would seem more likely that he would be in St. Sabina. St. Sabina is right on the Tiber river from the Church and the Monastery to the street level is a drop of about 150 feet which is enclosed by a 7-8 ft. wall. While checking this wall, this Agent noted that at one spot two holes had been knocked laterally into it and two stones had been placed below them to serve as a step. On the stones, in the holes, and on top of the walls were what appeared to be recent footprints. At another place about 75 yards away a similar arrangement was noted. While checking this wall, this Agent further noted a civilian in the ruins on top of which the monastery was built. Later, while this Agent was at several hundred yards distance said civilian descended from the Monastery, walked up and down twice along the wall as if finding the easiest place to jump from, and finally came down at the above-mentioned spot. This individual later walked down the road and passed this Agent; he was dressed very badly and seemed to be one in search of rags and junk. However, his walking up and down the wall in apparent hesitation might indicate that he was not the regular frequenter. St. Sabina, it should be added, has only the Chapel open to the public.

5. The public wine shop was checked and found to be run by a modest Italian family. The garage set up in tunnels under the hill facing the Tiber was also checked; the tunnels are all apparently sealed off from any others leading deeper into the Aventine. The shop of the Order of Malta was also checked and found to be run by an Italian in the uniform of the Red Cross. Joined to the private residence is a garage which is apparently involved in a trucking building. Nothing suspicious was discovered in any of the above locations.

6. Other information from reliable informants tends to show that the tram line running beneath the Aventine Hill along the Tiber and thence to the Circus Maximus, the Colosseum and Via Cavour is the connecting link between PAVELIC and Via Cavour, 210 Int. 3, which is an OSA base well known in Rome. (See attached diagram).

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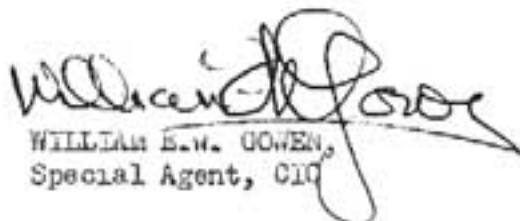
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7. Every Friday night sometime after 9 PM an USTASJA meeting supposedly takes place at this Via Cavour dwelling. As a result this agent chocked the house on Friday, 10 January 1947 at about 9:30 PM. The train (tram) line had already been watched at a shop near the compound with no untoward activity noted. No suspicious activity was noted around the dwelling upon approach, however, a few moments later an individual made observations in the hall and immediately returned and bolted the main door of the residence. About five minutes later all the first floor shutters were closed by the same person.

AGENT'S REMARKS:

8. The informants in question cannot enter the extra-territorial compound and not being Croats cannot enter the various known USTASJA addresses in Rome. On the other hand it is virtually impossible to get Croats to work against PAVELIC since they are either scared or they think it unpatriotic. While the informants in this case are considered reliable it is difficult to evaluate their reliability in relation to PAVELIC who has been dodging around Europe as his own master for about 15 years. All the information seems plausible and paints a plausible picture when it is taken as a whole. However, it would seem that only direct action against the Via Cavour house, illegal entry into extra-territorial territory or action against such known PAVELIC contacts as DRAGAN VEC, Krivoslav can ultimately reveal the hiding place of PAVELIC and lead to his apprehension. Observation continues.


WILLIAM E. COWEN,
Special Agent, CIO

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HEADQUARTERS
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ALLIED FORCES HEADQUARTERS
APO 512

CONFIDENTIAL

30 January, 1947

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

SUBJECT: Present whereabouts and Past Background of Ante PAVELIC, Croat Quisling.

1. From a usually reliable source the following information has been obtained concerning the present whereabouts of Ante PAVELIC, Croat Quisling.
2. With the collapse of German resistance in the Balkans and the subsequent withdrawal of support of the puppet Croat government on the part of the Germans, Ante PAVELIC, fearing for his personal safety at the hands of the Partisans fled from Yugoslavia into Austria where he took refuge in the small village of CKLOVAC near the Austrian-Yugoslav frontier. PAVELIC had an apartment and a villa there.
3. In April of 1946 PAVELIC left Austria and came to ROME accompanied only by an Ustasha Lieutenant named DOCHSEN. Both were dressed as Roman Catholic priests. They took refuge in a college there in Via Giavomo Belli, 3, which is the only college in ROME enjoying complete extra-territoriality, and which can be entered only by presenting the proper credentials. (Presumably the Papal seal is needed because it is said that this is the only college in ROME directly under the administration of the Pope.)
4. This informant further states that a short time ago PAVELIC obtained at the Spanish Consulate in MILANO a passport under the name of DON PEDRO GONNER. This passport is ready for Spain and has a visa either for South America or Canada. Three other members of the Ustashi are being taken care of in this same fashion but the only one so far identified is General Vlado KREN, Chief of the Croat Air Force under PAVELIC. KREN is an old-time Yugoslav officer who at the outset of the war deserted to the Germans taking with him as much loot and money as he could. He was decorated by the Germans after a lengthy inspection tour of the Croat Air Force on the Eastern Front.
5. This informant, directed by this Agent to try to penetrate the Ustashi intelligence network in Italy and Yugoslavia, has managed to do so and it has been determined that the network runs from GENOA-ROME-VENICE-TRIESTE-LJUBLJANA-ZAGREB. The whole affair is run under the cover of the Roman Catholic clergy whose priests in these monasteries are nearly all of Croat extraction. Complete penetration of this organization is a rather lengthy process but efforts are being continued in that direction. There is no doubt that Ustashi elements in Italy communicate with one another, and that the focal point of all intelligence and activity is the Monastery of Saint Jerome, Via Tomacelli, 132, ROME.

BACKGROUND:

6. Ante PAVELIC was born in 1896 in Ivan Planina in Bosnia and practi-

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6. Ante PAVZIC was born in 1896 in Ivan Planina in Bosnia and practic-

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ed law in ZAGREB. An extremist even in his youth he became a member of the arch-terrorist organization known as the "Frankovci" whose founder, Dr. Josip FRANK, was a Jew and the father-in law of Slavko KVATERNIK, the first Croat to be elevated to the rank of Field Marshall. KVATERNIK had long been a strong advocate of Croat separatism and the German ideas on a separate Croat state found in him a ready tool.

7. The quarrelsome nature of PAVELIC became more and more apparent in the years immediately after the first war when he became involved in one dispute after another with the Centralist Party and the Croat Peasant Party of RADIC. He was the sole representative of his Party in the Skupstina (Yugoslav Parliament) but rarely attended sessions and when he did he sulked in his seat and only occasionally indulged in a long harangue in protest against some measure which he did not approve.

8. In the early 1920's PAVELIC began to establish his contacts with Croat emigres in VIENNA and BUDAPEST and later on he established a close accord with the Macedonian terrorist society, LERO. In 1927 he acted as counsel for the defense of the Macedonian terrorists at the SKOPLJE trials.

9. Shortly after the proclamation of the establishment of the dictatorship of King ALEKSANDAR in January 1929, PAVELIC fled abroad and was subsequently condemned to death in absentia at BELGRADE for his part in anti-Serb demonstrations organized at SOFIA by Bulgarian and Macedonian terrorists.

10. From 1930 onwards while living abroad, a great part of the time in Italy, he became the leader of a terrorist organization eventually to be known as the Ustasha. This organization was financed by ROME and BUDAPEST and given moral encouragement by the Germans. Together with JELIC, ARTUKOVIC, and the younger KVATERNIK and others he was responsible for a serious flurry of bomb outrages, the weapons and explosives all supplied by Italy. This occurred in the period between 1930 and 1935.

11. Camps for training terrorists and saboteurs were set up in Italy and Hungary, chiefly at BRESCIA and BONGOTARO in Italy and JANKA PUSZTA in Hungary and an armed insurrection was attempted in 1933 in Yugoslavia when the Ustashi, armed by the Italians, attempted to invade the country by crossing the Adriatic in motor-boats. This was unsuccessful but its lack of success probably was instrumental in the decision to assassinate King ALEKSANDAR. Two attempts were made, the last one successful and ALEKSANDAR was slain at MARSAILLES 14 October, 1934 along with the French Minister of the Interior, Jean BARTHOU. The singular lack of armed protection afforded the Yugoslav monarch, and the general laxity of security precautions when it was well-known that one attempt had already been made on ALEKSANDAR'S life are rather ghastly tributes to the organizational ability of PAVELIC, who apparently had been able to bribe some high official of the Surete General. The Prefect of Police of MARSEILLES, JOUHANNAUD, was subsequently removed from office.

12. Yugoslavia took her case to the League of Nations offering evidence that Italy and Hungary had openly conspired against her sovereignty. However, for some strange reason Italy's role in the affair was never considered and Hungary bore the brunt of the charges. Italy, furthermore, stubbornly refused to extradite PAVELIC who, along with the younger KVATERNIK, was placed under the permanent supervision of the Italian police until sometime in 1941. During the course

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ent supervision of the Italian police until sometime in 1941. During the course

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of his "house arrest" he was subsidized by the Italians and he conferred long and often with Count Galeazzo CIANO on the prospective coup d'etat in Croatia .

13. In April of 1941 he arrived in ZAGREB and proclaimed the "Free and Independent State of Croatia" with himself as the head of the government . What prompted the Axis powers to put a man like PAVELIC at the head of a puppet government is not too well-known for it was an established fact that he was an ardent extremist of the worse sort and an international gangster . Perhaps it was the fact that the Nazis and the Fascists were not looking for leadership . The only thing that they needed was a fanatic, an ultra-chauvinist, who could and would do what they suggested and do it with a vengeance. At any rate in June and July, 1941 PAVELIC and his Croatian nationalists, representing the lunatic fringe of Balkan life, slaughtered in a few weeks tens of thousands of Serbians living in his "independent state" and along its peripheries .

14. PAVELIC remained as head of the "Free and Independent State of Croatia" until early 1945 when he disappeared from the limelight and little trace of him has been found since .

15. PAVELIC'S name tops the list of quislings whom the State Department and the Foreign Office have agreed to hand over to the Yugoslavs for trial . At the present time this Agent is expending every effort to try to trace PAVELIC AND HIS WIFE . One source yet unconfirmed states that she is living in VENICE under an assumed name while yet another says that she is living somewhere in ROME .

AGENTS COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: IN view of the fact that this man, while generally considered a criminal, is not a criminal in just the ordinary sense but a political criminal as well, and in view of the fact that the Yugoslav Government through its controlled press has on several occasions accused the Anglo-Americans of hiding PAVELIC to further their own aims, this Agent recommends that every effort should be made to apprehend him and ship him back to the Yugoslav Government for trial . In so doing not only would the Yugoslav propaganda guns be silenced and the people of Yugoslavia forced to admit that their previous propaganda was all false, but also a serious threat to security would be removed and the position of the Anglo-Americans strengthened with regard to those south Slav elements who were pro-allied before the war . The Ustashi organization in Italy is at the present moment a tightly-knit group still maintaining its "cell" organization, still publishing its papers, and still interested in the same aims that they professed before and during the war . The center of this organization is the Monastery of St. Jerome, Via Tomacelli, 132, ROME .

Approved: *E. F. Cowan*
EDWIN F. COWAN
Chief, CIC

Robert Clayton Auds
ROBERT CLAYTON AUDS
Special Agent, CIC

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Chief, CIC, AFHQ (1)

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Chief, CIG, AFHQ (1)

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ROME AREA ALLIED COMMAND
Office of the AC of S, G-2
APO 794, US ARMY

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P/4615

RMS/as
25 February 1947

SUBJECT : PAVELIC, Dr. Anto

TO : AC of S, G-2, MTOUSA

1. CIC Case #4522, subject as above, is forwarded.
2. It will be noted that the presence of Subject in Rome is still open to question.
3. This office has just recently received information that a Croat, real name unknown, presently in MILAN, has offered large sums (\$ 1000) for a passport and is also desirous of securing a passport for his family.
4. Arrangements have been made for this person to secure a passport in Rome. When this person appears he will be interrogated in the hope that this individual may be able to throw some light on PAVELIC.

Robert M. Stuart
ROBERT M. STUART
Captain, GSC
AC of S, G-2

1 Encl:

CIC Report, Case # 4522, two copies

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COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ROME DETACHMENT
ZONE FIVE
A.P.O. 512, U.S. ARMY

GAZ/md

15 March 1947

Case No. 4760

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: Ante PAVELIC (FOGLAVNIK).

RE : Summary of Information.

1. According to a usually reliable source, information regarding Subject was submitted to these Agents and subsequently passed on for guidance and consideration.

2. Until a few months ago Ante PAVELIC, ex-FOGLAVNIK of Croatia was hidden in Carinzia (Austria) in the American Occupational Zone. Since his sojourn in that region has become always more dangerous, PAVELIC it appears, has taken advantage of the strong protection of a high prelate and provided with false documents was able to reach Rome in November 1946. In Rome PAVELIC took refuge in a religious institution which enjoys the privilege of diplomatic immunity since it is under the jurisdiction of the holy See.

This Institute is the "COLLEGIO PIO PONTIFICIO IN PRATI" (Via Giocchino Belli, No. 3) whose director should be a prelate of Croatian or Slavic origin who is probably aware of FOGLAVNIK's escape from Austria. With PAVELIC in the same seminary an intimate associate has taken refuge, a Certain Prof. SAJC, his former secretary and helper. PAVELIC and his secretary, provided with false passports, should soon be leaving for Spain where they would find refuge under the protection of the Spanish phalanx.

PAVELIC is being frantically sought by the OZNA and elements of the Soviet GRU/PLU. They are offering large sums for his capture or information regarding the exact place of his refuge. In Rome, at the Croat Convent of "S. Cirilano degli Illirici", can be found (or at least until a few days ago) PAVELIC's wife, LOVRENCIC, Maria with her two children. They arrived from Tuscany and in Florence they had contacts with ZANNONI, Olga. Another son, Ivan, born in 1908 at Zagabria is presently in Switzerland at Lausanne (Avenue de Rumines 5) and leads a happy life.

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Members of OZNA, it is reported, should be going soon to Lausanne, Switzerland and their assignment is to capture him or to force him to return to Yugoslavia.

3. Additional information pending results of investigation now being carried out, will be forwarded as soon as available.

Louis S. Caniglia
LOUIS S. CANIGLIA,
Special Agent, CIC

George A. Zappala
GEORGE A. ZAPPALA,
Special Agent, CIC

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PAVELITCH Ante
YUGOSLAV
(Alias GONNER, Pedro)

CIC Zone 3
and 14 April 47

Filed 2-7 Yugoslav Anti-Communists

One time Chief of the USTACHI Movement. In the spring of 1946, Subject was reported to be in Rome, hiding under the name of Pedro GONNER. He had a Spanish Passport which was given to him by the Spanish Consulate in Rome. Later unconfirmed information reported that he had left for South America.

File D-205526

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COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
HEADQUARTERS, MTOUSA,
APO 612.

CASE No. _____

18 APRIL, 1947.

TO : OFFICER IN CHARGE,
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS,
HEADQUARTERS, MTOUSA,
APO. 612, U.S.ARMY.

SUBJECT: INVESTIGATION RE: WHEREABOUTS OF ANTE PAVELIC,
CROAT WAR CRIMINAL AND FORMER USTASA LEADER, (YUGOSLAVIA).

1. On April 11, 1947, the following persons met at Headquarters, C-2, MTOUSA, and discussed the above subject:
- (a) Col. Blunda, Acting Asst. Chief of Staff, C-2,
 - (b) Lt. Col. Tom Hartman, Officer in Charge, C-1, MTOUSA,
 - (c) Mr. Grennan, Officer in Charge, C.I.C., MTOUSA,
 - (d) Mrs. Heda Stern, civilian,
 - (e) Capt. M.H. Scott, CMP, from AMG, Venezia-Giulia, (Trieste).

By agreement and instruction of Col. Blunda and Lt. Col. Hartman, the discussion and further arrangements continued between the above latter-named three persons, at the office of Mr. Grennan, Headquarters, C.I.C.

2. At that time we turned over to Mr. Grennan for his purpose of photographic reproduction, the following photographs:
- (a) One exception-likeness photo, size 7 X 9 1/2 inches, of ANTE PAVELIC,
 - (b) One camera snapshot, size 5 1/2 X 8 1/2 inches, of MRS. MARA PAVELIC, wife of Ante Pavelic,
 - (c) One post-card-size group photo, size 5 1/2 X 8 1/2 inches, of the three children of Mr. & Mrs. Ante Pavelic, namely, (left to right):
(1) Mirjana, (daughter), (2) Vianja, (daughter), (3) Velimir, (son).

The above-mentioned photographs were turned to us by Mr. Grennan at his office on 15 April, 1947.

3. Following our conference with Mr. Grennan on 11 April, 1947, we proceeded to Florence where, on the following day, we contacted Maj. Wladis Giacobbe, Officer in Charge, Florence Detachment, C.I.C., and obtained his assistance in an investigation of one ISIDORI, Brunetto, alias BENEDETTI, Benedette, (see their investigation-report, ESF-6114-P, dated 14 April, 1947). Our motive for that particular investigation was: to gain a better position of appreciation and confidence in connection with a source known by us for valuable and reliable information on Ante Pavelic, his family and colleagues. The results of that investigation thus far are useful and promising to our search.

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4. While conferring with Mr. Grennan on 11 April, 1947, and examining our photographs of the various members of the Pavelic family, mention was made that a young man was then being questioned by his office, who was suspected of being Velimir, son of Ante Pavelic; that he was picked up in Florence, and had apparently attempted to make contacts at a POW Camp at or near Livorno. Subsequently through investigation we gained the following information, which may or may not have connection with the young man who was being questioned:
- About the last of August, 1945, Mara Lovrenacic (wife of Ante Pavelic) and her three children, Vianja, Mirjana and Velimir Pavelic came to Florence and stayed one night at the home of a friend, telling them that Mrs. Pavelic had come there from Austria, and that the children had come from Rome. Next day, they proceeded from Florence to CECINA (Province of Livorno) where they took up residence, probably early in September 1945 under the following false names: MARTINI, Maria, widow of Antenelli; daughter of the late Giuseppe and Rosi Ana; born at Trento, 8 March, 1896; and her children: ANTONELLI, Mario, of the late Pietro; age 21; and Clara, age 20. Our information fails to explain the difference between the facts that all three children were with Mrs. Pavelic at Florence but only two of them were indicated as being with her under false names at Cecina. We do not know WHERE they resided in Cecina, but records of the Commune of Cecina might reveal useful information such as signatures, fingerprints, etc. where they applied for Identity Cards, Tessera, etc. Their story to their landlady and local authorities there was that their identity documents had been "robbed from them". Soon thereafter, Mrs. Pavelic is said to have gone to Rome, to "L'Associazione Croata, San Gerolamo", to attempt to obtain false identity documents, but apparently failing in this, returned to Cecina, where their secrecy and extreme retirement attracted local suspicion and they then disappeared. We are reliably informed that the elder daughter, Vianja Pavelic, is betrothed to one PECHNIKAR, Vilko, former Commander of the Croat (Ustasa) "Gendarmerie", whose last-known whereabouts are said to be in Modena or its vicinity. It is quite possible that Mrs. Pavelic and the children are with or near him.
5. In our efforts to ascertain the whereabouts of former associates of Pavelic in connection with tracing him, we are informed that one BOGNJAK, Slavisa, fu Pietro, born at Spalato in 1909; and one BUICIC, Mirko, fu Jurek; former Ustasa Minister, are both presently guests at the Villa San Francesco, Rome, of Padre-Generale Turwitt; and are both in close contact with the Croats having refuge at the Vatican.
6. In 1942, Ante Pavelic bought a villa at Via Salvatino, No. 6, Florence, (Fiesole), from DONATI, Donatella for 750,000 lire and registered it in the names of himself and his wife, Mara. It is still their property, in their names, and its rental is paid to the account of Mrs. Pavelic.
7. During our short interval at Florence I went to the Girls' School, SS. Annunziata, Poggio Imperiale, Florence, upon the suggestion of Mrs. Stern, and obtained from the Directress, the dossier of Mirjana Pavelic, who with her sister, Vianja, was a student there in the late 1930's.

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This dossier contained two applications for admission of the two girls to that institution, each containing the personal signature of "Dr. Ante Pavelic"; also certified birth certificates of the two daughters, and other less pertinent records. The complete dossier was turned over by us to Mr. Grennan at his office on 18 April 1947 for his information, and photographic reproduction of the signatures of Pavelic; and will be later returned to the afore-mentioned school as promised by me. The Directress was cooperative and gladly turned the dossier over to me.

8. We are reliably informed that two ex-chambermaids of the Pavelic family who were in their service in Italy for a long time up to 1941, then in Croatia during Pavelic's regime there, then remaining faithfully with them in their flight from Croatia, are living at or near a certain town in northern Italy. (We can name the town, but need further careful and diplomatic "conversation" to learn the names and precise location of them). These chambermaids have told a friend that at each time the "Allied Officials" were about to capture the Pavelic's they were moved elsewhere by Allied personnel who were hiding them, and who were each time rewarded by Pavelic's with jewelry and money amounting to great sums. These chambermaids were trusted and faithful friends and we are practically sure they keep in close touch with the Pavelic's.
9. In the U.S. Zone of Austria, we know of two women in a town known by us; one is the wife of a former Ustasa Minister (PERIC), the other, the sister of a former Ustasa Finance Minister (KOSAK) (the latter, shot by Tito regime). Both of these women were formerly great friends of Pavelic, but now would gladly betray him. In the same town, in refuge, is a former Navy Commander under Pavelic, whom Mrs. Stern knew very well before Pavelic's regime. This man would have full confidence in Mrs. Stern and has asked friends to help him get in touch with her for assistance. He probably has valuable information on the whereabouts of Pavelic and other important fugitives.
10. Mrs. Stern was informed that a "new bunch of Ustasi" were collecting and preparing for shipment to So. America from Genova, and that one PSEKHICH, Srecko, living at Via Ssanam, No. 9, Milan, the Assistant of one of Pavelic's Ministers, knew all about the preparations, and she knew that she would be able to gain valuable information from him, or also from his two Ustasi friends, one DRAGAN and one FRANIC, living at Viale Morgani, No. 31, Milan. So, following our conference of 18 April, 1947 with Mr. Grennan, we proceeded to Milan where, on 18 April, we contacted Mr. Ingargiola, Officer in Charge, Milan Detachment, C.I.C. On 17 April, Mrs. Stern discreetly inquired for the above three persons, and was definitely advised that all three had sailed from Genova for Argentina (So. America) about twenty days ago.
11. The interval of our investigation covered by this report is obviously too short to permit us to follow up and develop many of the leads indicated. However, we have here submitted them for further reference and whatever immediate value they may have. Our best and most valuable source of information is a person of long and trusted friendship of Pavelic and his family, who knows and confides in Mrs. Stern enough to give her much of the information already obtained, and who COULD, (and we believe WILL) finally actually "lead" us to Pavelic. This person must be handled carefully however, and must not suspect that Mrs. Stern is actually "on Pavelic's trail".

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CASE No. _____

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We are quite sure that this person would not "talk" by force, but from our experience through our tactics thus far employed, we are convinced of our ultimate success.

12. For observation of Mr. Brennan, we left with him on 15 April, '47, our copy of information submitted to AFHQ (G-2) in connection with our investigation regarding this same subject in 1945. More valuable information was obtainable along this line at that time, and of course the situation has changed very much in the meantime. Many of the fugitives named in that report have undoubtedly escaped to So. America, etc., but others still remain at liberty in this theater. Our information indicated that Pavelic and his family are among the latter.

13. We remain now, as two years ago, at the disposal of your office, to contribute our utmost service in this matter without any personal ambitions.

14. As indicated in our personal conversation of 15 April '47, Mrs. Stern must depart for London, England on 18 April in connection with her private affairs and her eventual immigration to the U.S. If deemed desirable by your office, she is willing to return to Italy as soon as possible, probably by about 10 May, '47, and continue her service on this search. She could return to Trieste where she has previously resided and has many acquaintances who volunteer useful information to her; among them being one family whose three Ustasi cousins went with one of the most recent groups from Genoa to So. America. From Trieste, it would be quite easy and inconspicuous to check and follow up important leads and connections under various feasible excuses acceptable to all, such as pretending to visit her ill daughter at Morano Santeramo (as the daughter is actually there confined with T.B.). Her most important condition would be that she be permitted to live at Allied hotels for her safety, especially when at Trieste.

Marion H. Scott, Capt.
MARION H. SCOTT,
Capt., CMP, G-522200.

DISTRIBUTION:

W.C., AFHQ (MFOUSA)

Capt. M.H. Scott, CMP.

Mr. Ingargiola, C.I.C. Milan (1)

(3)
(2)

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...the setting-up of sovereign states, but we
have still to come to an agreement over frontiers.

Approved for Release

Date FFR 1998

"In 1941, I was wrong in extending the frontier of Canada

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"The majority of Serb emigres are followers of Brzica (i. e. Mihaljevic) and their politics are fundamentally those of

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"In 1941, I was wrong in extending the frontier of Croatia as far as the Drina and Zetun. But in the first place it was the Italians and Germans who decided this matter, and in the second place I thought they would make concessions to the Serbs (by ceding them Bosnia and Herzegovina), thus aiding the consolidation of Croatia as a nation.

"The majority of Serb emigres are followers of Draga (i. e. Mihailovic) and their politics are fundamentally those of

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

- 2 -

Draza. Our problem is therefore simple for I have an agreement with Draza of February 1945 concerning the frontier demarcation of the Croat and Serb areas. Dr. Bradich first approached me as Draza's plenipotentiary and later Predavec in company this time with a certain Croat who was with Draza (De Marinis could not recall his name), and subsequently General Djukich with Lt. Col. Andrich. It was confirmed on this occasion that the boundary line between Serbia and Croatia would follow the Neretva and Bosna rivers. As you see there was no difficulty about that. This is indicated in letters from Draza which I have kept.

"My foreign representative is Dr. Machek. He is the representative of all the Croats. At the time Machek created the Croat Banovina 26 August 1939, I was against the idea, but I was not against him. For the rest, I am a follower of the late Radich and Machek; since Machek accepted my idea of an independent State of Croatia, I am completely with him. During the time the Independent State of Croatia was in existence, I favored Machek's followers for I formerly belonged to the Radich party.

"The Ustashi Headquarters in Austria is located at Klagenfurt; Rome is the Headquarters in Italy. The chief in Austria is engineer Prkovich, former Minister of Forests, and in Italy is his brother, the former Minister of the Interior. They keep in touch with one another (as well as with General Ante Boban, the head of the Križari in Croatia) by radio.

"The Križari in Croatia are very strong. They were at one time divided into four groups. They are now united under the command of General Boban. Until recently, they experienced great difficulties in obtaining ammunition as Tito has been carrying out wholesale re-equipment with Soviet war material which is larger in caliber. In the meantime the English have sent them Soviet rifles and they can easily get ammunition now.

"The English help them in every way since they are anxious to have strong Križari forces as a basis of resistance to Tito".

2. In regard to the question of finance, Pavelich made the following reply:

"When we crossed over into Austria bar gold was brought in two trucks and hidden in an Austrian monastery. When the English surrendered to Tito some 25,000 Croats and arrested Pavelich together with his staff and wanted to hand them over, they gave the English this gold and so saved themselves.

"When the crash came large sums of money were transmitted to Switzerland. The Swiss recently refused to hand over this

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U.S. EYES ONLY PAVELIC Ante *mission*
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FILE-205526 *gpc*

G-2 Rome report dated 19 May 1947
File 610-3D folio (60).

G-2 Rome received the following information
dated 15 May 1947 from I.A.I.-RAAC.

Reliable Vatican source reports Subject
still living in Rome in a religious institute
located in the Prati District, with extra
territorial rights and in possession of a
passport made out to a Minister of Religion
Subject soon will leave for Spain from Genoa
with no intentions of going to the Argentine

G-2 Rome report dated 20 June 1947...Ref; P/L/AM
File: 610-3D (63).

Reference CIC report Summary No. 5109: The report
from the usually reliable source has been received stating
that Pavelic, Marja, wife of subject, now living with her
daughter CECINA (GROSSETO) will shortly be moving to
Florence. Address in Florence is expected to be Via
Sedrapino 6.

Information received from a vatican source on 3 June
stated that subject is living in the Religious Institute
and holds a passport made out to PADRE GOMEZ, a Spanish
Minister of religion; that subject is shortly to leave
for Spain and that his trip has been arranged for by
some Jesuits in the Vatican.

U.S. EYES ONLY

7-482

PAVELIC,

833 86

He is mentioned over Belgrade Radio as being let escape by the British. He is supposed to be a War criminal.

Ref.D.# 169925
Memo 25 May 47)

SECRET

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
ROME DETACHMENT
LONG FIVE
APO 312 US ARMY

17396
LC/cs

9 June 1947

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION:

revised
SUBJECT: PAVELICH, Anton

1. The following information concerning the whereabouts of subject has been submitted to these Agents by an informant of this office.

2. Mr. Anton PAVELICH, former resident of the Independent State of Croatia, frequently rumored to have left for Genoa, Spain and Argentina, is reported once more to be hiding in Rome. Among his domiciles is an apartment on the second floor in via GIACOMO VERESIANO, No. 17, stairway "C", where he was seen several weeks ago, dressed as a hunter.

WILLIAM H.R. COHEN
Special Agent, CIC

Louis S. Castella
LOUIS S. CASTELLA
Special Agent, CIC

SOURCE: Usually reliable
INFORMATION: Unconfirmed

BULKY - 5109

CHIEF, OPERATIONS, CIC, MTOUSA
AC of S, G-2, RAAC
SCI-Z
FILE

Handwritten notes and markings at the top right corner of the page.

C O P Y

TRANSLATION

FILE D-00526

Subject: Ante PAVELIC and other USTASHA personalities.

1. Ante PAVELIC is in hiding as an ex-HUNGARIAN General under the name of "Giuseppe". He wears a small pointed beard and has his hair cut short at the sides after the fashion of a German Army officer.
2. He is living on Church property under the protection of the Vatican, at Via Giacomo Venezian No. 17-C, second floor. On entering the building you go along a long and dark corridor. At the end of the corridor there are two stairways, one to the left and one to the right. You must take the right. On the right the rooms are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. If you knock once or twice at door No. 3 an unimportant person will come out. But if you knock three times at door No. 3, door No. 2 will open. It leads to the room where PAVELIC lives, together with the famous BULGARIAN terrorist Vassia MIKOILOFF and two other persons.
3. About twelve other men live in the building. They are all Ustasha and make up PAVELIC's bodyguard.
4. When PAVELIC goes out he uses a car with a Vatican (SCV) number-plate.
5. The following persons visit the convent occasionally:
 - a) Ivica FRKOVIC, editor of the Ustasha paper "Hrvatski Narod";
 - b) Dr. Feliks POLJANIC, Asst. chief of police SARAJEVO;
 - c) Ciro KUDUJA, Ustasha Colonel;
 - d) Dr. VIDALI, Asst. chief of the Ustasha-Croat Security Police;
 - e) Zvonko DUGANIC, Asst. chief of Croat Information Service (he lives in HOME, tel.N. 43302);
 - f) Peter SIMIC;
 - g) Dr. Lovro SUSIC, secretary of Ustasha movement in Italy. Travels frequently (ROME, BOLOGNA, TRIESTE). At present living at CASERTA.
 - h) Joso ZUBIC, police commissioner of SARAJEVO;
 - i) Husnija HRUSTANOVIC, journalist;
 - j) Zdravko BJELOMARIC.

C O P Y

Ustasha file

Ann

memorandum

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

HEADQUARTERS
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
MEDITERRANEAN THEATER OF OPERATIONS
OPERATIONS SECTION

A.P.O. 512

7 July 1947

CP 1 check
SUBJECT: Pavelic, Anton

TO : Supervising Agent, CIC, Zone Five, APO 528, U. S. Army.

1. Reference is made to SOI No. 6109, your office, dated 9 June 1947, which indicates information to the effect that Subject is reported living in Rome on the second floor of Via Giacomo Veneziano, 17, stairway "C".

2. Request advice as to results of your investigation at above address.

3. The Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, MTONSA, desires that Subject be taken into custody on sight and that his office be notified immediately when such apprehension is made.

BERNARD J. O'BRIEN,
Special Agent, CIC,
Chief of Operations.

*New instruction "Hands off",
Source Mr. Grennan & Lt. Col. Hartman
14 July 1947*

B.M.

28

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UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS

July 29, 1947

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Acting Supreme Allied Commander
(Through Chief of Staff)

SUBJECT: Ante Pavelic

CG	
C/S	
O/CSO	
O/CSA	
SGS	

The Department of State informs me that Ante Pavelic, Croat Ustasha wanted as a war criminal by the Yugoslav Government, is rumored to be residing at the present time in disguise within the Vatican. The Department has informed the British Embassy in Washington, in reply to its request for the views of the United States Government on whether the United States and United Kingdom military authorities should assist the Italian authorities in endeavoring to arrest him at a suitable opportunity outside Vatican territory, with a view to his surrender to the Yugoslavs, that the United States Government agrees that the United States military authorities should cooperate with the Italian authorities to the extent necessary and possible in this particular case. The Department has pointed out, however, that such cooperation is not to be considered as a precedent contravening the general position of the United States that the matter of alleged quislings outside Allied jurisdiction is the responsibility of the Italian authorities. In this connection I refer to my memorandum to you of July 28, entitled "Alleged Yugoslav Quislings at large in Italy."

Joseph N. Greene, Jr.
Joseph N. Greene, Jr.
Acting U. S. Political Adviser

cc to D/COS

G-5 Section
BRIT POLAD
JA Section
G-2 Section

Classification Canceled (or changed) to
by Authority of
May Buggs by *Chen*
Date 12 Aug 1952 CIV G BITCH

~~TOP SECRET~~ - 205526

(E)

Office of the British Political Adviser
to the Supreme Allied Commander,
A.F.H.Q., C.M.F.

C.G.
95A
2/5/52

47/166/2A.

2nd August, 1947.

TOP SECRET.

Classified
SECRET
Ind, 10, 19 Sep 52
Date 26 Sep 1952

To:- A/SACMED., through Chief of Staff.

From:- British Political Adviser.

Copy:- D. C/S.
J.A.G.
G-2.
G-5.
United States Political Adviser.

Put in
TOP SECRET
131 LI

Subject: ~~NAME~~ PAVELIC.

Refer to United States Political
Adviser's memorandum on this subject of
29th July.

H.M. Government are in full agree-
ment that this man should be apprehended on
the terms proposed by United States State
Department.

7-4523

They are moreover most anxious that
no time should be lost in laying the plan.
All details available on the British side are
to be found in Rome and I am to ask that
your representative should call at H.M.
Embassy as soon as possible to concert action.
He should contact Mr. Bendall in the first
instance.

P.W. Scarlett

P.W. Scarlett
British Political Adviser.

CONFIDENTIAL

CIC 100
NO. 7-4523

CONFIDENTIAL

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INFORMAL ROUTING SLIP

(Classification)

HEADQUARTERS
MEDITERRANEAN THEATER OF OPERATIONS
Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2
APO 512, U. S. Army

File: _____

SUBJECT: Ante PAVELIC

D-205526
Classification Canceled (or changed) to
SECRET by Authority of
my Buggs by *[Signature]*
Date 13 Aug 1952 GUY G MITCHELL
1st Lt

No.	From	Phone	To	Date
1.	G-2 (CI)	307	DC/S AFHQ	7 Aug 47

1. In reply to the request 6 August 1947 below is a brief of the life of Ante PAVELIC.

2. Ante PAVELIC was born in 1896 in PLANINA in BOSNIA and practiced law in ZAGREB. An extremist even in his youth, he became a member of the arch-terrorist union known as the "Frankovci" under Doctor Josip FRANK. In the years immediately after the first world war he became involved in many disputes with the other Yugoslav political parties and was the sole representative of his party in the Yugoslav Parliament. In the early 1920s PAVELIC established many contacts in VIENNA and BUDAPEST and was in close contact with the Macedonian terrorist society, IMRO.

3. Shortly after the proclamation of the dictatorship of King ALEXANDER in January 1929 PAVELIC fled abroad and was subsequently condemned to death in absentia by ALEXANDER for his part in anti-Serb demonstrations organized by the Bulgarian and Macedonian terrorists.

4. From 1930 onwards, while living in a great part of the time in ITALY, he became the leader of a terrorist organization eventually to be known as the USTASHI. This organization, financed by ROMÉ and BUDAPEST and given moral encouragement by the Germans, was responsible for a serious flurry of bomb outrages from 1930 until 1935. Training centers for terrorists were set up at BRESCIA and BORGOTARO, ITALY. The series culminated in the assassination of King ALEXANDER at MARSEILLES, FRANCE on 14 October 1934.

COMMENT:

The singular lack of added protection afforded the Yugoslav Monarch when it was well known that one attempt had already been made on ALEXANDER's life are rather ghastly tributes to the organizational ability of PAVELIC who had apparently bribed some high official of the Surete Generale.

5. When ITALY was asked by YUGOSLAVIA to extradite PAVELIC for his guilt in this assassination, ITALY absolutely refused and during his time of nominal house arrest PAVELIC often conferred with STANOJEVIC, the Yugoslav Minister of Internal Affairs.

CONFIDENTIAL

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2-4524

NOT RECORDED

INFORMAL ROUTING SLIP

(Classification)

HEADQUARTERS
MEDITERRANEAN THEATER OF OPERATIONS
Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2
APO 512, U. S. Army

File: _____

SUBJECT: Ante PAVELIC (continued)

No.	From	Phone	To	Date
				6. In April 1941, PAVELIC traveled to and under the auspices of Italians and Germans proclaimed the "Free and Independent State of Croatia." In June and July of 1941, PAVELIC and his Croatian national representing some of the outstanding thugs in the Balkans, slaughtered tens of thousands of Serbians living in his independent state and along its border.
				7. PAVELIC remained as head of the "Independent State of Croatia" until early 1945 when he disappeared. Traces have found of his residence in AUSTRIA until the spring of 1947 when it is believed he traveled to ROME.
				For the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

Charles D. Hartman
CHARLES D. HARTMAN JR.
Lt Colonel, GSC
G-2 (CI) Section

7 4524

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COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS

ROME DETACHMENT

ZONE FIVE

A. P. O. 512, U. S. ARMY

29 August 1947

Case No. 5650

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: PAVELIC, Ante

1. Pursuant to instructions of the Supervising Agent, this Detachment upon the request of the AC of S, G-2, MTCUSA, these Agents are herewith submitting the following information concerning Subject.

2. PAVELIC, Ante, former Chief of State of the Croat Independent State 1941-1945 and at present on the London War Criminal List recognized by Great Britain and the United States, is in hiding in Italy, probably in the Rome area. Though his present status cannot be concisely established, it is known that numbers of Croat guerillas in Yugoslavia are fighting and dying in his name.

3. PAVELIC began his career as a political emigrant in 1929 after the Serbs had murdered RADIC, the leader of the Croats in the Yugoslav Parliament. The Subject, a violent Croat nationalist, subsequently fled from Yugoslavia, and the Serbs retaliated by killing off all the members of his family. As a result of this, PAVELIC became even more radical and rose to the leadership of the Croat USTASCIA Movement in 1933 at which time he was in Geneva, Switzerland. Living in the boarding houses and third class hotels of Central and Western Europe, including those of Paris, Geneva, Rome and Budapest, in contact with the political intelligence agents of MUSSOLINI and HORTHY, in alliances against Yugoslavia with Balkan secret societies, and in league with the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia, combatting the Serb Orthodox Church, Subject built up a large series of acquaintances in a number of countries. In 1935, he was responsible for the MARSEILLE assassination of King ALEXANDER of Yugoslavia and the French Foreign Minister, BARTHOU.

4. In the meantime, he had married a Jewess and now has three (3) children by her; two daughters and a son.

5. Though fanatically anti-Serb and to a slightly lesser degree anti-Orthodox, PAVELIC is a cultured person and a social liberal. It is said, with exactly what foundation is unknown, that Archbishop

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COL D. G. C. JUNE 17 1980
1ST LI, HQ 66TH CIC DET, 14 JULY 1950

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CONFIDENTIAL**

(Subject: "PAVELIC, Ante" dated 28 August 1947 continued)

STEPINAC, Alois of Zagreb was the Subject's evil genius. STEPINAC was one of PAVELIC's close friends and is reputed to have taken him at the time of his political frustration when the tragedy of his family was still a fresh memory and to have turned him into a religious fanatic. The fact is, however, that during the early months of the PAVELIC regime about 150,000 persons of the Serb Orthodox faith were slaughtered - in many cases, it is a matter of record, they were offered salvation if they renounced their faith and became Catholics.

6. Thus, today, in the eyes of the VATICAN, PAVELIC is a militant Catholic, a man who erred, but who erred fighting for Catholicism. It is for this reason that Subject now enjoys VATICAN protection. Certain it is that the reports STEPINAC sent to the Holy City, concerning Subject must have been favorable.

7. Due to the Croat-Italian frontier question, PAVELIC slowly dropped his very close contact with the Italian Fascist Government and came to an agreement with the Germans sometime prior to 1941. This was not an unnatural step since Croatia had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire for hundreds of years with the middle and upper classes all speaking German, and with the Croat military and naval officers all graduates of Austrian academies. In April 1941, when Germany and Italy invaded Yugoslavia, PAVELIC declared the Independent Croat State and the Croat elements of the Yugoslav Armed Forces for the most part deserted and turned on the Serbs. PAVELIC's tie to the Germans tightened when the Italians formally annexed parts of Croatia and declared other regions occupied territory. (After the Italian Armistice, 8 September 1943, Subject incorporated these territories into Croatia). The Croats found this particularly odious because they themselves had turned over these areas to the Italians. The friction between PAVELIC and the Italians increased despite Subject's Rome visit to MUSSOLINI in 1941. Eventually, the Italian SIM (Intelligence) organized the sale of war materials to MIHAILOVIC for explicit use against the Croats.

8. During the war, when CHURCHILL was backing the idea of an Allied Balkan invasion and MIHAILOVIC commanded the major Allied Force in the area, the Chetnik Commander approached two of PAVELIC's ministers VOKIC and LORKOVIC. He did so seeking the eventual cooperation of the Croats in the supposedly impending Allied invasion. The Subject tolerated this relationship for some time; however, when this invasion failed to materialize, the two a/m ministers were tried, sentenced, and executed.

9. In May 1945, just prior to the final German collapse, when TITO had already been recognized by Britain and the United States, the remnants of the Croat Armed Forces were retreating towards southeast

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(Subject: "PAVELIC, Ante" dated 28 August 1947 continued)

Minister assassinated with ALEXANDER in 1935. On the other hand, PAVELIC is known to be in contact with the VATICAN which sees in him the militant Catholic who yesterday fought the Orthodox Church and today is fighting communist atheism.

13. Since no emigrant political leader with as many enemies and as many acquaintances as the Subject could long hide from the eyes of the world without also positive assistance, indubitably, the Subject is today being supported and exploited by some power. Though it can be admitted that the VATICAN could successfully hide an individual, it must be brought to mind that he also has a wife and three (3) children who are also under cover and are being supported. Due to the regulations of the Roman Catholic Church, no man can live with his wife inside a religious institution. Allegedly PAVELIC's family came to Italy with PAVELICIC, a former Croat minister, and lived first in CECINA, Tuscany, for some time and then moved to Florence. His son is now reported studying at Bologna and one daughter is believed married. His wife with the remaining daughter supposedly remain in Florence. PAVELIC's family must have fled through the British lines from Croatia in 1945 and its location must have been known to the British at that time. Knowing something of the British Intelligence system, these Agents feel sure that it must have been and continues to be closely surveilled by the British. It is also not excluded that the Italian authorities do not know of the exact location of PAVELIC's family.

14. For some time a number of rumors have been circulating concerning PAVELIC's supposed attempts to flee Italy using false passports. PAVELIC obviously has need of false documents and is probably in the possession of a large number of them. But these Agents doubt that PAVELIC desires to leave Italy, the VATICAN, his family, what remain of his organization, and the fight to which he has fanatically dedicated his life.

AGENTS' COMMENTS:

PAVELIC, after years of frustration and bitterness succeeded in returning to his homeland a conquering hero. He obviously is hoping and fighting for the same end again today with all the fanaticism of a desperate and cornered revolutionary. For the reasons given above he is receiving the protection of the VATICAN whose view of the entire "PAVELIC Question" is that, since the Croat State does not exist and, since the TITO regime cannot be expected to give anybody a fair trial, the Subject should not be turned over to the present Yugoslav Regime with the excuse of bringing him to justice. The extradition of PAVELIC would only weaken the forces fighting atheism

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(Subject: "PAVELIC, Ante" dated 29 August 1947 continued)

and aid Communism in its fight against the Church.

PAVELIC's crimes of the past cannot be forgotten, but he can only be tried by Croats representing a Christian and Democratic Government, the VATICAN maintains. While PAVELIC is allegedly responsible for the death of 150,000 persons, TITO is the agent of STALIN, who is responsible for the deaths of tens of millions of persons in the Ukraine, White Russia, Poland, the Baltic and the Balkan States over a period of about twenty-five (25) years.

It is the opinion of these Agents that the Subject has been closely linked to the British in the past and still is, though to what degree is unknown.

The present Chetnik view of PAVELIC is that he ought not to be turned over to TITO at the present time since his following trial would be used as a basis for more anti-American and pro-Communist propaganda.

Monsignor JURETIC, Agostino, reputedly the Chief Croat Peasant Party representative in Europe now that Dr. MACEK is in America and who went to school with Subject, recently stated in regard to PAVELIC's present status, "he has got all his faith in the British",

RECOMMENDATIONS:

These Agents recommend that the VATICAN and Chetnik views of PAVELIC be appreciated and that no direct police action be taken against him on the part of the American Military Authorities. Such action would force his extradition to TITO and would bolster the present British anti-American propaganda campaign being waged among the political emigres in Western Europe. (In the case of the Croats the British state that while they have only extradited seven (7) Croats from Italy the United States had extradited ninety-eight (98) from Austria). If however, contact can be established through the VATICAN, as these Agents believe quite possible, and proof can be collected concerning British protection and cooperation with Subject, then the British could be forced to arrest and extradite him themselves. The ultimate disposal of PAVELIC is necessary if the Croat democratic and resistance forces are to ever be recognized by the United States. In the meantime, these Agents recommend that attempts be made to discover the whereabouts of PAVELIC's wife and three (3) children who are apparently still dispersed in Italy.

Louis S. Caniglia
LOUIS S. CANIGLIA
Special Agent, CIC.

William E.W. Cowen
WILLIAM E.W. COWEN
Special Agent, CIC.

APPROVED:

Gono Morena
GONO MORENA
Supervising Agent.

Distribution:

To AC of S G-2 only as per

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APPROVED:

[Signature]
GONDO MORENA
Supervising Agent.

To AC of S G-2 only as per
Special Order to the i-
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e 1 Ruth
F. J.

ZONE - FIVE

A. P. O. 512. U. S. ARMY

WENG/mjs

12 September 1947

Case No. 5650-A

MEMORANDUM FOR THE OFFICER IN CHARGE:

SUBJECT: FAVELIC, Anto

Re : Present Status

610-3D

Cordeau

1. The following information concerning Subject has been the result of further investigation of Case No. 5650 as per instructions Supervising Agent, this detachment following the request of AC of S, G-2, LTCUSA.
2. Between five (5) and ten (10) days ago, PAVELIC underwent a serious operation. Reputedly, he barely survived this operation. Indirect contact is being maintained with one of Subject's acquaintances through DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav. The name of this acquaintance is not known to these Agents and apparently the man in question is not as yet aware of the interest of an American agency.
3. These Agents have received the following impression of PAVELIC's contact with the VATICAN.
- PAVELIC's contacts are so high and his present position is so compromising to the VATICAN, that any extradition of Subject would deal a staggering blow to the Roman Catholic Church.

AGENTS' COMMENTS:

It is the opinion of these Agents that an interview can be arranged with Subject on extraterritorial ground when the condition of his health permits his movement.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

It is recommended that the final disposition of Subject's case await the clarification that such an interview as described above could bring.

LOUIS S. CANIGLIA
Special Agent, CIC.

WILLIAM E.W. COHEN
Special Agent, CIC.

APPROVED:

GOING MORRIS
Supervising Agent

CONFIDENTIAL

Al₂O₃ 5.62, a 20.5A

PAVALIC Alias KEREK

SUBJECT is the commander of the "Ustascha" resistance army which is reported to be operating in TSHERNAGORA and in the Dalmatian area. The Ustascha headquarters is in the vicinity of GORZ, near UDINA. SUBJECT maintains a liaison with partisans fighting in Poland and in Czechoslovakia and uses "KEREK" as a cover name.

Ref. D. 198454
17 Oct 1947

MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION ON THE BALKANS
Re: BALKAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS.

for Colonel Harvey Smith, G-2.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

C. Bolt

From: Rome

Date: 7 January 7 pm

No.:

Code: ~~169~~ Secret

Received: 8 January 11:50 am.

For Colonel Smith, G-2.

The following information received from Rome this date to be forwarded to you:

"Possible aliases are Brodic (repeat Brodic) and Dasovic (repeat Dasovic) Embassy source certain he was in Rome December 15 at Croatian Religious Institute St. Hieronym, via Tomacelli 132. Apparently did not depart scheduled vessel which sailed for Argentina about December 20 and he may now have returned to Austria.

His son reported to be in Rome now under assumed name, Braco (repeat Braco).

Pavelich reported to have had plastic surgery performed."

KEY.

REM:rom

PAVELICH, Ante

SUBJECT is the leader of the USTASHI (the 'ngurgents)

SUBJECT is the Head of the Croatian Regime

SUBJECT was mentioned in this report concerning "USTASHI" and it was said that "The principles will be the same as the principles of the USTASHI Leader Ante PAVELICH, during the time of his emigration to Italy, before SUBJECT took power in Croatia.

8338

Ref. D. 152147 USTASHI (The Insurgents)
Memo: 16 Feb. 1948

Not Found

The requested URL /documents/pavelic/text/ap0031.txt was not found on this server.

Apache/1.3.33 Server at www.pavelicpapers.com Port 80

Subject: Reported Arrival of Ante
FAVLIC in Argentina

Report No:

Date of Information: Current

Place Acquired:

Date Acquired: November 1948

Evaluation:

Date of Report: 2 December 1948

Source:

1. Ante FAVLIC, former head of the Independent State of Croatia and pro-Nazi war criminal, is reported to have arrived in Buenos Aires on board the Italian ship SS SISTRINE which docked on 6 November from Genoa, Italy.

2. FAVLIC traveled under an unidentified assumed name, as an engineer, on International Red Cross documents. On board, he was disguised by a heavy beard and a mustache. Upon arrival in Buenos Aires, he is said to have shaved both beard and mustache.

3. Ivoan PUCOVIC, Vjekoslav Vukobratovic and Jozo JAKOVIC had been secretly advised by Father Stjepan GABRIELIC from Rome that FAVLIC was sailing for Argentina on the SS SISTRINE.

4. For a few months prior to his departure from Italy, FAVLIC stayed at a monastery by Castel Gandolfo near Rome, the Pope's summer home. With Father GABRIELIC's help, subject made his way to Genoa from whence he came to Argentina.

5. Shortly after his arrival in Buenos Aires, FAVLIC held two long conferences with dragoon HESSE, in which the latter, speaking in the name of the Argentine government, extended full help and cooperation. Later, subject received VUKOB, VUKOB, (Pau) TWILIA, Father Vlado BILGON, Pau MUC and the two editors of the bi-weekly newspaper "Croatia", Ivoan LEVITIC and Vinko NIKOLIC.

6. At his first meeting with his followers in Argentina, FAVLIC urged the Croats to stand together and work for the restoration of the "Independent State of Croatia". He added that there is no assurance that Dr. Vlado BILGON will work for a free Croatia.

7. After several days in Buenos Aires, subject, accompanied by VRANCIO, left for the interior. Some say that they went

Classification

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FORM NO. 1-10

Approved for Release
Date FFR 1998

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to Cordoba, but source is of the opinion that FAVELIC may be in Tandil in the Province of Buenos Aires, 220 kilometers south of the City of Buenos Aires. This belief is supported by the fact that a staunch follower of FAVELIC, Franco LUCINI, a great engineer, suddenly left Buenos Aires for Tandil.

U. FAVELIC's first steps upon arrival in Argentina indicate that he plans to become politically active. If such is the case, source believes he will exercise considerable influence over local Yugoslav immigrants, especially the Croats and Slovenes. Source states that FAVELIC is convinced that he has a mission to perform, and that he and his followers still regard him as the "Foglavnik" or chief of state.

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The requested URL /documents/pavelic/text/ap0032.txt was not found on this server.

Apache/1.3.33 Server at www.pavelicpapers.com Port 80

PAVELIC, Ante

Res: 14055 Ohio Avenue, c/o Mrs. Katherina PEJAKOVIC, DETROIT 4, Michigan or BUENOS
Aires, Argentina
Former puppet government head in CROATIA.

RD-180391, A/R Reg V-19798, VI-15373, subj: CROATIAN CATHOLIC UNION dtd 4 Dec 50

*File
205526*

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cc

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The requested URL /documents/pavelic/text/ap0033.txt was not found on this server.

Apache/1.3.33 Server at www.pavelicpapers.com Port 80

PAVELIC, Ante.

File 205526 mh

SUBJECT charged LUBURIC with the organization of the whole of the Croatian Resistance Movement in case Yugoslavia was occupied.

RD-232318, Ltr, ID, Subj: The Croatian Resistance Movement.

TITO ASKS PERON TO YIELD PAVELIC

Yugoslav Note Also Requests
Other Ustashi Residing in
Argentina Be Extradited

Special to The New York Times.

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, May 23—The Press Directorate announced tonight that the Foreign Ministry had sent a note to the Argentine Government on May 19 requesting the extradition of Ante Pavelic and other Ustashi war criminals who are now residing in Argentina.

Pavelic, who occupied the position of Poglavnik or chief of the Nazi and Italian Fascist puppet state of Croatia during the last war, is held responsible for the mass murder of 800,000 Serbs, Croats and Jews by the Ustasias.

The note to the Peron Government followed a similar note to the United States Government requesting the extradition of Andrea Artukovic, who served as Minister of Interior under Pavelic and who in the Yugoslav view shared the responsibility for the mass exterminations in Croatia. United States immigration authorities picked up Artukovic in Los Angeles and released him on bail pending an investigation.

Anti-Tito "Government" Set Up

In its note to the Argentine Government, the Foreign Ministry said that Pavelic and his associates had set up a "government" in Buenos Aires whose activities were directed against the present Yugoslav state. The note added that these men were publishing several newspapers and were enjoying the protection and patronage of the Argentine Government.

The Yugoslav note charged the Argentine Government with giving official employment to many notorious Ustasias and cited the case of Ivan Heretic, Ustashi police chief of Croatia and now employed in the Ministry of Public Works at Buenos Aires under the name Juan Horvat. The note also mentioned the case of Josip Balen, former Ustashi Minister who is now employed by the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture under the name Ivan Barac.

Asylum Right Not Contested

The Tito Government's note asserted that the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs had made an arrangement with the "commissariat of the Ustashi Franciscans" in Buenos Aires whereby the Ustasias could obtain legal status. According to the note, this commissariat is authorized to issue certificates of birth and marriage and other legal documents to Ustashi émigrés that are accepted by Argentine authorities.

The note said the Yugoslav Government did not contest the right of any state to grant asylum to political émigrés, but in the case of the Ustasias the issue involved

war criminals who were plotting openly against Yugoslavia.

The note concluded with the statement that the Yugoslav Government expected the Argentine Government to take immediate steps to end the activities of the Ustasias against Yugoslavia and advised the Argentine Government that the extradition of the Ustasias was being requested.

ACCESS RESTRICTED

11/1/5

The item identified below has been withdrawn from this file:

File Designation

~~Author RAVI-ETC~~

XE 001109

Date

25 Sep 51

From

CIA

To

Reported Resurgence of...

In the review of this file this item was removed because access to it is restricted. Restrictions on records in the National Archives are stated in general and specific record group restriction statements which are available for examination. The item identified above has been withdrawn because it contains:

☒ Security-Classified Information

☐ Otherwise Restricted Information

CIA/INTEL
Authority

10 May 84
Date
JGA

(1A)

ACCESS RESTRICTED

1/3/5

WITHDRAWN NOTICE

The item identified below has been withdrawn from this file:

File Designation

XE 001109

Date

8 Nov 47

From

Lt Col Blundg

To

Col Fritzsche

In the review of this file this item was removed because access to it is restricted. Restrictions on records in the National Archives are stated in general and specific record group restriction statements which are available for examination. The item identified above has been withdrawn because it contains:



Security-Classified Information



Otherwise Restricted Information

CIA/INTEL
Authority

10 May 48
Date
SGA

6230

Reported Resurgence of Ustascha Org. in Europe Controlled
by Ante PAVELIC

11 Dec 1951

1 DAD Hqs 11 Dec.
LO 66th 1951
CIC
Det
P40 Br.

Attached hereto is a report concerning Subject. You should appreciate receiving your comments and any information available in your files concerning subject.

Incl: a/s

Charles B. Martin
Stuttgart Representative

Tel. Ext. 267

2. D-206636
Hq DAD 31 Dec
66th LO 1951
CIC
Det

1. Reference your minute 1, above, a file check this organization revealed no information relative to the resurgence of subject organization.

2. In the event that such information comes to our attention, it will be furnished without delay.

FOR THE COMMANDING OFFICER:

Incl: w/d

Capt GSHKMAN/cm/mc/Stgt 9343-944
GFS

EUGENE L. MALRADY
Maj, TC
Chief, Operations Section

M/R:

21 Dec 51

DAD requested all available information in our files re the resurgence of Subject organization. They have some info that Ante Pavelic, wartime leader of this Org was attempting to reorganize in Austria, Belgium, and Italy.

RHG/cm

Attention is invited to par 23, AR 600-10, which prescribes disclosure of information to the public and the exchange of information with foreign countries. It is the policy of the Department of Defense to control the release of information to the public and to foreign countries. The Assistant Secretary of Defense, Policy and Plans, is the official authority for the release of information to the public and to foreign countries. Unauthorized disclosure of such information will be considered a violation of AR 600-10.

[Handwritten signature]

41375

[Handwritten scribble]

PAVELIC, Ante

? File 9 - 1109
148

24 Jun 53

War criminal, who is believed to be in Argentina or Italy. Former Ustasha leader, who directed the Croatian nationalist movement; this movement has sponsored an "information collecting agency" for operations in Yugoslavia and Austria under cover of the various Caritas offices in Austria. F

Ref: D-336336 Conf Rpt dtd 16 Dec 52 # R-1991-52 - 430th

Sub: Yugoslav Emigre Activities in Austria

ce/COM

PRO-NAZI IS HUNTED

Argentina Orders Arrest of Wounded Yugoslav

BUENOS AIRES, April 26 (UP)—The Ministry of Interior tonight issued an order for the arrest of Ante Pavelic, prominent pro-Nazi leader in Yugoslavia who headed the independent Croatian state set up during the invasion by Hitler's armies.

The Ministry said Pavelic had disappeared from his home in suburban Buenos Aires and was considered a fugitive.

He was shot and seriously wounded by an unidentified assailant two weeks ago. He was hit in the right shoulder and near the spinal column.

Pavelic came to Argentina in 1946. The Yugoslav Government is seeking his extradition as a war criminal.

ANTE PAVELIC DIES IN MADRID AT 70

Head of Nazi Puppet Regime
in Yugoslavia Sentenced
to Death by 3 Countries

MADRID, Dec. 29 (Reuters)—Ante Pavelic, head of the Nazi puppet regime in the Croatian region of Yugoslavia during World War II, died yesterday in the German Hospital here it was revealed today. He was 70 years old.

Product of Turbulence

M. Pavelic was a product of the turbulent politics and extreme nationalist passions that gave the Balkans in the inter-war years the nickname of the "cockpit of Europe." Three times he was sentenced to death—each time by a different state.

He was convicted of being the master hand behind one of the most sensational political assassinations of his era—that of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and Foreign Minister Louis Barthou of France.

For most of his adult years, M. Pavelic, a short, stocky man with piercing eyes, a broad forehead and shaggy eyebrows, lived in the underground world of quasi-legality that was the customary habitat of the Balkan terrorist.

He was a Croat extremist whose supreme opportunity came when the German Nazis and the Italian Fascists attacked Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941. Hitler and Mussolini detached Croatia from Yugoslavia and established M. Pavelic as the Croatian "Poglavnik" or fuhrer.

Vanished After Liberation

When the cardboard structure of the Croatian "kingdom" collapsed with the liberation of Yugoslavia late in 1944, M. Pavelic fled. Most of his chief lieutenants were captured and executed. But he vanished.

Apparently M. Pavelic donned peasant garb and made his way to Rome, where he had many friends as a result of his long residence in exile. He masqueraded there for a while as a Hungarian general and then managed to reach Argentina, where he was given refuge by President Juan Perón.

He lived in comparative obscurity in the little town of Caseros, not far from Buenos Aires, until 1957, when he was shot and wounded twice in an assassination attempt that he blamed on agents of Tito.

When the Argentine Government late in 1957 agreed to consider a Yugoslav extradition request, M. Pavelic disappeared. He was reported to have gone to Paraguay. Just when he went to Spain was not known.

M. Pavelic was born July 14,



Associated Press
Ante Pavelic in Buenos
Aires hospital after assassination attempt in 1957.

ment late in 1957 agreed to consider a Yugoslav extradition request, M. Pavelic disappeared. He was reported to have gone to Paraguay. Just when he went to Spain was not known.

M. Pavelic was born July 14, 1889 in Herzegovina, the son of a railroad worker, and studied law at the Universities of Zagreb and Vienna. When the Yugoslav state was formed at the end of World War I, he joined the Croatian State Party and was elected to the Yugoslav Parliament.

Became More Extreme

His politics became more and more nationalist and extreme. He was bitterly opposed to the Moderate Croat leader, Stepan Raditch, who was assassinated in the Yugoslav Parliament on June 20, 1928. There was no indication that M. Pavelic had a hand in the Raditch affair, but he left Yugoslavia soon thereafter and joined a Croat terrorist extremist group, called the Ustachis, led by Dr. Ivo Frank. A few months later M. Pavelic went to Sofia and negotiated a cooperative agreement between the Ustachi and IMRO, the Macedonian terrorist organization that had been in existence since 1893. Shortly thereafter, M. Pavelic for the first time was sentenced to death—in absentia—by the Royalist Yugoslav government.

After the assassination of King Alexander and M. Barthou in Marseille in 1934, France vainly tried to persuade Mussolini to extradite M. Pavelic from Italy, where he had set up headquarters. Mussolini refused, although M. Pavelic was arrested and imprisoned until May, 1936. He was condemned to death in absentia for the second time—February, 1936 by France—for his role in the Alexander-Barthou affair.

M. Pavelic continued to live in Italy with his wife and three children in a villa at his disposal by Mussolini until April, 1941, when he returned to Zagreb to establish his ill-fated Croat nationalist government.

He was sentenced to death in absentia for the third time on July 15, 1945, by the Tito Yugoslav government for his role in the war atrocities in Yugoslavia.

Croatians Honor Author of Anti-Semitic Laws

Associated Press

ZAGREB - Croatia has named a downtown street after the author of anti-Semitic laws who also served as a deputy to Croatia's World War II Fascist leader, newspapers reported yesterday...

The renaming has drawn strong protest from Croatian intellectuals. Budak was the author of an anti-Semitic law banning Jews from the arts and other public offices in World War II.

Members of the commission for Renaming of Streets and Squares said that their decisions could be justified by Budak's literary work, the newspaper reported...

After the establishment of the Pavelic's Ustasha regime in Zagreb, Budak published and cosigned the "Law on Protection of People's and Aryan Culture of Croatian People."

Associated Press, February 10, 1993

MAKS LUBURIC'S PROCLAMATION

This mysterious missive was first published in the Chicago Croatian newspaper Danica (Morning Star) on August 9, 1950. The hitherto unknown personage behind the alias of "General Drinyanin" soon revealed his identity in the pages of his own publication, Drina: none other than Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic, the founder of the camp at Jasenovac and one of the most sadistic killers of the Ustase regime. From Spain, Luburic organized the defeated Ustase in a new organization which spanned a dozen countries and, as this document shows, never relinquished the overall command of all Croatian armed forces bestowed upon him by Ante Pavelic in the dying days of the Independent State of Croatia.

From: Headquarters of the Fifth Assembly of Croatian Armed Forces, having jurisdiction over all subjects of the Croatian armed forces living on the territory of the European states...

It has been learned that some persons - unauthorized - are endeavouring to persuade individuals to enlist in foreign armies.

By order of the Supreme Command of all Croatian Armed Forces, all subjects living in any European state is notified that no individual is authorized, nor is permitted in any capacity, to join a foreign army without a special authorization permit.

The Supreme Command of all Croatian Armed Forces will marshal its forces against Bolshevism when the time is right, to fight side by side with all other anti-Communist nations, under our own flag and within our own Croatian army formations!

Headquarters
5th Assembly
General Drinyanin

Source: Danica, August 9, 1950. Quoted in Genocide
in Croatia, 1941-1945.

Original Placement:
<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/luburic/text/ml0002.txt>

[illegible]

[handwritten:] Re-typed copy

12 July 1946

SUBJECT: Alleged Vatican Protection of Yugoslav War Criminals.

1. At No. 7 Via Carlo Alberto, Rome, in a building under extraterritorial Vatican jurisdiction, are located the COLLEGIUM ILLIRICUM and the COLLEGIUM ORIENTALIS.

2. The Ustasche of PAVELIC'S Independent Croat State formerly championed the theory that the Croats are not Slavs, but are of Gothic origin. Subsequent to the fall of Nazium [sic] this theory was repudiated, and [censored] the COLLEGIUM ORIENTALIS is engaged in advancing the theory that the Croats are of Porsian [sic here and below - read "Persian"] origin.

3. Both theories, that of the Gothic and that of the Porsian origin of the Croats, are supported by the Vatican which wishes to strengthen Croat separatist tendencies and to assure their support of the Vatican-inspired "Catholic State" which is projected to include CROATIA, BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, DALMATIA, SOLVENIA [sic], CARINTHIA, ISTRIA and the JULIAN MARCH linked to AUSTRIA.

4. This same separatist tendency, is evident among the Slovenians, too, and the "Strazar" Party supported by the Jesuit Academy at No. 6 Via Borgia, Rome, is its principal propaganda organ. The Academy is headed by Father PRESEREN himself of Slovenian origin, a member of the Supreme Directorate of the Jesuit Institutions. Hesitation of Slovenian People's Party leader Dr. Mih KREK to join the Yugoslav Central Committee in London, despite his strongly maintained position regarding the necessity for the creation of a democratic Yugoslav Federation, is surely to a great extent based on a knowledge of what is taking place in the Croat San Girolamo degli, Illirici Foundation in Rome and in the Jesuit Academy.

5. In Austria, following their withdrawal from Yugoslavia with the Germans, the members of the NEDIC and the Dimitrijo LJOTIC Quisling organizations, and the Montenegrin

Separatists proceeded to draw up a deed with Croatian Ustascha organs by means of which they hoped to obtain Vatican sponsorship with a view to escaping possible war-criminal prosecution. Such Vatican sponsorship was accorded the Ustascha, chiefly in order to assure their silence regarding the atrocities committed by Clergy-led Croats who had indulged in a ruthless program of extermination of Jews and Orthodox Serbs.

6. The mission of resquing [sic - rescuing] war criminals was assumed by [censored] at the COLLEGIUM SAN GIROLAMO, took over the matters of sheltering and administering sheltered NEDIC-LJOTIC war criminals, Montenegrin Separatists, Bosnian and Albanian Moslems, as well as Ustascha members and Croat war criminals. The terms of the mutual deed, which was applicable to war criminals of all parties, were carried out by sending the fugitives, provided with forged papers, from Italy to Spain via France, in groups of three. In order to avoid too stringent police check, top-drawer criminals were allowed to travel by sleeping car.

7. Save RADONIC, former Minister of Justice of the Montenegrin Separatist Quisling Government, previously sheltered by the COLLEGIUM ILLIRICUM, disappeared from Rome a short time ago, and it is believed that he, too, was sent to Spain. RADONIC was apparently well-provided with money, having brought with him the funds remaining to the Montenegrin Government at the time of withdrawal from Jugoslavia. It is difficult to estimate the amount of such funds, but it is rumored to be in the neighborhood of 50 million Lire; this sum was well-hidden and remained unknown even to Vatican experts.

8. The following fugitives are reported to be sheltered by the COLLEGIUM ILLIRICUM in Rome at the present time:

- a. Steve VUJOVIC, ex-Minister of Montenegrin Separatist Quisling [sic] Government;
- b. Lazar SOSKIC, ex-Police Chief of Montenegrin Separatist Government;
- c. Dr. Stevan IVANIC, Director of the Belgrade Institute of Hygiene under NEDIC-LJOTIC Quisling Government;
- d. Eng. VALILJEVIC, ex-Commerce Minister under the Puppet

Government;

e. Marisav PETROVIC, formerly Colonel of LJOTIC SS formations.

f. The two VRIONI brothers, former members of the Albanian puppet government;

g. Jusuf KOSOVAC, well-known Albanian assassin, sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for murder in pre-war Yugoslavia.

h. Isa NOLJETINAC, Chief of Police of the Albanian puppet government, responsible for the slaughter of 200 Serbs at Prishtina.

9. Others, not actually sheltered in the COLLEGIUM ILLIRICUM but who otherwise enjoy Church support and protection are reported as follows:

a. Dr. Dimitrije NAJDANOVIC, formerly a professor of theology at the University of Belgrade, is presently in a private apartment in Rome at No. 13a Via Capedistria [censored];

b. Dr. Salih BALIC, Bosnian Muslim, formerly a deputy of the late Dr. Mehmed SPAHO's Moslem Party, he later adhered to PAVELIC and became the latter's Consul at LJUBLJANA. A short time ago he was arrested by the Italian Police in the vicinity of the COLLEGIUM SAN GIROLAMO; checking on his illegal sojourn in Rome, the Police discovered his name on an Allied war-criminal list, and sent him to the Ustascha Camp at Forli. Escaping from the camp, BALIC returned to Rome and is said to be hidden

c. Dr. HEFER, ex-Minister of the PAVELIC government and a Ustascha war-criminal, is said to be hidden

Filing Information:

Title: Alleged Vatican Protection of Yugoslav War Criminals

Source: US State Department, declassified 9/15/85.

Date: July 12, 1946

Added: September 20, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/draganovic/text/kd0003.txt>

Re-typed copy

12 July 1946

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Approved for Release
Date 19 SEP 1985



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US TREASURY: THE BIGELOW MEMO

The existence of the following document was revealed in the 1990s, and with other materials sparked a frenzied search for remains of the Ustase treasury believed to have been smuggled out of the country. Most researchers today believe that the Ustase treasury was picked apart and gradually reduced in the unsystematic method that Emerson Bigelow describes before Pavelic secured it in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

21 October 1946

Mr. Harold Glasser,
Director of Monetary Research,
Room 5000 U.S. Treasury Building,
Washington D.C.

Dear Harold:

The following report has recently been received from a reliable source in Italy. It is sent to you in the belief that it may be of interest.

The Ustascha organization (a Croatian fascist organization, headed by Ante Pavelic) removed funds from Yugoslavia estimated to total 350 million Swiss francs. The funds were largely in the form of gold coins.

Of the funds brought from the former Independent Croat State where Jews and Serbs were plundered to support the Ustascha organization in exile, an estimated 150 million Swiss Francs were impounded by British authorities at the Austro-Swiss frontier; the balance of approximately 200 million Swiss Francs was originally held in the Vatican for safe-keeping. According to rumor, a considerable portion of this latter amount has been sent to Spain and Argentina through the Vatican's "pipeline", but it is quite possible this is merely

a smokescreen to cover the fact that the treasure remains in its original repository.

Sincerely yours,

Emerson Bigelow.

Filing Information:

Title: US Treasury: The Bigelow Memo

Source: NARA

Date: October 21, 1946

Added: May 17, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0027.txt>

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Sincerely yours,
Emerson Bigelow.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority: 2541-10-5-1065

By: *[Signature]* KARL Date: 7/14/87

SECRET

AMERICAN AGENTS IN THE KRIZARI CAMPAIGN

Note the date on this document - July 3, 1947. At the precise moment that these two Krizari operatives were leading the agent's source to believe that they enjoyed significant Allied-American support, the arrest of Ustase leader Ante Pavelic was being planned in Rome by agents for the Counter-Intelligence Corps - and being thwarted by their superiors. This document could be part of a larger report, but other pages have not been located.

Possible Operational Significance

3 July 1947

[illegible], Karlo. Probably identical with [illegible], Karlo who represents one of the two original groups of Croatian Nationalist elements in Barnoli Refugee Camp - Stjepan [illegible] leads the other group. This group [illegible] to remain in Europe at any cost but aims for union with resistance forces in Croatia in not too distant future. Subject was contacted by [illegible] who came from Austria about January 1947 and claims support of Mons. Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC, reportedly in contact with an American Agency which will supply arms and equipment for resistance into Croatia. In spite of alleged enmity between [illegible] and [illegible], both have the same courier, Lt. [illegible]. This and the identity of their projects leads source to infer that they are members of separated networks all originating with the same American agent, who represents, source concludes, a strong American interest to despatch trained personnel and equipment into Croatia.

Information in report on activities of [censored] Major Stjepan [illegible], Karlo [illegible], Stjepan [illegible] et al. Evaluation [censored] 19/3/47.

[illegible], Stjepan. Chief spokesman for other group of Croatian Nationalist elements at Barnoli which wishes to remain in Europe at any cost etc. Subject states that in the

Spring (1947) he intends to attempt to enter Croatia clandestinely for purpose of joining the resistance. Subject promises his men complete equipment and armament from, he states, Allied sources. Subject states that his courier to Croatia, Lt. [illegible] (see [illegible], Karlo above) has been arrested by Italian police. At one time was to have proceeded to Croatia on a clandestine anti-TITO mission.

Information, with exception of last sentence, from same document as above. Last sentence from [censored] dated 19 March 1947.

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0011.txt>

SECRET CONTROL

3 May 1947

SE/4

3 Jul 47

Insert in Operational Identification

X VI, Carlo. Known identical with VI, Carlo who serves as one of the two principal heads of Croatian Nationalist elements at Turnoll before Carlo - VI, Carlo (or) leads the other group. This group wishes to remain in arms at any cost but also for union with resistance forces in Croatia in not too distant future. Subject was contacted by VI, Carlo who came from Austria about January 1947 and claims support of VI, Carlo (or) VI, Carlo in contact with an American agent which will supply arms and equipment for resistance into Croatia. In no way of altered unity between VI, Carlo and VI, Carlo, both have the same order, VI, Carlo. This and the identity of their projects leads source to infer that they are members of some armed network all cooperative with the same American agent, also possesses, source concludes, a strong American interest to develop trained personnel and equipment into Croatia.

Information in regard to activities of VI, Carlo at al. in addition

Victor Stjepan VI, Carlo, Carlo 1947/47.

VI, Carlo, VI, Carlo. Chief spokesman for other group of Croatian Nationalist elements at Turnoll which wishes to remain in arms at any cost. Subject states that in the Spring (1947) he intends to attempt to enter Croatia clandestinely for purposes of joining the resistance. Subject promises his own complete equipment and armament from, he states, Allied sources. Subject states that his journey to Croatia, VI, Carlo (see VI, Carlo above) has been arrested by Italian police. At one time was to have proceeded to Croatia on a clandestine anti-VI, Carlo mission.

Information, with exception of last sentence, from same document as above. Last sentence from dated 19 March 1947.

SECRET CONTROL



DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF KRUNOSLAV DRAGANOVIC'S USTASE ACTIVITY

Father Krunoslav Draganovic, one of the main operatives on the Ratline, kept detailed lists of the "refugees" granted hospitality and a place of refuge at the monastery of San Girolamo, Rome. Army Counter-Intelligence Corps Agent William Gowen obtained these lists, which included the Ustase suspects' real names as well as their aliases. After making copies, Gowen wrote up a lengthy memorandum and sent four copies to his superiors. None have ever been found, but one of the agents who received a copy of the list was Naples CIC Agent Robert Clayton Mudd. The following document summarizes Gowen's memorandum and draws attention to several Ustase war criminals wanted by the Allied authorities on Draganovic's lists. Coming as it does after the famous instructions from Gowen's superiors to keep his "hands off" of Pavelic and other Ustase leaders in Rome, it is possible to speculate that this report represented the last attempt by CIC agents still "in the dark" of the American plans to rescue Pavelic and Co. to inform their superiors of the vast extent of the Nazi and Ustase smuggling network that Father Draganovic - and, unknown to Mudd and Gowen, those same superiors - had put into operation.

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
TRIESTE UNITED STATES TROOPS
APO 88, US ARMY

y-3109
5 September 1947

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

SUBJECT: DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav
RE: Documentary Evidence Involving SUBJECT with Ustasha
Activity at the San Girolamo Monastery, Rome.

1. Attached photostats of personal files and documents of the Croat Nationalist priest DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav procured in Rome indicate clearly his involvement in aiding and abetting the Ustashi to escape into South America. The documents also indicate his connections with Ustasha personnel, a fact which DRAGANOVIC has formally denied personally to this Agent. (Photostats to G 2 TRUST only).

2. The first list includes the nominal role of all Croats who are fed, clothed, housed and otherwise provided for by the Monastery of San Girolamo, but it also includes the names of several long sought after Yugoslav War Criminals whose presence in the Monastery and whose sponsorship by the Vatican DRAGANOVIC has consistently denied.

3. The names of the following Ustashi War Criminals are to be noted on this list:

DEVCIC, Ivan	Serial	351
DOSEN, Drago	"	389
IMPER, Dragutin	"	639
JURKOVIC, Blaz	"	705
MARKOVIC, Josip	"	1018, 1019, and 1020
MAVREK, Stanko	"	1062
ORSANIC, Ante	"	1176
PAVICIC, Ante	"	1208
RUKAVINA, Ante	"	1407
SEKULIC, Ivan	"	1444
SRNAK, Rudolph	"	1484
SREDL, Josip	"	1627
VLAHOVIC, Ante	"	1773
[illegible], Dusan	"	1841
BELOBRAJDIC, Leopold	"	109
DJAK, Jakob	"	370 (believed to be alias of DJAL, Jakov)
BIOSIC, Josip	"	136
DOBRENIC, Stjepan	"	376
BARANOVIC, Ante	"	70
MATAJA, Milan	"	1047

4. The second series of photostats indicates that DRAGANOVIC

and the Monastery were doing their utmost to get immigration visas for Croat sailors in answer to the offers of several Central and South American countries to accept certain specified amounts of qualified sailors and maritime men. However, on this list are known names of compromised people.

5. The Third List written in Spanish contains the names of 115 Croats with all their personal particulars. These 115 people have all expressed a desire to emigrate to ARGENTINA. It is very possible that this list of individuals have already shipped to the Argentine and it must be assumed that in the majority they are compromised Ustashi personalities with aliases. It seems only reasonable to assume that the more important personages will be, or would have been shipped out first.

6. Enclosed herewith also are the photographs of documents containing the pertinent data on such Ustasha personalities as BARIC, Vice, Kren, Vladimir, alias KRENMIR, Vladimir, BABIC, Ivan, HIBL, Josip alias HUBL, Josip, KAMBER, Dragutin alias KAMBER, Blaz, PAVICIC, Ante alias PAVICIC, Anton, SARIC, Ivan, SUSIC, Lovro alias SUSIC, Marijan, VRANCIC, Vjekoslav alias VRANIC, Petar.

COMMENTS:

7. Ref para 3 identification and background of personalities mentioned here are contained in CIC TRUST SOI y-3097 dtd 22 August 1947.

8. Photostats attached were obtained by Special Agent WILLIAM GOWEN of the Rome CIC Detachment and passed on to this Agent for use and evaluation.

[signed]
ROBERT C. MUDD
Special Agent, CIC

APPROVED: WILLIAM W. TYNG

Chief CIC TRUST

DISTRIBUTION:

G-2 Trust (2)

G-2 MTOUSA (2)

Rome CIC (1)

Chief CIC (1)

File (1)

Filing Information:

Title: Documentary Evidence of Krunoslav Draganovic's Ustase
Activity

Source: CIA, declassified September 12, 1983

Date: September 5, 1947

Added: April 6, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0022.txt>

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS

TRIESTE UNITED STATES TROOPS

APO 88, U. S. ARMY

TELEPHONE: 29240
29234

7 - 3109.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

5 September 1947

SUBJECT : DRAGANDVIC, Krunoslav

RE : Documentary Evidence Involving SUBJECT with Ustasha Activity at the San Girelamo Monastery Rome.

1. Attached photostats of personal files and documents of the Croat Nationalist priest DRAGANDVIC, Krunoslav procured in Rome indicate clearly his involvement in aiding and abetting the Ustashi to escape into South America. The documents also indicate his connections with Ustasha personnel, a fact which DRAGANDVIC has formally denied personally to this Agent. (Photostats to G 2 TRUST only).

2. The first list includes the nominal role of all Croats who are fed, clothed, housed and otherwise provided for by the Monastery of San Girelamo, but it also includes the names of several long sought after Yugoslav War Criminals whose presence in the Monastery and whose sponsorship by the Vatican DRAGANDVIC has consistently denied,

3. The names of the following Ustashi War Criminals are to be noted on this list :

DEVCIC, Ivan	Serial	351,
DOSEN, Drago	"	389,
ILPER, Dragutin	"	639,
JURKOVIC, Blas	"	705,
MAROVIC, Josip	"	1018, 1019, and 1020,
MAVRUK, Stanko	"	1062,
ORSANIC, Ante	"	1176,
PAVICIC, Ante	"	1208,
RUKAVINA, Ante	"	1407,
SEKULIC, Zvon	"	1444,
SRNAR, Rudolph	"	1484,
STEDL, Josip	"	1627,
VLANDVIL, Ante	"	1773,
ZANKO, Dusan	"	1841,
BELOBRADIC, Leopold	"	109,
DJAK, Jakob	"	370 (
BESIC, Josip	"	136,
DOBRINIC, Stjepan	"	376,
BARANOVIC, Ante	"	70,
MATAJA, Milan	"	1047.

EXCLUDED FROM GENERAL
INVESTIGATION SERIES
REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 SEP 1983
BY CDR USAINSCOM FOIPD
Auth Para 1-503 DOD 5200.1-R
believed to be alias of
DJAL, Jakob).

file dist:
-508.6
-338

307

SOI y - 3109 : SUBJECT : DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav.

4. The second series of photostats indicates that DRAGANOVIC and the Monastery were to doing their utmost to get immigration visas for Croat sailors in answer to the offers of several Central and South American countries to accept certain specified amounts of qualified sailors and maritime men. However, on this list are known names of compromised people.

5. The Third List written in Spanish contains the names of 115 Croats with all their personal particulars. These 115 people have all expressed a desire to emigrate to ARGENTINA. It is very possible that this list of individuals have already shipped to the Argentine and it must be assumed that in the majority they are compromised Ustashi personalities with aliases. It seems only reasonable to assume that the more important personages will be, or would have been shipped out first.

6. Enclosed herewith also are the photographs of documents containing the pertinent data on such Ustasha personalities as BARIC, Vice, KREN, Vladimir, alias KRENTR, Vladimir, BARIC, Ivan, HIBL, Josip alias HURL, Josip, KAMBER, Dragutin alias KAMBER, alias, PAVICIC, Ante alias PAVICIC, Anton, SARIC, Ivan, SUSIC, Lovro alias SUSIC, Marijan, VRANCIC, Vjekoslav alias VRANCIC, Petar.

COMMENTS :

7. Ref para 3 identification and background of personalities mentioned here are contained in CIC TRUST SOI y - 3097 dtd 22 August 1947.

8. Photostats attached were obtained by Special Agent WILLIAM GOWEN of the Rome CIC Detachment and passed on to this Agent for use and evaluation.

Robert C. Mied
ROBERT C. MIED
Special Agent, CIC

APPROVED :

William N. Tine
WILLIAM N. TINE
Chief CIC TRUST
DISTRIBUTION:

C-2 Tine 13
C-2 Mied 12
Rom CIC (r)
Chief CIC (1)
File (1)

RECEIVED
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INFORMATION BUREAU

308

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 SEP 1983
BY CDR USAINSCOM FCPD
Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R

THE "ALTER EGO" OF ANTE PAVELIC

Four months after the mysterious intervention to protect Ante Pavelic from arrest, this report - ominously, it is signed only by "Capt." - appears, essentially repeating the information gathered by CIC Agents William Gowen and Robert Clayton Mudd. This document is among the first to contain censored passages blacked out when passing through the CIA declassification process in February, 1998. The address listed for the Pontifical Welfare Commission for Refugees as well as "a certain ELIAS Ivica," - Via Piave 41 - is within blocks of the address given for Zvonko Kojadin, a chief Ustase captain in Rome, who according to this document lived at Via Piave 70. The reference to "8 Sept 43" refers to Italy's capitulation and subsequent occupation by German and Allied forces.

AFHQ LIAISON OFFICE
I.A.I. - RAAC

26 November 1947.

Ref: 3938

SUBJECT: DRAGANOVIC Krunoslav Stefano.

TO: AC of S, G-2(CI), AFHQ.

1. CS has been able to provide the following information on Subject.
2. DRAGANOVIC Krunoslav Stefano, fu Pietro e di Franci Maria, was born at BRCKO (Croatia) on 30 Oct 1903. He became a priest and was Professor of Theology at ZAGREB University. He has been in Italy since 1943 and is known as the 'alter ego' of Ante PAVELIC. As such it is his task to co-ordinate and direct Ustascha activity in Italy. He provides them with

;oral [sic] and material help and in particular he is able to send to America all those who collaborated with the Germans and Fascist occupation forces and so incurred reprisals from TITO.

3. He is helped in this activity by his numerous contacts with the Embassies and Legations of South America in Italy and with the International Red Cross and by the fact that the Croatian Confraternity of the College of S. Girolamo degli Illirici, where he has his office, issues false identity cards to the Ustascha. With such documents and with the approval of the Pontifical Welfare Commission for Refugees, located in Via Piave 41, ROME, which is controlled almost exclusively by Ustascha, passports can be obtained from the International Red Cross, where DRAGANOVIC has some way of ensuring their issue.

4. He was a trusted follower of Ante PAVELIC, the former Head of Croatia, he was entrusted with the archives of the Croatian Legation after 8 Sep 43, for safeguarding, as well as all valuables smuggled by the Ustascha.

5. Until a short time ago, he was helped by a certain ELIAS Ivica, working in the Pontifical Commission in Via Piave 41, who appears to have left for South America a few days ago with a group of Croats who were, for the most part, in possession of false documents.

6. Owing to the delicate nature of this matter, more precise details could not be obtained.

Capt.
AFHQ LIAISON (FAI)

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0003.txt>

APHQ LIAISON OFFICE
I.A.I. - RAAC

Ref: 3933

26 November 1947

SUBJECT: DRAGANOVIC Krivoslav Stefano.

TO : AC of S, G-2(CI), AFHQ.

1. CS has been able to provide the following information on Subject.

2. DRAGANOVIC Krivoslav Stefano, Du Pietro e di Franco Maria, was born at TROKO (Croatia) on 30 Oct 1903. He became a priest and was Prof of Theology at ZAGREB University. He has been in Italy since 1943 and is known as the 'alter ego' of Ante PAVELIC. As such it is his task to co-ordinate and direct Ustascha activity in Italy. He provides them with moral and material help and in particular he is able to send to America all those who collaborated with the Germans and Fascist occupation forces and so incurred reprisals from Tito.

3. He is helped in this activity by his numerous contacts with the Ambassades and Legations of South America in Italy and with the International Red Cross and by the fact that the Croatian Confraternity of the College of S. Girolamo degli Illirici, where he has his office, issues false identity cards to the Ustascha. With such documents and with the approval of the Pontifical Welfare Commission for Refugees, located in Via Piave 41, Rome, which is controlled almost exclusively by Ustascha, passports can be obtained from the International Red Cross, where DRAGANOVIC has some way of ensuring their issue.

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5. Until a short time ago, he was helped by a certain ELIAS ILLIC working in the Pontifical Commission in Via Piave 41, who appears to have left for South America a few days ago with a group of Croats who were, for the most part, in possession of false documents.

6. Owing to the delicate nature of this matter, more precise details could not be obtained.

Capt.
AFHQ (CI) (ACI)

To Roger

then c/c file

then c/s file

Approved for Release
Date EEH 1968

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CS COPY



YUGOSLAVS TRY FIFTY AS SPIES, TERRORISTS

LONDON, July 12 (AP) - Fifty men who have been charged with being spies and terrorists aided by "agents of the Vatican" were brought to trial today at Zagreb, Yugoslavia, according to a broadcast by Tanjug, the official Yugoslav news service, recorded here. The trial was said to have begun before a court of five judges.

According to the broadcast, "the priest Juredis and the Vatican confidence man Draganovic," working mostly in Italy, attempted to unite political fugitives who had escaped from Yugoslavia when marshal Tito's Communist regime was set up.

[The broadcast did not further identify Juredis. The Interior Ministry of the Yugooslav state of Croatia said yesterday that Dr. Krunoslav Draganovic, whom it called a "priest attached to the Vatican," Was one of the alleged spies.

[An authoritative Vatican source denied that Dr. Draganovic had been involved in sending spies into Yugoslavia.]

It was charged that the fugitives had formed a "Croat State Committee" that had sent at least ninety-five agents into Yugoslavia to work against the Croat People's Republic.

The resistance group organized abroad was aided by a foreign intelligence service as well as by "Vatican agents," the broadcast quoted the prosecutor as having said. The intelligence services was not identified.

Filing Information:

Title: News: Yugoslavs Try Fifty as Spies, Terrorists

Source: Associated Press

Date: July 13, 1948

Added: November 24, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/draganovic/text/kd0004.txt>

YUGOSLAVS TRY FIFTY AS SPIES, TERRORISTS

LONDON, July 12 (AP)—Fifty men who have been charged with being spies and terrorists aided by "agents of the Vatican" were brought to trial today at Zagreb, Yugoslavia, according to a broadcast by Tanjug, the official Yugoslav news service, recorded here. The trial was said to have begun before a court of five judges.

According to the broadcast, "the priest Juredis and the Vatican confidence man Draganovic," working mostly in Italy, attempted to unite political fugitives who had escaped from Yugoslavia when Marshal Tito's Communist regime was set up.

[The broadcast did not further identify Juredis. The Interior Ministry of the Yugoslav state of Croatia said yesterday that Dr. Krunoslav Draganovic, whom it called a "priest attached to the Vatican," was one of the alleged spies.]

[An authoritative Vatican source denied that Dr. Draganovic had been involved in sending spies into Yugoslavia.]

It was charged that the fugitives had formed a "Croat State Committee" that had sent at least ninety-five agents into Yugoslavia to work against the Croat People's Republic.

The resistance group organized abroad was aided by a foreign intelligence service as well as by "Vatican agents," the broadcast quoted the prosecutor as having said. The intelligence service was not identified.

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS
(430th CIC Detachment)
CITY OF VIENNA
APO 777 US ARMY

12 July 1948

SUBJECT: Rat Line from Austria to South America.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

1. In accordance with instructions from the Office of the Director of Intelligence, USFA, these agents have attempted to establish a safe means of resettlement of dependents of visitors and VIP personalities.
2. Through the Vatican connections of Father Draganovic, Croat, DP Resettlement Chief of the Vatican circle, a tentative agreement was reached to assist in this operation. The agreement consists of simply mutual assistance, i.e., these agents assist persons of interest to Father Draganovic to leave Germany and, in turn, Father Draganovic will assist these agents in obtaining the necessary visas to Argentina, South America, for persons of interest to this Command.
3. It may be stated that some of the persons of interest to Father Draganovic may be of interest to the Denazification policy of the Allies; however, the persons assisted by Father Draganovic are also of interest to our Russian ally. Therefore, this operation cannot receive any official approval and must be handled with minimum amount of delay and with a minimum amount of general knowledge.
4. On 3 July 1948, these agents contacted the Austrian representative of Father Draganovic in Salzburg, as prearranged. Through the assistance of CIC Salzburg, transportation was obtained and the representative was escorted to Bad Reichenhall, Germany, where he was to meet the German representative of Father Draganovic's

organization. However, due to unforeseen circumstances, the German representative did not appear. The Austrian representative was escorted back to Salzburg to await developments.

5. On 4 July 48 these agents received a telegram from the U.S. contact in Rome (Fred Martin) that the German representative was arrested while crossing the German/Austrian border on or about 1 July 48. It was the desire of the agents to go to Bad Reichenhall, Germany to make the necessary investigation, however due to transportation difficulties, this was not deemed advisable.

6. The status of subject rat line is not settled at this time, however it is felt that with CIC connections in Germany, these agents can assist the German representative and continue their progress as outlined above.

NOTE: It is suggested to the Chief, 430th CIC Detachment, USFA, that a reassignment of jeeps be made, and that two detachment jeeps be assigned to headquarters. These jeeps could be stationed and utilized by Land Salzburg and Land Upper Austria but be prepared to move upon call from representatives of CIC headquarters. In this manner most of the difficulties in obtaining transportations for such operations can be avoided. Also the responsibilities for incorrect use of said vehicles, i.e., police violations, utilizing Government vehicles for pleasure, will be the responsibility of the driver and not the Land Section to which the jeep is originally assigned.

It is believed that in this manner considerable time, personal difficulties, and personality differences could be avoided and assist in the speedy completion of similar missions.

[signed]
PAUL E. LYON
S/A, CIC

[signed]
CHARLES CRAWFORD
S/A, CIC

DISTRIBUTION:

ODI - IB-0 (1)
Maj. Bolton - Land Salzburg (1)
CIC Files (1)

Filing Information:

Title: Rat Line from Austria to South America

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: July 12, 1948

Added: July 7, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/army/text/ar0001.txt>

~~TOP SECRET~~

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE GROUPS
(430th CIC Detachment)
CITY OF VIENNA
APC 777 US ARMY

#1751

12 July 1946

SUBJECT: Pat Line from Austria to South America.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

1. In accordance with instructions from the Office of the Director of Intelligence, USPA, these agents have attempted to establish a safe means of resettlement of dependents of visitors and VIP personalities.

2. Through the Vatican connections of Father Dragonovic, Croat, EP Resettlement Chief of the Vatican circle, a tentative agreement was reached to assist in this operation. The agreement consists of simply mutual assistance, i.e., these agents assist persons of interest to Father Dragonovic to leave Germany and, in turn, Father Dragonovic will assist these agents in obtaining the necessary visas to Argentina, South America, for persons of interest to this Command.

3. It may be stated that some of the persons of interest to Father Dragonovic may be of interest to the Denazification policy of the Allies; however, the persons assisted by Father Dragonovic are also of interest to our Russian ally. Therefore, this operation cannot receive any official approval and must be handled with minimum amount of delay and with a minimum amount of general knowledge.

4. On 3 July 1946, these agents contacted the Austrian representative of Father Dragonovic in Salzburg, as prearranged. Through the assistance of CIC Salzburg, transportation was obtained and the representative was escorted to Bad Reichenhall, Germany, where he was to meet the German representative of Father Dragonovic's organization. However, due to unforeseen circumstances, the German representative did not appear. The Austrian representative was escorted back to Salzburg to await developments.

5. On 4 July 46 these agents received a telegram from the U.S. contact in Rome (Fred Martin) that the German representative was arrested while crossing the German/Austrian border on or about 1 July 46. It was the desire of these agents to go to Bad Reichenhall, Germany, to make the necessary investigation, however due to transportation difficulties, this was not deemed advisable.

6. The status of subject line is not settled at this time, however it is felt that with CIC connections in Germany, these agents can assist the German representative and continue their progress as outlined above.

Page No. 1 of 2 Pages

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#1751

NOTE: It is suggested to the Chief, 430th CIC Detachment, WSPA, that a reassignment of jeeps be made; and that two detachment jeeps be assigned to headquarters. These jeeps could be stationed and utilized by Land Salzburg and Land Upper Austria but be prepared to move upon call from representatives of CIC headquarters. In this manner most of the difficulties in obtaining transportations for such operations can be avoided. Also the responsibilities for incorrect use of said vehicles, i.e., police violations, utilizing Government vehicles for pleasure, will be the responsibility of the driver and not the Land Section to which the jeep is originally assigned.

It is believed that in this manner considerable time, personal difficulties, and personality differences could be avoided and assist in the speedy completion of similar missions.

Paul E. Lyon
PAUL E. LYON
S/A, CIC

Charles Crawford
CHARLES CRAWFORD
S/A, CTO

DISTRIBUTION:

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Majr Bolton - Land Salzburg (1)
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DATE [illegible]

Page No. 2 of 2 Pages

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FRANJO CVIJIC

This report from the CIA quotes information from a source which still remains classified today. The circumstance which led to Franjo Cvijic being in neutral Switzerland when the NDH collapsed, with more knowledge of the Ustasha treasury than anyone but the Poglavnik Ante Pavelic himself, has always seemed too tantalizing to be mere coincidence, as was his arrest and "parole" by American occupation authorities in Austria. In this document, the unknown source hints that Cvijic's wife (who he seems to have picked up during his fugitive adventures - how she wound up back in Yugoslavia is unknown) was working for Yugoslav intelligence. It is perhaps worth pointing out a minor curiosity of the CIA documents in our possession, including this one: the degree to which American intelligence had personalized Yugo-American relations. Men stalking Pavelic are as often "agents of Tito" as they are "Yugoslav agents," and Ustase henchmen, as in here, are "handed over to Tito," as if a head of state is really overseeing the extradition. In comparison, the names Stalin, de Gasperi, Peron and Truman are hardly ever mentioned, and never as a synonym for the states they led. Without going too far, a psychological interpretation to a certain extent may help explain how and why some of the more infamous decisions in relation to American support of Ustase fugitives were made.

Subject: Franjo CVIJIC (CVIIC)

Place acquired: [censored]

Evaluation: [censored]

Source: [censored]

Report No.: [censored]

Date of Information: Current

Date Acquired: [censored] June 1949

Date of Report: 17 June 1949

1. [censored] Franjo CVIJIC is a native of Nova Gradiska, Croatia. He was an Ustasha and the last president of the Croatian State Bank in Zagreb. He traveled in that capacity to Switzerland in the spring of 1945 to negotiate commercial treaties with that country in which the Independent State of Croatia held a favorable bank balance. The Pavelic regime assets are reported to have included, 2,500,000 Swiss Francs, 1,700 kilograms of gold in bars, and about 40,000 kilograms of silver.
2. The collapse of the PAVELIC regime found Subject still in Switzerland where he remained for a while, moving later to Vienna where he married. He was arrested and imprisoned in Vienna by the American Military Authorities, and later paroled. Meantime, Subject's wife escaped from Yugoslavia and joined her husband in Vienna. There is some doubt whether Subject's wife effected a legitimate "escape" or if she was allowed to leave under certain commitments to TITO.
3. It seems likely that Subject's travel documents were arranged by Father Stjepan DRAGANOVIC. Subject has not yet arrived in Argentina, but many of his former friends and acquaintances are expecting him.
4. [censored] could not say at this time if Subject and/or his wife are connected in anyway with the Communists. After their arrival in Buenos Aires, [censored] will attempt to ascertain their political affiliations.

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0004.txt>

~~SECRET~~

94-0511R/9/188

Subject: Franjo CUIJIC (CUIJIC)

Report No: [REDACTED]

Date of Information: Current

Place Acquired: [REDACTED]

Date Acquired: [REDACTED] June 1949

Evaluation: [REDACTED]

Date of Report: 17 June 1949

Source: [REDACTED]

1. [REDACTED] Franjo CUIJIC is a native of Nova Gradiska, Croatia. He was a Ustasha and the last president of the Croatian State Bank in Zagreb. He traveled in that capacity to Switzerland in the spring of 1943 to negotiate commercial treaties with that country in which the Independent State of Croatia held a favorable bank balance. The Pavelic regime assets are reported to have included, 2,500,000 Swiss francs, 1,700 kilograms of gold in bars, and about 40,000 kilograms of silver.
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4. [REDACTED] could not say at this time if Subject and/or his wife are connected in anyway with the Communists. After their arrival in Buenos Aires, [REDACTED] will attempt to ascertain their political affiliations.

~~SECRET~~

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Approved for Release

Date FEB 1998

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Informal Routing Slip

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES FORCES IN AUSTRIA

SUBJECT: History of the Italian Rat Line

No.: 1
FROM: Hq 430th CIC Opns
TO: D/G-2 ATTN: Maj Milano
DATE: 10 Apr 50

1. ORIGINS.

a. During the summer of 1947 the undersigned received instructions from G-2, USFA, through Chief CIC, to establish a means of disposition for visitors who had been in the custody of the 430th CIC and completely processed in accordance with current directives and requirements, and whose continued residence in Austria constituted a security threat as well as a source of possible embarrassment to the Commanding General of USFA, since the Soviet Command had become aware that their presence in US Zone of Austria and in some instances had requested the return of these persons to Soviet custody.

b. The undersigned, therefore, proceeded to Rome where, through a mutual acquaintance, he conferred with a former Slovakian diplomat who in turn was able to recruit the services of a Croation [sic] Roman Catholic Priest, Father Dragonovich [sic - here and below]. Father Dragonovich had by this time developed several clandestine evacuation channels to the various South American countries for various types of European refugees.

2. HISTORY OF OPERATIONS.

a. During 1947 and 1948 it was necessary to escort the visitors physically from Austria to Rome from the standpoint of security and to avoid any embarrassment on the part of the US Government which could arise from faulty documentation or unforeseen border and police incidents.

b. Documents to assist in the journey of these people from Austria to Rome were secured through S/A Crawford, Reference IRS, Subject: "Debriefing of S/A Crawford", dated 6 April 1950.

c. Upon arrival in Rome, the visitors were turned over to Dragonovich who placed them in safe haven houses then being operated under his direct supervision. During this period, the undersigned then actively assisted Father Dragonovich with the help of a US citizen, who was Chief of the eligibility office of IRO in Rome, in securing additional documentation and IRO aid for further transportation. This, of course, was done illegally inasmuch as such persons could not possibly qualify for eligibility under the Geneva IRO Charter. However, after several months the American suddenly lost his mental stability through overindulgence in alcohol and disclosed some of the details of the arrangement to his superiors and other official agencies in Rome which required the undersigned to realign the operation and to discontinue contact with the IRO office. Thus, Father Dragonovich was forced to turn to other sources in the National Catholic Welfare Organization. He also secured permits for residence of these persons from the Italian police, permits to travel from Rome to Genoa or Naples, as the case might be, and permits from the Italian Foreign Office for various visas. In short, it can be stated that Dragonovich handled all phases of the operation after the defectees arrived in Rome, such as the procurement of IRO Italian and South American documents, visas, stamps, arrangements for disposition, land or sea, and notification of resettlement committees in foreign lands.

d. As the operation continued, Dragonovich's possibilities for the necessary means, documentation, travel and permits expanded and it became possible to ship the visitors from Austria, thus eliminating personal escort by CIC agents to

Rome. A new phase was thus established and an employee of Dragonovich proceeded to Austria, picked up the charges and took them to Genoa where they were placed in safe haven houses to await disposition to South America.

3. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED.

The following difficulties and problems may be expected by those who may become engaged in rat line operations:

- a. Frequent changes in travel documents necessary for movement in European countries.
- b. Changes in the Italian border control and police supervision of DP's in Italy.
- c. Land and sea transportation facilities or lack thereof.
- d. Opening and closing of immigration quotas by the various countries of South America.
- e. The physical condition of visitors and dependents. It may be stated here that it is desirable that all persons be examined for TB, syphilis or other contagious diseases and that the female dependents be cautioned during the evacuation period relative to pregnancy, inasmuch as pregnant women or small children are acceptable only with grave difficulty and at great expense.
- f. Marriage Status. In view of the fact that Dragonovich is a Roman Catholic priest and the National Catholic Welfare is involved, the marriage status of male and female must be clearly established, inasmuch as the personalities associated in this operation will not condone any acts contrary to the Church such as common law marriage, illegitimate children not baptized, etc.
- g. Although it might be advantageous to have absolute "control" of Father Dragonovich and his means of evacuation, it may be categorically stated that it is not possible and in the opinion of the undersigned not entirely desirable.

Dragonovich is known and recorded as a Fascist, war criminal, etc., and his contacts with South American diplomats of a similar class are not generally approved by US State Department officials, plus the fact that in the light of security, it is better that we may be able to state, if forced, that the turning over of a DP to a Welfare Organization falls in line with our democratic way of thinking and that we are not engaged in illegal disposition of war criminals, defectees and the like.

4. COMPROMISES.

a. As stated above, the US citizen, Chief of the Eligibility Office, Rome was one [censored] who was allegedly a member of OSS during World War II, and who fancied himself as a top intelligence operative in Italy. After his breakdown due to alcoholism, [censored] imagined himself as the saviour of Italy in view of the danger of a Communist victory during the elections of 1948, thus told stories of how the undersigned could assist in providing large numbers of underground troops, military supplies, sea evacuation, air evacuation and the like. This, of course, caused inquiries as to the exact nature of the work in which the undersigned was engaged. This was explained away successfully in a personal interview with Admiral Mentz, Chief of IRO, Italy, and a full report was submitted to G-2, USFA.

b. The Brazil Expedition was, again, a compromise which was not the fault of operational technique. A female visitor who was inclined to be rather frivolous in her attentions became a public nuisance while under protective custody in Austria and was, therefore, evacuated as a married woman in custody of her amour of the moment. During the voyage, the lady in question changed her mind and upon arrival in Brazil sought assistance and protection from both the Brazilian authorities and the US Embassy. They, of course, were uninformed, inasmuch as it is impossible, due to lack of knowledge of transportation dates, visa quotes, etc., to give prior information as to when the shipments are to be made. The affair was made a matter of official investigation and necessarily other innocent people were involved and returned

to Europe.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS.

a. It has been the experience of this organization that only one man should be assigned the mission of disposition when dealing with Father Dragonovich. Inasmuch as he, although reliable from a security standpoint, is unscrupulous in his dealings concerning money, as he does a considerable amount of charity work for which he receives no compensation, it is not entirely impossible that he will delay one shipment for one organization to benefit another organization who pays higher prices.

b. Due to the background of Father Dragonovich and the nature of his work, it is not believed practical that the MA's in foreign countries under diplomatic status should become involved with the DP's who land through his channels of this operation.

c. Each visitor should be thoroughly and properly briefed and preparations for his movement be made in light of his cover story. Each should be furnished sufficient clothing, some travel money, and advance notice be sent through Dragonovich channels to assist in his rehabilitation in the country where he lands.

d. The facilities of Father Dragonovich should be handled as a single operation by one agency and no attempt should be made to control him or his sources for reasons set forth in this memorandum.

FOR THE COMMANDING OFFICER:

[signed]
PAUL E. LYON
IB Operations Officer

Tel: Salzburg 1146

[Handwritten: Copy No. 2 burned 14/4/50 - RW.]

Filing Information:

Title: History of the Italian Rat Line

Source: US Army, declassified.

Date: April 10, 1950

Added: July 7, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/army/text/ar0002.txt>

~~TOP SECRET~~
Informal Routing Slip

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES FORCES IN AUSTRIA

Hq Operations

REF 1139

A

#1751
198-14

SUBJECT: History of the Italian Rat Line

Number each message consecutively. Fill in all columns, authenticate message, draw a line across the page just below authentication. Use entire width of page. Use only for inter-office communications.

NO.	FROM	TO	DATE	MESSAGE
1	Hq 430th CIC Opns	D/G-2 ATTN: Maj Milano	10 Apr 50	<p>1. <u>ORIGINS.</u></p> <p>a. During the summer of 1947 the undersigned received instructions from G-2, USFA, through Chief CIC, to establish a means of disposition for visitors who had been in the custody of the 430th CIC and completely processed in accordance with current directives and requirements, and whose continued residence in Austria constituted a security threat as well as a source of possible embarrassment to the Commanding General of USFA, since the Soviet Command had become aware of their presence in US Zone of Austria and in some instances had requested the return of these persons to Soviet custody.</p> <p>b. The undersigned, therefore, proceeded to Rome where, through a mutual acquaintance, he conferred with a former Slovakian diplomat who in turn was able to recruit the services of a Croatian Roman Catholic Priest, Father Dragonivich. Father Dragonivich had by this time developed several clandestine evacuation channels to the various South American countries for various types of European refugees.</p> <p>2. <u>HISTORY OF OPERATIONS.</u></p> <p>a. During 1947 and 1948 it was necessary to escort the visitors physically from Austria to Rome from the standpoint of security and to avoid any embarrassment on the part of the US Government which could arise from faulty documentation or unforeseen border and police incidents.</p> <p>b. Documents to assist in the journey of these people from Austria to Rome were secured through S/A Crawford, Reference IRS, Subject: "Debriefing of S/A Crawford", dated 6 April 1950.</p> <p>c. Upon arrival in Rome, the visitors were turned over to Dragonivich who placed them in safe haven houses being operated under his direct supervision. During this period, the undersigned then actively assisted Father Dragonivich with the help of a US citizen, who was Chief of the eligibility office of IRO in Rome, in securing additional documentation and IRO aid for further transportation. This, of course, was done illegally</p>

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ON 21 JUL 1983

BY CDR USAINSCOM FOIPO

Auth Para 1-003 DOD 0200.1-R

~~TOP SECRET~~

D/G-2 IS REG No. 333

COPY No. 1

Inter-Office Routing Slip

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES FORCES IN AUSTRIA

Head Operations

1139

#1751

198-14

SUBJECT: History of the Italian Rat Line (Minute 1 Continued)

Number each message consecutively. Fill in all columns, authenticate message, draw a line across the page just below authentication. Use entire width of page. Use only for inter-office communication.

NO.	FROM	TO	DATE	MESSAGE
				<p>inasmuch as such persons could not possibly qualify for eligibility under the Geneva IRO Charter. However, after several months the American suddenly lost his mental stability through overindulgence in alcohol and disclosed some of the details of the arrangement to his superiors and other official agencies in Rome which required the undersigned to realign the operation and to discontinue contact with the IRO office. Thus, Father Dragonovich was forced to turn to other sources in the National Catholic Welfare Organization. He also secured permits for residence of these persons from the Italian police, permits to travel from Rome to Genoa or Naples, as the case might be, and permits from the Italian Foreign Office for various visas. In short, it can be stated that Dragonovich handled all phases of the operation after the defectees arrived in Rome, such as the procurement of IRO Italian and South American documents, visas, stamps, arrangements for disposition, land or sea, and notification of resettlement committees in foreign lands.</p> <p>d. As the operation continued, Dragonovich's possibilities for the necessary means, documentation, travel and permits expanded and it became possible to ship the visitors from Austria, thus eliminating personal escort by CIC agents to Rome. A new phase was thus established and an employee of Dragonovich proceeded to Austria, picked up the charges and took them to Genoa where they were placed in safe haven houses to await disposition to South America.</p> <p>3. <u>DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED.</u></p> <p>The following difficulties and problems may be expected by those who may become engaged in rat line operations:</p> <p>a. Frequent changes in travel documents necessary for movement in European countries.</p> <p>b. Changes in the Italian border control and police supervision of DP's in Italy.</p> <p>c. Land and sea transportation facilities or lack thereof.</p>

TOP SECRET

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 22 JUN 1983
BY CDR USAINSCOM FOIPO
Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R

478

(~~TOP SECRET~~)

Internal Routing Slip

#1751

198-14

UNCLASSIFIED
UNITED STATES FORCES IN AUSTRIA

SUBJECT: History of the Italian Rat Line (Continued)

Number each message consecutively. Fill in all columns, authenticate message, draw a line across the page just below authentication. Use entire width of page. Use only for inter-office communications.

NO.	FROM	TO	DATE	MESSAGE
				d. Opening and closing of immigration quotas by the various countries of South America.
				e. The physical condition of visitors and dependents. It may be stated here that it is desirable that all persons be examined for TB, syphilis or other contagious diseases and that the female dependents be cautioned during the evacuation period relative to pregnancy, inasmuch as pregnant women or small children are acceptable only with great difficulty and at great expense.
				f. Marriage Status. In view of the fact that Dragonovich is a Roman Catholic priest and the National Catholic Welfare is involved, the marriage status of male and female must be clearly established, inasmuch as the personalities associated in this operation will not condone any acts contrary to the Church such as common law marriage, illegitimate children not baptized, etc.
				g. Although it might be advantageous to have absolute "control" of Father Dragonovich and his means of evacuation, it may be categorically stated that it is not possible and in the opinion of the undersigned not entirely desirable. Dragonovich is known and recorded as a Fascist, war criminal, etc., and his contacts with South American diplomats of a similar class are not generally approved by US State Department officials, plus the fact that in the light of security, it is better that we may be able to state, if forced, that the turning over of a DP to a Welfare Organization falls in line with our democratic way of thinking and that we are not engaged in illegal disposition of war criminals, defectees and the like.
				4. <u>COMPROMISES.</u>
				a. As stated above, the US citizen, Chief of the Eligibility Office, Rome, was one [redacted] who was allegedly a member of OSS during World War II, and who fancied himself as a top intelligence operative in Italy. After his breakdown due to alcoholism, [redacted] imagined himself as the saviour of Italy in view of the danger of a Communist victory during the elections of 1948, thus told stories of how the

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REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 21 JUL 1983
BY CDR USAINSCOM POIPO
Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R

Informal Routing Slip

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES FORCES IN AUSTRIA

#1751
198-14

SUBJECT: History of the Italian Rat Line (Minute 1 Continued)

Number each message consecutively. Fill in all columns, authenticate message, draw a line across the page just below authentication. Use entire width of page. Use only for inter-office communication.

NO.	FROM	TO	DATE	MESSAGE
				<p>undersigned could assist in providing large numbers of underground troops, military supplies, sea evacuation, air evacuation and the like. This, of course, caused inquiries as to the exact nature of the work in which the undersigned was engaged. This was explained away successfully in a personal interview with Admiral Mentz, Chief of IRB, Italy, and a full report was submitted to G-2, USFA.</p> <p>b. The Brazil Expedition was, again, a compromise which was not the fault of operational technique. A female visitor who was inclined to be rather frivolous in her attentions became a public nuisance while under protective custody in Austria and was, therefore, evacuated as a married woman in custody of her amour of the moment. During the voyage, the lady in question changed her mind and upon arrival in Brazil sought assistance and protection from both the Brazilian authorities and the US Embassy. They, of course, were uninformed, inasmuch as it is impossible, due to lack of knowledge of transportation dates, visa quotas, etc., to give prior information as to when the shipments are to be made. The affair was made a matter of official investigation and necessarily other innocent people were involved and returned to Europe.</p> <p align="center">5. RECOMMENDATIONS.</p> <p>a. It has been the experience of this organization that only one man should be assigned the mission of disposition when dealing with Father Dragonovich. Inasmuch as he, although reliable from a security standpoint, is unscrupulous in his dealings concerning money, as he does a considerable amount of charity work for which he receives no compensation, it is not entirely impossible that he will delay one shipment for one organization to benefit another organization who pays higher prices.</p> <p>b. Due to the background of Father Dragonovich and the nature of his work, it is not believed practical that the MA's in foreign countries under diplomatic status should become involved with the DP's who land through his channels of this operation.</p> <p>c. Each visitor should be thoroughly and properly briefed and preparations for his movement be made in the light of his cover story. Each should be furnished sufficient clothing, some</p>

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BY CDR USAINSCOM P81PO
Auth Para 1-803-800 5200.1-R

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Informal Routing Slip

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES FORCES IN AUSTRIA

#1751

198-14

SUBJECT: History of the Italian Rat Line (Minute 1 Continued)

Number each message consecutively. Fill in all columns, authenticate message, draw a line across the page just below authentication. Use entire width of page. Use only for inter-office communication.

NO.	FROM	TO	DATE	MESSAGE
				travel money, and advance notice be sent through Dragonovich channels to assist in his rehabilitation in the country where he lands.
				d. The facilitation of Father Dragonovich should be handled as a single operation by one agency and no attempt should be made to control him or his sources for reasons set forth in this memorandum.
				FOR THE COMMANDING OFFICER: <i>Paul S. Lyon</i> PAUL S. LYON IB Operations Officer
	Tels	Selzburg 1146		
				Copy No. 2 burned 14/4/50 - RWT.
				REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED ON 21 JUL 1993 BY CDR USAF/SC093 IFO Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R

~~TOP SECRET~~

"A DANGEROUS AND UNCOMPROMISING EXTREMIST"

This overview of Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic's activities in Italy was most likely produced by someone "out of the loop" in the Ratline operation. Draganovic was still on the Department of the Army payroll as of the date of this report, and would remain so for another ten years, though other researchers have concluded that the "Golden Priest" remained a significant intelligence asset even after his dismissal by the Army on January 23, 1962. Despite the lack of new information, there are some interesting details in the report below, such as Draganovic's role in hiding the archives of the NDH Legation in Rome after Italy's capitulation in 1943 - a surprising show of authority for a man who had been in the country for scarcely two months, and for a mere "liaison with the Croatian Red Cross," as his cover story read. Bishop Hudal, mentioned in paragraph eight, was of course one of the most outspoken pro-Nazi clergymen in Europe, and head of his own "Ratline" in the immediate post-war years. Andrew (or, as below, Andrea) Lundi makes a later appearance in the CIA files in connection with accusations that Draganovic was taking bribes (an allegation dealt with, and dismissed emphatically, here as well); the rather irrelevant inclusion of Lundi and the National Catholic Welfare Committee in both reports leads one to believe that someone in the organization had opened a back-channel to American intelligence agents in Rome.

Subject: Dr. Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC

Place Acquired: [censored]

Evaluation: [censored]

Source: [censored]

Report No: [censored]

Date of Info: 1945-1952

Date Acquired: July 1952

Date of Report: 24 July 1952

1. The College of S. Girolamo degli Illirici (St. Jerome of the Illyrians), located at 132 Via Tomacelli, Rome, is Vatican property under the protection of (Cardinal) Pietro FUMASONI-BIONDI, where young Croatian priests studying in the various Vatican Universities in Rome were lodged before the war.

2. The Rector of the College (Monsignor) Dr. Juraj MADJEREC, was appointed on the recommendation of the Archbishop of Zagreb who was acting at the behest of the late King Alexander I of Yugoslavia, who was a patron of Mons. MADJEREC.

3. In 1941, immediately after the occupation of Yugoslavia and the resulting creation of the independent state of Croatia, Dr. MADJEREC changed his political orientation and became a Ustasha. Since that time, however, the true master of the college was Dr. Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC, a man in the trust of Ante PAVELIC who appointed him professor of the University of Zagreb "for special merit". In 1943, when the Croatian legation transferred to the North of Italy (edit. comment: at the time of the formation of the puppet Fascist Republic after the liberation of Mussolini) part of the archives of that legation was moved to the College of S. Girolamo by DRAGANOVIC himself, who was considered the Ustasha "charge d'affaires" [sic] in Rome.

4. At the end of the war, many Ustasha priests and officials began to flock to Rome, thus transforming the College into a veritable Ustasha nerve center. MADJEREC and DRAGANOVIC set up the "Bratovatina" Relief Association, of which the former became president and the latter secretary, in order to obtain from the Pontifical Commission of Assistance and from other organizations, funds for the relief of Ustasha, a category of refugees which was not included in Allied organized relief. In fact, the relief work carried out through the "Bratovatina" was only in favor of Ustasha war criminals.

5. DRAGANOVIC's work was, and still is, decisively oriented in favor of the Ustashi and hating all other political tendencies. This antipathy of his for all non-Ustashi did not even spare his fellow priests, with whom he is in open and constant discord. He is an extremely ambitious man, materialistic and without love for that segment of his fellow man who does not nourish Ustasha ideology, in short, an uncompromising and dangerous extremist.

6. Cardinal FUMASONI-BIONDI did not give his consent to the functioning of the "Bratovatima", nor did the Italian CS authorities. In spite of this, the Association is still carrying on its activity despite the prohibition, to issue identity cards, under false names, to Ustasha refugees in Italy.

7. It is learned [censored] that through DRAGANOVIC's efforts, all Ustasha refugees in Italy, including Dr. Ante PAVELIC, have absconded in transatlantic countries expatriated, primarily to Argentina. The majority of these, registered by Subject under false names, were able to get a free trip at the expense of the Allied authorities (IRO; International Red Cross, etc.) He also organized the escape of Ustasha criminals from Allied concentration camps at Afragola and Ferto di Pietralata, later arranging their emigration to Argentina. Among these are the ex-Ustasha ministers PERIC and VRANCIC, the latter a bitter anti-Italian whose book against Italy is well known.

8. Subject also aided many ex-Nazis whom he registered with IRO as Croat refugees. It is alleged that for this work, Subject received large compensation from (Monsignor) Alois HUDAL and from an unidentified Protestant clergyman. It should be borne in mind however, that Subject took no interest in business which did not concern Ustashi and Nazis and, which did not yield him a particular financial benefit.

9. It is known in all Yugoslav emigre circles that Subject became head of the Ustashi in Italy, also creating an intelligence service in Rome and in Trieste. Information collected either through agents or through the direct interrogation of refugees in camps for foreigners, were, and still are, sent to the Central Direction of the Ustasha in

Buenos Aires and also published in Ustasha newspaper "Croatia" put out in Argentina.

10. Subject spends a great deal, lives a comfortable life, travels considerably and lives in a private apartment at 28 Via Oslavia, Apt. 9, telephone No. 20284. All this is well known in Croat emigre circles, who have a poor opinion of him. His work is well known to the Vatican Secretariat of State, in an unfavorable light.

11. The Croat Center of the NCWC (the American National Catholic Welfare Committee) also has its headquarters, presided over in Italy by (Monsignor) Andrea LANDI and directed by the priest Josip LONCARIC who until 1951 was in charge of distributing IRO subsidies to refugees living outside of camps. For this work, LONCARIC comes under Mons. LANDI and not under Mons. MADJEREC, and is only lodged in that College as a refugee.

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0009.txt>

Subject: Dr. Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC

Report No. [REDACTED]

Place Acquired: [REDACTED]

Date of Info.: 1945-1952

Evaluation: [REDACTED]

Date Acquired: July 1952

Source: [REDACTED]

Date of Report: 24 July 1952

1. The College of S. Girolamo degli Illirici (St. Jerome of the Illyrians), located at 132 Via Tuscolana, Rome, is Vatican property under the protection of Cardinal Pietro SUMMARI-BIONDI, where young Croatian priests studying in the various Vatican Universities in Rome were lodged before the war.
2. The Rector of the College, (Monsignor) Dr. Juraj MADJEREC, was appointed on the recommendation of the Archbishop of Zagreb who was acting at the time of the late King Alexander I of Yugoslavia, who was a patron of Madjerec.
3. In 1941, immediately after the occupation of Yugoslavia and the resulting creation of the Independent state of Croatia, Dr. MADJEREC changed his political orientation and became a Ustasha. Since that time, however, the true master of the college was Dr. Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC, a man in the trust of Ante PAVELIC who appointed him professor of the University of Zagreb "for special merit". In 1943, when the Croatian legation transferred to the North of Italy (edit. comment: at the time of the formation of the puppet Fascist Republic after the liberation of Mussolini), part of the archives of that legation was moved to the College of S. Girolamo by DRAGANOVIC himself, who was considered the Ustasha "chance" in Rome.
4. At the end of the war, many Ustasha priests and officials began to flock to Rome, thus transforming the College into a veritable Ustasha nerve center. MADJEREC and DRAGANOVIC set up the "Eratoevina" Relief Association, of which the former became president and the latter secretary, in order to obtain from the Pontifical Commission of Assistance and from other organizations, funds for the relief of Ustasha, a category of refugees which was not included in Allied organized relief. In fact, the relief work carried out through the "Eratoevina" was solely in favor of Ustasha war criminals.
5. DRAGANOVIC's work was, and still is, decisively oriented in favor of the Ustasha and hating all of other political tendencies. This antipathy of his for all non-Ustashi did not even spare his fellow priests, with whom he was in open and constant discord. He is an extremely egotistical man, materialistic and without love for that segment of his fellow countrymen who do not nourish Ustasha ideology, in short, an uncompromising and dangerous extremist.
6. Cardinal SUMMARI-BIONDI did not give his consent to the functioning of the "Eratoevina", nor did the Italian CS authorities. In spite of this, the Association is still carrying on its activity despite the prohibition of Italian family funds, under false names, to Ustasha refugees in Italy.

This document is UNCLASSIFIED//FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

SECURITY INFORMATION

...ion of ... identity cards, under false names, to ... refugees in ...

~~SECRET/CONTROL~~ U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY
~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

Approved for Release
Date FEB 1998

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7. It is learned that through DRAGANOVIC's efforts, all Ustasha refugees in Italy, including Dr. Ante PAVELIC, have emigrated in transatlantic countries; primarily to Argentina. The majority of these, registered by Subject under false names, were able to get a free trip at the expense of the Allied authorities (IRO: International Red Cross, etc.). He also organized the escape of Ustasha criminals from Allied concentration camps at Aragona and Porto di Pietralata, later arranging their emigration to Argentina. Among these are the ex-Ustasha ministers PERIC and VUKOBRADEVIC, the latter a bitter anti-Italian whose book against Italy is well known.
8. Subject also aided many ex-Nazis when he registered with IRO as root refugees. It is alleged that for this work, Subject received large compensation from (Monsignor) Alois HUDEL and from an unidentified Protestant clergyman. It should be borne in mind however, that Subject took no interest in business which did not concern Ustashi and Nazis and which did not yield him a particular financial benefit.
9. It is known in all Yugoslav emigre circles that Subject became head of the Ustasha in Italy, also creating an intelligence service in Rome and in Trieste. Information collected either through agents or through the direct interrogation of refugees in camps for foreigners, were, and still are, sent to the Central Direction of the Ustasha in Buenos Aires and also published in the Ustasha newspaper "Gorizia" put out in Argentina.
10. Subject spends a great deal, lives a comfortable life, travels considerably and lives in a private apartment at 28 Via Calvia, Apt. 9, telephone No. 1024. All this is well known in Croat emigre circles, who have a poor opinion of him. His work is well known to the Vatican Secretariat of State, in an unfavorable light.
11. The Croat Center of the ANCC (the American National Catholic Welfare Committee) also has its headquarters, presided over in Italy by (Monsignor) Andrea LUNDI and directed by the priest Josip G. GARIO who until 1951 was in charge of distributing IRO subsidies to refugees living outside of camps. For this work, LUNDI comes under Rome, LUNDI and not under Rome, MADJERO, and is only lodged in that College as a refugee.

IRREGULAR ACTIVITIES OF KRUNOSLAV DRAGANOVIC

A summary of information from a source, typically blacked out by censors upon this document's declassification. This source alleges that Krunoslav Draganovic has been accepting bribes from "Jugoslav refugees," who we can presume did not have the good fortune of being high-ranking members of the Ustase. From context, it is possible that the source was a leaked or surreptitiously obtained internal report. Unlike most of the CIA files in our possession, this one retains the additional classification "SECURITY INFORMATION."

From: [censored]

No. of Pages: 1

Report Made By: [censored]

Distribution:

copy to:

Washington (3)

Source Cryptonym: [censored]

Date: 1 Oct. 1953

Report No.: [censored]

Local File No:

No. of Enclosures: 1

Approved by: [censored]

Jugs in Italy

[censored]

Files (1)

References:

Source, Operational Data, and Comments:

Irregular Activity of Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC

1. [censored] is a report indicating that the NCWC in Rome (directed by the American (Mons.) Andrew LUNDI) has been aware for some time that Subject has realized about 25,000 lire each from Yugoslav refugees for the promise that he would arrange for their emigration. The report further states that DRAGANOVIC has lost face in political, civilian and ecclesiastical circles, including the Vatican Secretariat of State.

2. No copy is retained.

Date of Info: [censored] Aug. 1953

Date Received: 28 Aug. 1953

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0006.txt>

fn 45

Date: 1 Oct. 1953

From: [redacted] Report No: [redacted] Local File No:

No. of Pages: 1 No. of Enclosures: 1

Report Made By: [redacted] Approved By: [redacted]

Distribution:
By copy to:

Washington (3)

0150000000X
Jugs in Italy
[redacted]
Files (1)

Source: [redacted] References:

Source, Operational Data, and Comments:

Irregular Activity of Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC

1. [redacted] is a report indicating that the NCNC in Rome (directed by the American (Mons.) Andrew LANDI) has been aware for some time that Subject has realized about 25,000 lire each from Yugoslav refugees on the promise that he would arrange for their emigration. The report further states that DRAGANOVIC has lost face in political, civilian and ecclesiastical circles, including the Vatican Secretariat of State.
2. No copy is retained.

Date of Info: [redacted] Aug. 1953
Date Received: 28 Aug. 1953

Approved for Release
Date FEB 1998

Classification: ~~SECRET~~/CONTROL - U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY
SECURITY INFORMATION

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[redacted]

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1911



DRAGANOVIC, Fnu, Professor

Various sources of the [censored] have stated that the representative of the Croatian National Committee, Professor DRAGANOVIC, was in KAISERSLAUTERN during the Christman [sic] holidays. There he had a conversation with a Polish colonel of a US guard company complex. Topic of conversation was allegedly how to intensify the arrival of Croatian refugees from Italy to the guard companies in KAISERSLAUTERN. It is to work as follows: when the Polish share of guard positions cannot be filled by polish persons, the colonel will send a special delivery letter to DRAGANOVIC and will request a number of Croats. The number must never be less than 20 men. DRAGANOVIC gets the transit visas for these people in ROME and sends the people to KAISERSLAUTERN.

Uneval.

Ref: D-281026, Ops Memo dtd 29 Jun 54, File: IV-0926
Sub: Attempt to penetrate US guard companies by Slav groups outside Germany

Filing information:

Title: Attempt to Penetrate US Guard Companies

Source: CIA, no declassification date

Date: June 29, 1954

Added: May 25, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0024.txt>

DRAGANOVIC, Fnu, Professor

10 DEC 1954

Various sources of the [b7D] have stated that the representative of the Croatian National Committee in ROME, Professor DRAGANOVIC, was in KAISERSLAUTERN during the Christmas holidays. There he had a conversation with a Polish colonel of a US guard company complex. Topic of conversation was allegedly how to intensify the arrival of Croatian refugees from Italy to the guard companies in KAISERSLAUTERN. It is to work as follows: when the Polish share of guard positions cannot be filled by Polish persons, the colonel will send a special delivery letter to DRAGANOVIC and will request a number of Croats. The number must never be less than 20 men. DRAGANOVIC gets the transit visas for these people in ROME and sends the people to KAISERSLAUTERN.

Uneval.

Ref: D-281026, Ops Memo dtd 29 Jun 54, File: IV-0926
Sub: Attempt to penetrate US guard companies by Slav groups outside Germany

cs [bu]

THE DISMISSAL OF KRUNOSLAV DRAGANOVIC FROM SAN GIROLAMO

This intelligence report indicates that Krunoslav Draganovic has been "fired" from his position at the College of San Girolamo, largely on account of his activities of ten years previous.

November 19, 1958

SUBJECT- The priest KRUNOSLAV DRAGANOVIC being asked to leave the College of St. Jerome of the Illirici.

Source-

About the second week of October-1958, Mons. Djuro Koksa, the vice director of the College of St. Jerome of the Illirici, by orders from the Secretary of State of the Vatican, asked the priest Draganovic to leave the college. Draganovic who has always boarded at the college, he was also asked not to assist anyone, the Yugoslav refugees in general and particularly the Croatian refugees.

The request for this priest being asked to leave the college was actually directed from the archdiocese of Zagrab [sic - here and below]. Mons. Franjo SEPER informed the Holy See that Draganovic had transformed the college into a refuge for propaganda purposes.

It has been revealed that, following the inquest made by the bishop of Zagrab Mons. Josip LAH who came to Rome 4 months ago, that the actions of Draganovic came to light, and also that he received great compensation from these Yugoslav refugees who did not belong to his political group. He received the compensation so as to solicit the authorities for emigration of these refugees. It has been known that the priests Giovanni TOMAS and Antonio MATACIN who were collaborators of Draganovic also have been asked to leave the college.

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0014.txt>

November 19, 1958

SUBJECT- The priest KRUMOSLAV DRAGANOVIC being asked to leave the College of St. Jerome of the Illirici.

SOURCE -

About the second week of October-1958, Mons. Djuro Koksa, the vice director of the College of St. Jerome of the Illirici, by orders from the Secretary of State of the Vatican, asked the priest Draganovic to leave the college. Draganovic has always boarded at the college, he was also asked not to assist anymore, the Yugoslav refugees in general and particularly the Croatsians.

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SUMMARY OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SILC

It is uncertain what group the acronym "SILC" refers to, or whether this document represents a summary of a report or information gathered by field agents of the CIA. The "Committee for the Relief of Slovene Refugees" mentioned in the first paragraph was a group sponsored by the Ustase Office of Colonization. After the Serbian population of a region was murdered or uprooted, Slovenes sent packing from the part of their country annexed by the German Reich as well as Carinthia were intended to take their place - an agreement brokered by Ante Pavelic and Adolf Hitler during their first meeting as heads of state. What a group of Slovenes actually thought of this is illustrated in this letter sent to German Plenipotentiary General Edmund Glaise von Horstenau.

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

Subject of Document:

Summary of the Activities of SILC During the months of May-July 1944.

Analyst: [censored]

Date Processed: 20 Nov 1958

Cross Referenced to this File:

RI File No: [censored]

Dispatch on Source Doc. Symbol No:
DOC.#20 (Box 1)

(J) Dr. Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC

Subject is a Roman Catholic priest, born at BRCKO in 1903. He was on refugee work in SKOPLJE when war broke out in Yugoslavia, and in the Autumn of 1941 started and became President of a Croat-Slovene Committee for the relief of

Slovene refugees in ZAGREB.

In August 1943 D. came to Italy to represent the Croat Red Cross, his mission being to secure the release of, or otherwise help Yugoslav internees.

D. was charged by the Serbs with being an ardent Ustashi, with ignoring all non-Croat Yugoslav internees, and when in ZAGREB, receiving support from PAVELIC, and working with the prominent collaborationist AVSENIK. No concrete evidence supports any of these charges, except that he was undoubtedly working with AVSENIK.

Politically he is fanatically anti-Serb, anti-Partisan and pro-Croat.

This man lives in Rome under the protection of the Vatican.

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0007.txt>

in 24

SECRET
FORM 100-100

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
Summary of the Activities of S.I.L.C. During the months of May-July 1944.		1. FILE NO.	[REDACTED]
		2. DISPATCH BY SOURCE NO. (FORM NO.)	3. DATE
		DOC. 720 (Box 1)	
4. SOURCE REFERENCE	5. DATE OF INFO. (1)	6. EVALUATION	
7. DATE RECEIVED	8. DATE RECEIVED	9. DISSEMINATED IN	10. DATE
20 Nov 1955			
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
11. LINES REFERRED TO THIS FILE		12. TRANSFERRED TO AT FILE NO.	
13. REMOVED TO FILE NO.			
<p>(J) <u>Dr. Krunoslav DRAGANOVIC</u></p> <p>Subject is a Roman Catholic priest, born at BEOGRAD in 1903. He was on refugee relief work in BEOGRAD when war broke out in Yugoslavia, and in the Autumn of 1941 started and became President of a Croat-Slovene Committee for the relief of Slovene refugees in ZAGREB.</p> <p>In August 1943 D. came to Italy to represent the Croat Red Cross, his mission being to secure the release of, or otherwise help Yugoslav internees.</p> <p>D. was charged by the Serbs with being an ardent Ustasi, with ignoring all non-Croat Yugoslav internees, and when in ZAGREB, receiving support from PAVELIC, and working with the prominent collaborationist AVSEVNIK. No concrete evidence supports any of these charges, except that he was undoubtedly working with AVSEVNIK.</p> <p>Politically he is fanatically anti-Serb, anti-Partisan and pro-Croat.</p> <p>This man lives in Rome under the protection of the Vatican.</p>			
<p>FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO. [REDACTED]</p>			

FORM 100-100 857

SECRET

17-444

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Date FEB 1990BEST COPY
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Approved for Release
Date FEB 1998

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DOJ/OSI INVESTIGATION OF KLAUS BARBIE

Amid the scandal surrounding the extradition of the "Butcher of Lyons" Klaus Barbie from Bolivia, when millions for the first time heard the word "Ratline" uttered in connection with the American plan to smuggle accused Nazi war criminals out of Europe, the Department of Justice of the United States ordered all departments to search their files from the immediate post-war period and turn over all documents relating to the matter. This new-found determination to deal with accused Nazi war criminals in the United States would eventually lead to the extradition of the Independent State of Croatia Interior Minister, Andrija Artukovic, who had been living in California while extradition proceedings stalled for almost forty years. The following document is a heavily censored report from a department head (we do not know which one on account of the redacted passages) in connection with the DOJ's order. This summary is crucial, in that it admits for the first time that the "Ratline" existed, and uses a score of documents which we apparently do not have, either because they've since been lost or remain classified today. Father Krunoslav Draganovic (for some reason, repeatedly misspelled) is referred to as "one of the prime movers on the CIC/Austria disposal rat-line," and notes that he worked as an agent for the Department of the Army along with listing his service number. Though only the fourth paragraph directly concerns Draganovic and the Ustase, the entire document is reproduced here for context.

[censored]

[illegible] FOR: [censored]
Chief, [censored]

ATTENTION: [censored] [censored]
[censored]

FROM: [censored] [censored]
Chief, [censored]

SUBJECT: DOJ/OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie (U)

REFERENCES: (A) OGC 83-02579 dated 29 March 1983 via
IMS, [censored] Memo dated 1 April 1983
(B) OGC 83-03138 dated 15 April 1983 [censored]

1. The following is a summary of an intensive search of the files and indices of the Directorate of Operations which surfaced voluminous records pertaining to individuals and/or elements listed in reference (A) and no identifiable information concerning War Department Detachment mentioned in reference (B).

2. US Army 430th CIC "Rat Line": There were cables and memos on the 430th CIC detachment activities and progress reports in Austria from July 1949 thru July 1955 contained in folder 7 of [censored] but according to [censored] this file was destroyed.

3. George Neagoy: Neagoy has a [censored] File [censored] which revealed that Neagoy was a special agent of the 430th CIC detachment but there was no mention of him having been responsible for the "Rat line" operation. He was also a former witting collaborator whose relationship was terminated. [censored]

4. Father Krunoslav Dragonovich: Dragonovich has a [censored] File [censored] which revealed he was one of the prime movers in the CIC/Austria disposal rat-line which operated circa 1948-1951 or later (RGBA-37554 dated 6 December 1956). Additional undated and unevaluated information listed Father Dragonovich as a CIC rat-line chief in Italy ([illegible]-85997 dated 23 January 1957). He was listed in the ISR ([illegible] 6239) for the Department of the Army, Service No. SD 7350, and dropped with prejudice on 23 January 1962 for security reasons and lack of control. Attached for your review is Dragonovich's [censored] (Att. 2). [censored]

5. Operation Rusty: Several records were surfaced concerning Operation Rusty but of the obtainable records only one was pertinent. Attached for your retention are copies of

Operation Rusty/Odeum (Att. 3), 1946 through 1949 [censored].
[censored]

6. 7821 Composite Group: There is reference to this Group in the Operation Rusty file (Att. 3). There was also mention of this Group in Col. WR Philp's file (see paragraph 9). Attached for your retention is a copy of [censored] file (Att. 4) pertaining to 7821 Composite Group. If any additional information is needed concerning this file, please contact [censored].

7. 7707 European Command Intelligence Center (ECIC): Three references to ECIC reports were surfaced but [censored] was unable to locate them. [censored]

8. Department of Army Detachment (DAD): The only records surfaced concerning DAD were from [censored] and attached for your retention are copies of these records (Att. 5). You can contact [censored] should you require additional information concerning these records. [censored]

9. Col. WR Philps: Philps has [censored] which reveals he was employed by the Department of Army as Commanding Officer of the 7821 Composite Group which supported US intelligence organizations in Europe. [censored] Attached for your review is Philp's [censored] (Att. 6).

10. Intelligence Division, EUCOM (US Army Command, Europe): There is reference to EUCOM in the attached Rusty file (Att. 3). Also attached [sic] are "Record Copies" of summaries of Headquarters European Command, Office of the Deputy Director for Intelligence, reports dated 8 December 1947 (Att. 7) and 22 December 1947 (Att. 8). All other references to EUCOM were in files that were destroyed. [censored]

11. Office of Intelligence, HICOG (High Commission for Germany): There were numerous references to HICOG and except for attachment 9, all other records were destroyed.
[censored]

12. A review of all obtainable records pertaining to paragraphs 2 thru 11 revealed no mention of Klaus Barbie.
[censored]

13. Kurt Merk (Merck): Merk has a [censored] File [censored] which reveals he was a former German intelligence officer and leader of a CI reconnaissance detachment in France during World War II, and he also worked for CIC, Augsburg. Allegedly, with the consent of CIC, Merk was in contact with [censored] Intelligence Service. He was considered to be an efficient intelligence worker but allegedly was involved in a large black market affair. Klaus Barbie was a good friend and close intelligence collaborator with Merk. Merk was dropped (without prejudice) as an informant by US intelligence agencies in the US occupied zones of Austria and Germany on 19 October 1949. Merk died on 5 September 1951. Attached for your review is Merk's [censored] (Att. 10). (S)

14. According to information provided this Directorate by DDA/IPD, there is no indication that the individuals and/or elements listed in references have ever been the subjects of an FOIA/PA request. (U)

[censored]

Enclosures - Attachments 1 thru 10

[censored]

Distribution:

Original: - Addressee w/ refs and Atts.

1 - [censored]

1 - [censored]

1 - [censored]

Source: Declassified CIA file, courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0012.txt>

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Drag-rat

-m35

DEPARTMENT FOR:

Chief, [REDACTED]

ATTENTION:

FROM:

Chief, [REDACTED]

SUBJECT:

DOJ/OSI Investigation of Klaus Barbie (U)

REFERENCES:

(A) OGC 87-02579 dated 29 March 1983 via
IMS, [REDACTED] Memo dated 1 April 1983

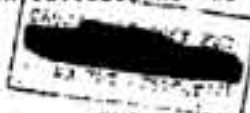
(B) OGC 87-03138 dated 15 April 1983 [REDACTED]

1. The following is a summary of an intensive search of the files and indices of the Directorate of Operations which surfaced voluminous records pertaining to individuals and/or elements listed in reference (A) and no identifiable information concerning War Department Detachment mentioned in reference (A). [REDACTED]

2. U.S. Army 430th CIC "Rat Line": There were cables and memos on the 430th CIC detachment activities and progress reports in Austria from July 1949 thru July 1955 contained in folder 7 of [REDACTED] but according to [REDACTED] this file was destroyed.

3. George Neagoy: Neagoy has a [REDACTED] file [REDACTED] which revealed that Neagoy was a special agent of the 430th CIC detachment but there was no mention of him having been responsible for the "Rat line" operation. He was also a former willing collaborator whose relationship was terminated. [REDACTED]

4. Father Kruppelaw Dragonivich: Dragonivich has a [REDACTED] file [REDACTED] which revealed he was one of the [REDACTED]



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Date FEB 1998

BEST COPY
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line covers in the CIC/Austria disposal rat-line which dated circa 1948-1951 or later (EGBA-37334 dated 5 December 1951). Additional updated and unclassified information listed in the Dragonovich as a CIC rat-line chief in Italy (EGBA-37334 dated 23 January 1957). He was listed in the TSR (see 6719) for the Department of Army, Service No. SD 7350, and dropped with prejudice on 23 January 1962 for security reasons and lack of control. Attached for your review is Dragonovich's (Att. 2).

5. Operation Rusty: Several records were surfaced concerning Operation Rusty but of the obtainable records only one was pertinent. Attached for your retention are copies of Operation Rusty/Odeum (Att. 3), 1946 through 1949.

6. 7821 Composite Group: There is reference to this Group in the Operation Rusty file (Att. 3). There was also mention of this Group in Col. W.R. Philp's file (see paragraph 9). Attached for your retention is a copy of [redacted] file (Att. 4) pertaining to 7821 Composite Group. If any additional information is needed concerning this file, please contact [redacted].

7. 7707 European Command Intelligence Center (ECIC): Three references to ECIC reports were surfaced but [redacted] was unable to locate them.

8. Department of Army Detachment (DAD): The only records surfaced concerning DAD were from [redacted] and attached for your retention are copies of these records (Att. 5). You can contact [redacted] should you require additional information concerning these records.

9. Col. W.R. Philp: Philp has [redacted] which reveals he was employed by the Department of Army as Commanding Officer of the 7821 Composite Group which supported U.S. intelligence organizations in Europe.

[redacted] Attached for your review is Philp's [redacted] (Att. 6).

10. Intelligence Division, EUCOM (U.S. Army Command,

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Receipt: There is reference to SECRET in the attached Study file (Att. 3). Also attached are "Record Copies" of summaries of Headquarters European Command, Office of the Deputy Director of Intelligence, reports dated 8 December 1947 (Att. 7) and 22 December 1947 (Att. 8). All other references to SECRET were in files that were destroyed.

11. Office of Intelligence, HICOG (High Commission for Germany): There were numerous references to HICOG and except for attachment 9, all other records were destroyed. [REDACTED]

12. A review of all obtainable records pertaining to paragraphs 2 thru 11 revealed no mention of Klaus Barbie.

12. Kurt Merk (Merck): Merk has a [redacted] file [redacted] which reveals he was a former German intelligence officer and leader of a CI reconnaissance detachment in France during World War II, and he also worked for CIC, Augsburg. Allegedly, with the consent of CIC, Merk was in contact with [redacted] Intelligence Service. He was considered to be an efficient intelligence worker but allegedly was involved in a large black market affair. Klaus Barbie was a good friend and close intelligence collaborator of Merk. Merk was dropped (without prejudice) as an informant by U.S. intelligence agencies in the U.S. occupied zones of Austria and Germany on 19 October 1949. Merk died on 5 September 1951. Attached for your review is Merk's [redacted] (Att. 10). (S)

14. According to information provided this Directorate by DDA/IFD, there is no indication that the individuals and/or elements listed in references have ever been the subjects of an FOIA/PA request. (U)

Enclosures - Attachments 1 thru 10

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THE RATLINE AND THE BUTCHER OF LYONS

Krunoslav Draganovic's most famous protege

A Latin American ghost from Washington's Cold War past is reappearing this summer. On Aug. 6, [1997] one of South America's most notorious drug-tainted military dictators, Hugo Banzer Suarez, will don Bolivia's presidential sash. That will make him responsible for battling cocaine traffickers in one of the world's top drug-producing nations.

...Amid strikes and political chaos in July 1978, Bolivian Air Force Gen. Juan Pereda Asburn overthrew Banzer, in the name -- oddly enough -- of saving Bolivia from "international communism"... Two years later, the Bolivian government prepared to indict Banzer on charges of human rights violations and corruption. But Banzer's remarkable luck held out. His friends, coca king Roberto Suarez and Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie, provided the money and muscle for the "Cocaine Coup."

Barbie, in particular, was already deep in Banzer's debt. After World War II, Barbie, known as the Butcher of Lyons for his work in Nazi-occupied France, was hired by the US Army's Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) to run a spy network of ex-Nazi officers. But French intelligence agents -- seeking Barbie's arrest on charges of torture and murder -- picked up his scent. The CIC then contacted Dr. Krunoslav Draganovic, a rightist Croatian priest who ran a Vatican "ratline" which helped hundreds of Nazi SS officers escape from Europe. Draganovic arranged papers and transportation for Barbie to flee from Germany to Italy and then to Argentina and Bolivia.

When French Nazi hunters were closing in again a quarter century later, Banzer and other Bolivian officers stepped forward as Barbie's protectors. During his 1971-78 dictatorship, Banzer repeatedly

rejected French requests for Barbie's extradition.
Barbie returned the favor in 1980, recruiting a
mercenary army of neo-fascist terrorists, including
Italy's Stefano delle Chiaie.

Quoted from Meldon, Jerry. "The Return of Bolivia's Drug-Stained Dictator" The Consortium, 1997

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/draganovic/text/kd0001.txt>

THE FINAL REDOUBT OF NAZISM

Krunoslav Draganovic's proteges in Argentina: excerpt from "Peron's Nazi Ties," Time magazine, 1998.

...At issue here is not merely a matter of diplomatic taste. Throughout the war, Argentina was regarded by U.S. diplomats and the U.S. media as the regional headquarters for Nazi espionage. After 1945, reports kept cropping up in the U.S. press that Argentina was the final redoubt of important Nazis and their European collaborators, a point dramatically brought home as late as 1960 by the capture and forcible removal to Israeli justice of Adolf Eichmann, principal director of the "final solution"...

As late as 1944, the Argentine military thought the Nazis were going to win the war, and during the first months of 1945 tried to act as if they had. Having bet on the wrong horse, Peron and his associates -- far from reproaching themselves for their bad judgment, or at least striving to correct it -- closed ranks and came to the rescue of some of the most unsavory figures to escape Allied justice in liberated Europe.

After 1945, the Argentine consulate in Barcelona became a distribution point for false passports, which enabled literally hundreds if not thousands of Nazi functionaries to escape to Argentina, including the infamous Dr. Josef Mengele. Eventually Argentina provided safe haven for such sinister personalities as Belgian Nazi collaborator Pierre Daye; Reinhard Spitzzy, the Austrian representative of Skoda in Spain; Charles Lescat, former Vichy functionary and onetime editor of the scurrilous magazine Je Suis Partout; SS functionary Ludwig Lienhardt; German industrialist Ludwig Freude; SS functionary (for a time) Klaus Barbie, "the Butcher of Lyons"; Eichmann; and Eichmann's

adjutant Franz Stangl. Argentina also became home to dozens of Croats, veterans of the bloodthirsty Ustashe, as well as the wartime Prime Minister of occupied Yugoslavia, Milan Stojadinovich.

Some of these people had an important afterlife in Peron's Argentina. Vichyite Frenchman Jacques de Mahieu drafted the doctrinal texts of Peron's movement and became an important ideological mentor to Roman Catholic nationalist youth groups in the 1960s. Daye became the editor of one of the official Peronist magazines; Freude's business ventures prospered, and his son Rodolfo was the chief of presidential intelligence during Peron's first presidency. In 1951 Stojadinovich founded one of Argentina's main business dailies, *El Economista*, which still carries his name on its masthead.

Many of these people also benefited from the clandestine assistance of the Vatican in making their escape from Europe to Argentina. The one question Goni's book cannot answer is why either the Catholic Church or the Peron regime felt so strongly about the need to provide succor and assistance to partisans of a lost (and, one would have thought, thoroughly discredited) cause. Money did have something to do with it. Argentine officials in Europe were known to sell passports for large sums.

But there appears to have been a vague, confusing and still unexplained overlap between defeated Central European fascism, preconciliar Catholicism and nascent Peronism. A case in point is the career of a Croatian priest based in Rome, the Rev. Krunoslav Draganovic, who was deputed by Peron to facilitate the escape of hundreds of Nazis and their collaborators to South America, including the infamous Barbie. When the Butcher of Lyons asked the clergyman why he was going out of his way to help him, Draganovic merely replied, "We have to maintain a sort of moral reserve on which we can

draw in the future." Thus the European fascist sensibility, if not precisely the fascist system, found new roots and new life in the South Atlantic region.

Quoted from "Peron's Nazi Ties: How the European fascist sensibility found new roots and new life in the South Atlantic region" by Mark Falcoff. Time, November 9, 1998.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/draganovic/text/kd0002.txt>

HOLOCAUST GOLD TAINTS THE VATICAN

News excerpt from the Sunday Telegraph, July 27, 1997, by Bruce Johnson

The Vatican stands accused of using gold plundered from Holocaust victims in Yugoslavia during the Second World War to smuggle war criminals into Latin America and the Middle East.

The allegations, made by an international team of Holocaust experts, follow last week's publication of a recently declassified US Treasury document which, for the first time, drags the Vatican's name into the Holocaust gold scandal. The document surfaced at the same time as Swiss banks published names of holders of unclaimed wartime accounts which they had concealed for decades.

The allegations relate to a US Treasury memo of October 1946 by Emerson Bigelow, who worked for the Treasury's monetary research unit and who received reliable information from the OSS, precursor of the CIA, on Nazi wealth held in specific Swiss accounts.

Bigelow's memo claims that the Ustashas, the Nazi puppet regime of Croatia, used the Vatican to look after part of the millions of dollars' worth of gold and jewelry which they plundered from 900,000 Jews, Serbs, Croat moderates and gipsies they had put to death. The Vatican has denied the allegation.

Citing "reliable sources in Italy" - understood to mean US intelligence - the memo says that one third of the estimated 350 million Swiss francs which the Ustashas tried to remove from Yugoslavia was impounded by the British at the Austrian-Yugoslav

border. The remaining 200 million "was originally held in the Vatican for safe-keeping," to keep the gold from falling into the hands of the Allies.

While stating this as fact, the document also quotes rumours saying a large portion of the Vatican-held money was sent through its "pipeline" to Spain and Argentina. But it adds that this could also be a "smokescreen to cover the fact that the treasure remains in its original repository" - namely, the Vatican...

It has also attracted considerable interest at the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, leading the international inquiry into Nazi gold. Shimon Samuels, the centre's director, said last week that the memo supports claims that Nazi gold received by the Vatican was later used to pay for war criminals to be smuggled out of Europe.

According to Mr Samuels, the "gold-line", or channels that were used to smuggle looted Nazi gold, was linked to the "rat-line", the mechanism by which war criminals were spirited out of Europe.

A connection between the Catholic Church and Nazi gold was very feasible, Mr Samuels said, since he is convinced that the Vatican played a crucial role in smuggling war criminals to South America...

Mr Samuels said the gold-line and the rat-line often coincided, and mentioned declassified US documents which talked of how the late Baron Thyssen "and other Nazi industrialists" after the war ploughed huge sums of money into Argentina.

The looted Nazi gold from Yugoslavia could have gone to the Vatican to finance the rat-line, Mr Samuels suggested...

Priebke's admission to the Bonaventura monastery in the Frascati hills of Rome, was arranged by a Right-wing activist called Paolo Giachini, who

during the trial of the SS captain distributed
smear leaflets against the Simon Wiesenthal Centre.

Priebke, who was Rome SS commandant Herbert
Kappler's deputy, escaped from a British PoW camp
near the Adriatic after the war. Shortly
afterwards, he and his family sailed from Genoa to
South America, travelling on a Red Cross passport.
So, incidentally, did the Ustasha leader Ante
Pavelic - disguised as a priest.

Source: "Holocaust Gold Taints the Vatican," by Bruce Johnson. Sunday Telegraph, July 27, 1997.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0008.txt>

POPE'S APOLOGY AN EMPTY GESTURE

As the scandal over the fate of "Nazi Gold" has escalated, the Vatican has come under increasing fire for refusing to open their wartime archives to outside scrutiny. Paragraphs five and six are particularly relevant in the scope of this archive.

A LEADING Nazi-hunter yesterday attacked plans by the Pope to make an historic "apology to the Jews" shortly as a "cosmetic exercise" which would leave the "true facts" about help given to Nazi criminals by the Roman Catholic Church hidden in the Vatican archives.

Shimon Samuels, the head of international relations at the Simon Wiesenthal Centre - which has brought numerous former Nazi criminals to book - also said that Pius XII, who was Pope during the Second World War, had "sold the soul of the Church to the Nazi Devil"...

Mr Samuels said the seminar on Judaism was an "incestuous exercise" behind closed doors to which "not a single Jew has been invited". He said the only way to "come to terms with the past" was to open up the Vatican archives "to shed light on what really happened during the war years". He said he had asked the Pope to open the files, but Vatican officials had told him there were "no plans to do so"...

Jewish groups have long maintained that Vatican officials helped former Nazi officers to flee to Latin America and that Catholic monasteries and convents gave them refuge. It was alleged during the trial in Rome this year of Erich Priebke, a former SS captain extradited from Argentina and convicted of a wartime massacre of 335 men and boys, that he had taken refuge in an Italian

monastery at the end of the war before being spirited to Buenos Aires.

It has also been claimed that gold taken from Jews by the Fascist wartime regime in Croatia, a Catholic country, was transferred to the Vatican for safe-keeping, although the Vatican has denied this.

"I have personally seen documents in the Buenos Aires archives showing that Ante Pavelic, the Croat Fascist leader, arrived in Argentina dressed as a priest and carrying a certificate of safe conduct from the Vatican," Mr Samuels said.

He added that the fate of persecuted Jews - and of Jewish gold - was becoming clearer as the archives of the KGB, the Stasi, the Swiss banks and Argentina were all opened, but said: "The Vatican remains the missing link."

Source: "Pope's Apology to Jews Attacked as Empty Gesture" by Richard Owen. The Times (London), October 30, 1997.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0009.txt>

RESPONSE FROM THE VATICAN

This article was first published in L'Osservatore Romano, by one of the priests responsible for searching the Vatican archives for evidence of Nazi collaboration. Father Graham, mentioned in paragraph two, is the Vatican official given the unhappy task of answering questions on the Vatican to journalists; he is extensively quoted in Aarons and Loftus' Unholy Trinity. Bishop Hudal was an overtly pro-Nazi priest who had his own Ratline aimed at helping Nazi officials escape to South America.

...The same article in the Paris daily, after inventing relations between Hitler and the Nuncio Pacelli, mentions an article in the Sunday Telegraph of July 1997 which accuses the Holy See of having used Nazi gold to help war criminals flee to Latin America, especially the Croat, Ante Pavelic: "Certain studies give credit to this theory." It is remarkable how easily journalists can be satisfied with documenting their own assertions. Historians, who often work for hours to check their references, would be envious of them. One can understand a journalist trusting a colleague, especially when the English title of the paper gives it an appearance of respectability. But there are still two assertions which deserve to be examined separately: that Nazi gold, or more precisely, Jewish gold stolen by the Nazis, was deposited in Vatican accounts, and that it was used to help Nazi war criminals escape to Latin America.

Indeed, certain American newspapers had produced a document from the Department of the Treasury in which the Department is informed that the Vatican had received Nazi gold of Jewish origin via Croatia. A "document from the Department of the Treasury" can sound impressive but one has

to read below the headline and then one discovers that it is a note taken from the "communication of a trustworthy Roman informer". Anyone who takes such assertions as truth should read what Fr Graham wrote on the cleverness of Scatolini, an informer, who lived on information he invented and which he passed on to all the embassies, including that of the United States, which faithfully transmitted it to the State Department. In our research in the Secretariat of State's archives, we found no mention of gold stolen from Jews which was supposedly deposited in Vatican accounts. It is obviously the duty of those who make these assertions to supply documented proof, for example a receipt, which would not have remained in the Vatican archives, such as Pius XII's letters to Hitler. What is recorded instead is Pius XII's prompt intervention when the Jewish communities of Rome were subjected to blackmail by the SS, which demanded 50 kg. of gold from them; on that occasion the Chief Rabbi turned to the Pope to ask him for the 15 kg. they still needed, and Pius XII immediately gave orders to his officials to do what was necessary. Recent investigations have discovered nothing more.

Furthermore, the report of the Vatican supposedly helping Nazi criminals escape to Latin America is not new. We obviously cannot exclude the ingenuity of a Roman ecclesiastic who made use of his own position to facilitate the escape of a Nazi. The sympathies of Bishop Hudal, rector of the German national church, for the great Reich, are well-known; but on this basis to imagine that the Vatican organized a large-scale flight of Nazis to Latin America means attributing a heroic charity to Roman ecclesiastics. In Rome the Nazi plans for the Church and the Holy See were well-known. Pius XII mentioned them in his address in the Consistory of 2 June 1945, recalling how the regime's persecution of the Church had been further aggravated by the war "when its supporters even entertained the illusion that, as soon as the military victory had

been won, they would be done with the Church for ever". Nevertheless, the authors to which our journalist refers have a somewhat elevated idea of the forgiveness of wrongs practiced in the Pope's circles, if they imagine that a number of Nazis were taken in by the Vatican, conducted to Argentina, protected by the dictatorship of Peron, and from there taken to Brazil, Chile and Paraguay, to save what could be saved of the Third Reich: a "Fourth Reich" would have been born on the pampas.

Source: "Response to Accusations Against Pius XII: Myth vs Historical Fact," by Father Pierre Blet, S.J. L'Osservatore Romano, April 29, 1998.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0011.txt>

Catholic Origins of the Ustase Oath

Excerpt from *Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America*. Several Ustase priests - particularly those who served as military chaplains to the Ustase Army, such as Father Vilim Cecelja - took the oath as well.

Upon joining the Ustashi, the novitiate was immediately indoctrinated with its mystery and authority. The initiation rite required that one swear before a crucifix framed by a dagger and a revolver an oath promising total devotion:

"I swear before God and all that I hold sacred that I will observe the laws of this society and will execute without condition all that I am ordered to do by the Poglavnik.

"I will scrupulously preserve all secrets entrusted to me, and I will betray nothing, no matter what it might be.

"I swear to fight in the Ustashi army for a free, independent Croat state under the absolute control of the Poglavnik. Failing in my oath, I shall accept death as the penalty. God help Me, amen."

The choice of the three symbols - the crucifix, the dagger, and the revolver - was not a casual one. The Ustashi "call to blood" that Pavelic was demanding of his followers would be a religious calling. The intensity of Croatian Catholicism would now be transferred, Pavelic hoped, to a political movement. The devotion, duty and bloodletting which the Ustashi promised, would become a holy war to create a Croatian state, a state which would be both separate and Catholic...

Source: Blum, Howard. *Wanted: The Search for Nazis*

in America, p 153.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/text/va0001.txt>

BOOK EXCERPT: THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE HOLOCAUST

Excerpt from the Encyclopedia of the Holocaust on the involvement of Catholic priests in the Ustase massacres, and the Vatican's attitude to the Ustase regime in Croatia.

Many Catholic priests, mainly of the lower rank, took an active part in the murder operations. Generally speaking, the reaction of the Catholic church was a function of military and political developments affecting Croatia; when the standing of the NDH regime was weakening and the war was drawing to an end, protests by the church against Ustasha crimes became more and more outspoken. This was not a case in the earlier stages. A bishop's conference that met in Zagreb in November 1941 was not even prepared to denounce the forced conversion of Serbs that had taken place in the summer of 1941, let alone condemn the persecution and murder of Serbs and Jews. It was not until the middle of 1943 that Aloysius Stepinac, the archbishop of Zagreb, publicly came out against the murder of Croatian Jews (most of whom had been killed by that time), the Serbs, and other nationalities.

The Vatican followed a similar line. In the early stage, the Croatian massacres were explained in Rome as "teething troubles of a new regime" (the expression of Monsignor Domenico Tardini of the Vatican state secretariat). When the course of the war was changing, the leaders of the Catholic church began to criticize the Ustasha, but in mild terms; it was only at the end, when Allied victory was assured, that Vatican spokesmen came out with clear denunciations. In some instances, Croatian clerics did help Jews. Their main effort was to save the lives of the Jewish partners in mixed marriages, and most of these did in fact survive. The church also extended help to the

Zagreb Jewish community in providing food,
medicines, and clothing for Jews in the
concentration camps.

Source: Gutman, Israel (Ed.) Encyclopedia of the
Holocaust, p 328.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/vatican/va0002.txt>

REQUEST FOR INFO, SETAF VERONA

On April 13, 1959, an American intelligence branch in Verona filed a request with the US Embassy in Rome and a number of US military units in Germany for any info in their files relating to a Krunoslav Draganovic. The response is located [here](#).

NR003

USA101

PP UUFPWOCR

DE RUFSVCR 11C

P 130S20Z - PRIORITY

FM CG SETAF VERONA ITALY

TO RJFPAE/COMMANDER OSI DIST 70, WIESBADEN AB, WIESBADEN GER

UUF1-WOCR/CO 660H CIC GP, BAD CANSTATT GER

RJFPDW/CO 7000TH SUPPORT WING, RHEIN MAIN AB, FRANKFURT GER

RUFYCR/CO US ARMY COMMO UNIT, FRANKFURT GER

ZEN/ARMY ATTACHE, US EMBASSY, ROME ITALY

INFO RUFPAE/CINCHSAREUR HEIDELBERG GER

DA GRNC

BT

// C O N F I D E N T I A L // CAT AC // CITE P0393. FROM
AESE-GBI.

(U) (C) 66TH CIC FOR AEUCSBCR; USARMA ROMA PASS TO [censored]
USAREUR FOR INFO G2 BR SCO.

(C) (U) REQUEST ANY INFO YOUR FILES, OR NEGATIVE REPLY,
CONCERNING SUBJECT FIRST NAME KRUNOSLAV, LAST NAME
DRAGANOVIC, BORN 1907 IN YUGOSLAVIA. PRESENTLY RESIDING AT
COLLEGHIO S. GIROLAMO, VIA TOMACELLI 132, ROME, ITALY.
OCCUPATION CATHOLIC PRIEST. NATIONALITY YUGOSLAV. END. CITE
VICNOVICH.

ET

CFN: P0393/66..TH G2 1907 132

RECD 13 APR 59/21122

Filing Information:

Title: Request for Info, SETAF Verona

Source: CIA, declassified March 12, 2001

Date: April 13, 1959 Added: March 16, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0020.txt>

NR283

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

USAJ81

PP UUFFWOCR

DE RUFVCR 11C

P 130520Z PRIORITY

FM CG SETAF VERONA ITALY

TO RUFFAL/COMMANDER OSI DIST 78, WIESBADEN AB, WIESBADEN GER

UUFFWOCR/CG 650H CIC CP, BAD CANSTATT GER

RUFFBW/CG 7880TH SUPPORT WING, BIELEFELD AB, FRANKFURT GER

RUFFCR/CG US ARMY COMMO UNIT, FRANKFURT GER

TEM/ARMY ATTACHE, US EMBASSY, ROME ITALY

INFO RUFFAL/CINCSARHEIDELBERG GER

DA CRNC

BT

//~~CONFIDENTIAL~~// CAT AC // CITE P8393, FROM AISE-GHI.

(U) 66TH CIC FOR AUCSCBR USARMA ROME PASS TO [CIA]

USAREUR FOR INFO C2 BR SCO.

(U) REQUEST ANY INFO YOUR FILES, OR NEGATIVE REPLY,
CONCERNING SUBJECT FIRST NAME KRISTOSLAV, LAST NAME DRAGANOVIC.

BORN 1947 IN YUGOSLAVIA. PRESENTLY RESIDING AT COLLECHIO S.

GIROLANO, VIA TONACELLI 132, ROME, ITALY. OCCUPATION CATHOLIC

PRIEST. NATIONALITY YUGOSLAV. EMP. CITE VIGNOVICH.

BT

CEN P8393/66..TH C2 1967 132

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REC'D 13 APR 59/2112Z

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12 MAR 2008
USARMA COM TOWNS
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CIC REPLY TO SETAF VERONA

On April 13, 1959, an American intelligence branch in Verona filed a request with the US Embassy in Rome and a number of US military units in Germany for any info in their files relating to a Krunoslav Draganovic. That request is located here, and it wasn't until the original request was released in 2001 that the following document could be placed in its proper context. This is a response to SETAF Verona's request from the 66th Counter-Intelligence Corps Group in Bad Cannstatt. The text is based largely on the CIC reports of Agents Robert Clayton Mudd and William Gowen from 1946-48, particularly this one. That is, in fact, the point: SETAF Verona received this report and didn't blink a jaundiced eye at Draganovic's Nazi-smuggling background or his past in the notorious "Bureau of Colonization" in the Independent State of Croatia. Within one month of receipt of the following, in fact, SETAF Verona dispatched an agent codenamed "FRANCO" to recruit Draganovic back into the fold of American intelligence.

FROM: CO, 66th CIC Gp, Bad Cannstatt, Germany

TO: CG, SETAF, Verona, Italy

CONF 0-1891 For AESE-GBI from AEUC-OPCR

1. (U) Ref P-0393
2. (C) Info on file this Hq dtd Oct 46 to Nov 47, inde that one Krunoslav Draganovic, a Croatian Catholic Priest in the Monastery of San Geronimo, [sic] 132 Via Romacelli, [sic] ROME, not further identified, was assoc with Ustashi (Croatian Fascist Org) elm in Italy. He was alleged to have been instrumental in aiding various unnamed WW II crim and quislings in escaping arrest and immigrating to various South American Countries, via Spain. Draganovic was a native of TRAVNIK, where he cmpl his elementary and secondary sch.

After finishing secondary sch, he moved to SARAJEVO to study Theology and Philosophy. Upon grad on an undisclosed date, he was sent to ROME through the intervention of Dr. Ivan Saric, Archbishop of SARAJEVO. Draganovic cmpl his studies in ROME, where he majored in Ethnology and Balkan affairs, then rtn to SARAJEVO, where he held various unspecified polt ofc of minor importance. Draganovic later become one of the leading figures in the Bureau of Colonization in the independent state of Croatia. He was involved in a disagreement oer the relative merits of the younger Eugen Kvaternik, not further identified, whom he called a "madman and lunatic" and left Croatia to rtn to ROME. This move was alleged to have been promoted by leaders of the independent state of Croatia, who expected the prelate, through his good conec in The Vatican, to be instrumental in working the orien of Croatia toward the West rather than toward the East. Croatia's militant catholicism made her a "natural" in such a deal and these same leaders relied heavily on Draganovic to assist them in their aims. Draganovic's sponsorship of Croat quislings and war crim reportedly linked him with Vatican plans to shield these ex-Ustashi nationalists until such time as they acquired proper documents to enable them to go to South America. The Vatican allegedly was attempting to infiltrate mbr of the Ustashi into South America, because of their strong anti-Communist feelings, to counteract the spread of Red doctrine in that area. Aval rec disclose no further pertinent info.

DATE: 16 Apr 1959 1015

WRITER

EDWARD E. COSTELLO, CWO cbs/bmd

PHONE: 7456

PAGE NR.: 1 NR OF PAGES: 2

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASER

SIGNATURE: [signed] Richard O. Fox

TYPED (or stamped) NAME AND TITLE:

for WILLIAM H. FRY

Major, AI (Inf)

Chief, CR Div

Filing Information:

Title: CIC Reply to SETAF Verona

Source: CIA, declassified September 12, 1983

Date: April 16, 1959 Added: March 16, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0021.txt>

JOINT MESSAGE FORM

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

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SPACE BELOW RESERVED FOR COMMUNICATION CENTER

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16 1518Z

~~DEFERRED~~

TYPE MSG (Check)

BOOK

MULTI

SINGLE

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ACCOUNTING

SYMBOL

ORIG. OR REFERS TO

P-0393

CLASSIFICATION

OF REFERENCE

~~CONF~~

FROM:

CO, 66th CIC Gp, Bad Cannstatt, Germany

TO:

CG, SETAF, Verona, Italy

CONF

C-1891

For AESE-GHI from AEUC-OPCR

1. (U) Ref P-0393

2. (C) Info on file this Hq dtd Oct 46 to Nov 47, inde that one

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

AC-PKAPINASE NOT REQUIRED EXCEPT FOR
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MOVE ALL LITERIAL REFERENCES BY D-1
GROUP PRIOR TO DECLASSIFICATION-NO UN-
CLASSIFIED REFERENCE IF THE DATE TIME
GROUP IS QUOTED.

DATE

16

TIME

1015Z

MONTH

Apr

YEAR

1959

SYMBOL

AEUC-OPCR

XE-207018

SIGNATURE

TYPED (or stamped) NAME AND TITLE

for WILLIAM H. FRY
Major, AI (Inf)
Chief, CR Div

TYPED NAME AND TITLE (Signature, if required)

EDWARD E. COSTELLO, CWO

cbs/tmd

PHONE

7456

PAGE

1

NO. OF

PAGES

2

SECURITY CLASS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DD FORM 1 MAY 54 173 REPLACES DD FORM 173, 1 OCT 46, WHICH IS OBSOLETE FOR ARMY USE

286

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 SEP 1983
CDR USAINSCOM FOR
Arling Hall 1403 DOD 5200.4-1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM:

CO, 66th CIC Gp, Bad Cannstatt, Germany

of the leading figures in the Bureau of Colonization in the independent state of Croatia. He was involved in a disagreement over the relative merits of the younger Eugen Kvaternik, not further identified, whom he called a "madman and a lunatic" and left Croatia to return to ROME. This move was alleged to have been promoted by leaders of the independent state of Croatia, who expected the prelate, through his good connections in The Vatican, to be instrumental in working the orientation of Croatia toward the West rather than toward the East. Croatia's militant catholicism made her a "natural" in such a deal and these same leaders relied heavily on Draganovic to assist them in their aims. Draganovic's sponsorship of Croat quislings and war crimes reportedly linked him with Vatican plans to shield these ex-Ustashi nationalists until such time as they acquired proper documents to enable them to go to South America. The Vatican allegedly was attempting to infiltrate members of the Ustashi into South America, because of their strong anti-Communist feelings, to counteract the spread of Red doctrine in that area. Available records disclose no further pertinent info.

287

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 SEP 1993
BY CDR USAINSCOM/OPD
Auth Para 1-602 GPO 12899: 1-8

SYMBOL

AEUC-QPCR

PAGE
NR

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PAGES

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SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INITIALS

obs

THE RE-RECRUITMENT OF KRUNOSLAV DRAGANOVIC

Despite what was known about his past - and we have proof that the agents had copies of documents alleging the subject's involvement in the sheltering of Ante Pavelic and other Ustase figures - in 1959, US Army intelligence renewed their relationship with Father Krunoslav Draganovic. The past relationship between the agents and the priest had either been allowed to lapse at some point in the mid-1950s, or these were a whole new group of agents unaware of Draganovic's pre-existing contacts. Under the new arrangement, Draganovic was given the code-names DYNAMO and FABIANO, and now claimed to have an entire organization inside Yugoslavia at his disposal. We suspect that the identity of FRANCO is one Bruno Francazi.

Headquarters
Detachment "B"
APO 168 US Army

XOR: 0/0214

2 May 1959

SUBJECT: DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav (U)

XOR: 0-0149

1. Circumstances of Contact:

- a. Reason for meeting: To attempt to determine SUBJECT's potential and his willingness to cooperate with this unit in the collection of military intelligence information.
- b. Date, time and place of meeting: 28 April 1959; 1900-2130 hours, in FRANCO's room at the Pensione Santa Caterina, via

Po 2, Rome, Italy.

c. Transportation utilized: FRANCO travelled by commercial rail to and from Rome.

d. Language spoken: Italian

e. Unusual occurrences: FRANCO met a priest [censored] the details relative this meeting are reported under Operational Data of this report.

f. Additional security precautions: None

2. Finance: Not applicable

3. Logistics: Not applicable

4. Operational Data:

a. FRANCO departed from Verona, Italy, via commercial rail, at 2155 hours, 27 April 1959, arrived in Rome, Italy at 0730 hours, 28 April 1959. FRANCO registered under his true identity at the Pensione Santa Caterina, via Po 2, where personnel of this Pensione are under the impression that FRANCO is an American businessman from Munich, Germany. Upon completion of the mission, FRANCO departed from Rome at 2220 hours, 1 May 1959, and arrived in Verona at 0530 hours, 2 May 1959. No difficulty was experienced while at the Pensione or while in Rome.

b. During the early morning hours of 28 April 1959, FRANCO (as reported in XOR: 0-0213) had met with [censored] and during this meeting ORVAL again highly recommended DRAGANOVIC and stated that FRANCO proceeded to the Collegio San Girolamo, via Tomacelli 132, Rome, which is a religious institute dedicated to processing documents pertaining to Yugoslav refugees and is also the office of Father

DRAGANOVIC. FRANCO did not find DRAGANOVIC at the College but was confronted by a priest who identified himself as [censored] and who asked FRANCO to identify himself. FRANCO told [censored] that he desired to meet DRAGANOVIC and asked [censored] if he knew where DRAGANOVIC could be located. [censored] after being convinced that FRANCO was an American and not a Tito agent, stated that he would attempt to contact DRAGANOVIC telephonically. He proceeded to a wall telephone and dialed a number but obtained no answer. It was obvious to FRANCO that [censored] did not want FRANCO to observe the number he had dialed. [censored] and FRANCO then engaged in a long conversation with [censored] doing most of the talking. FRANCO noted that [censored] began to be more cordial and finally [censored] wrote an address and telephone number where DRAGANOVIC could be reached. [censored] is a young looking priest of approximately 40 years of age, was very bitter at what he called the high pressure or high powered politics of the "Anglo-Saxons" concerning the country of Yugoslavia. [censored] stated that the United States and England were responsible for the Tito regime in Yugoslavia and that the United States and England had betrayed the "real people" of Yugoslavia. He preached on this subject at length and finding FRANCO an attentive listener, invited FRANCO to take a short walk with him. FRANCO and [censored] walked near the Tiber River for a short while and during this walk [censored] stated that he greatly admired DRAGANOVIC and that he felt that FRANCO would feel the same way when he met and talked to DRAGANOVIC. [censored] stated that DRAGANOVIC travelled considerably and that he was a person who "knew what he was doing". [censored] then stated that he had to leave and told FRANCO that he would attempt to get in contact with DRAGANOVIC and to tell him where FRANCO was staying. By this time [censored] was completely cordial and stated that he had been happy to meet FRANCO and hoped someday to meet him again.

c. At 1400 hours, DRAGANOVIC called FRANCO at the Pensione and stated he would like to meet with FRANCO that evening. FRANCO informed DRAGANOVIC that he would be pleased to meet with him anyplace he selected but DRAGANOVIC stated that he knew where the Pensione was and that he had to go by the Pensione to get to his home, therefore, he preferred to meet at the Pensione. DRAGANOVIC appeared at 1900 hours. In the

room, he immediately asked to see FRANCO's identification document and when shown same stated that he was satisfied. FRANCO asked DRAGANOVIC if he knew who FRANCO was and what he was engaged in and DRAGANOVIC replied that he had talked to [censored] and that [censored] had told him that FRANCO was employed with United States Intelligence and that FRANCO had been known to him for 15 years. DRAGANOVIC stated that [censored] had highly recommended FRANCO to him and that was the reason he was in FRANCO's room, otherwise he would not have been there.

d. DRAGANOVIC stated that he had known a William GOWEN (formerly with CIC in Italy) years ago and also a certain [censored] (believed to have been working with a United States visa program in Italy) and that he had assisted them in their work and had always had pleasant relations with them. He spoke at length on cases of Tito brutality [sic] against the people of Yugoslavia and also discussed the murder of 35,000 people by an execution squad composed of Tito's partisans during World War II. He stated that these people had all been murdered and then buried in a deep ravine not too far from Basovizza. DRAGANOVIC had personally conducted an investigation relative these atrocities and had succeeded in obtaining statements from members of the execution squads. He stated that he had conclusive proof that entire families had been exterminated. He also recounted that approximately over one year ago the port of Rijeka had been sealed off for a few days and that an entire shipload of arms and ammunition given to the country of Yugoslavia by the United States had been loaded onto a ship which had no markings but which was obviously either Soviet or of a satellite nation. He stated that he had conclusive proof of this as some of "his men" were involved in unloading and loading crates of rifles. His men wanted to smuggle out a case of rifles in order to obtain the serial numbers and therefore prove that they were of United States manufacture. DRAGANOVIC stated that he "reported" this plan and got nowhere as he could not find anybody that was even interested. DRAGANOVIC stated that he also has proof that Tito has been delivering arms to the rebel forces in Algeria.

e. DRAGANOVIC and FRANCO then discussed the reason for the meeting. FRANCO asked DRAGANOVIC if he would be willing to

assist FRANCO in obtaining information relative Yugoslavia. DRAGANOVIC stated that he would be willing as long as FRANCO demonstrated sincerity with him in all of his dealings but at the first sign of insincerity, he, DRAGANOVIC, would cut off the relationship. He stated that he had too much to lose and would not tolerate anyone playing any games with him. He also added that because of [censored] recommendation of FRANCO, he was sure that he would never have any trouble with FRANCO in this respect. DRAGANOVIC stated that he had many excellent sources in almost every part of Yugoslavia, some of these sources had been personally recruited by him when he was in that country, and some that had been cultivated over the years since his departure. He stated that he has been engaged in intelligence activities since 1943 and that in the past 12 years he has never lost a source. DRAGANOVIC stated that he has been written up at least 200 times in the Yugoslav press as an enemy of the State and that the UDB has arrested persons and accused them of working for him but he was emphatic in stating that all these accusations were unfounded and that the persons arrested not only had not worked for him but were unknown to him. DRAGANOVIC stated that he is in contact with persons in Yugoslavia who keep him abreast of the political, economic situation and also on opposition groups. He stated that it would not be difficult to obtain military type information.

f. DRAGANOVIC added that he had excellent channels of communication into and out of Yugoslavia, that these channels were not as "speedy" as he would probably like them to be but that they were very secure. He stated that he was satisfied with them but would be willing to work out any plan that FRANCO might suggest relative making them faster. He stressed the security of these channels but did not go into any detail. He also kept away from the subject of identifying the level of his sources and this was obvious to FRANCO. FRANCO made no attempt to press DRAGANOVIC on these two points. DRAGANOVIC was asked about finances in the event he desired to collaborate. He stated that he expected expenses to be paid to any individual who was sent in on a mission or who was asked to come out of the country. He stated that these expenses should include hotel, food, and travel. DRAGANOVIC was asked about his expectations relative payment and he replied that he would never accept one cent for his

collaboration as he did not desire any personal gain for his fight against the Tito regime. He stated however, that we could and that he would accept money which would be used by him to continue his fight against Tito. DRAGANOVIC stated that he often published anti-Tito material for distribution in Yugoslavia and that he would probably use any money given him to defray printing expenses.

g. DRAGANOVIC stated that he often changes his residence in Rome because he knows Tito is after him. He stated that Tito has attempted to infiltrate Catholic priests sympathetic to Tito into the Collegio San Girolamo but that he has always unmasked them and gotten rid of them before they could do any harm. DRAGANOVIC stated that he has dedicated his life in the fight against Tito and when asked by FRANCO how he, a priest, could spend so much of his time in the fight against a regime, DRAGANOVIC replied that he placed his country before his church. FRANCO explained to DRAGANOVIC that this meeting had been held in order to learn DRAGANOVIC's views relative collaboration with FRANCO's unit and that FRANCO was to report all details of the meeting to his superiors for a final decision. FRANCO also explained that if his superiors decided to go ahead with this collaboration, another person, an expert of Yugoslav activities, would probably be introduced to DRAGANOVIC at the next meeting for the purpose of working in the future with him. DRAGANOVIC stated that he understood this perfectly and that he was agreeable to this plan. He again stressed sincerity and added that he did not want to deal with an immature person as well. DRAGANOVIC stated that he would also like to think over FRANCO's proposition but that he was sure that he desired to work with FRANCO's unit. He stated that he would give serious consideration to what he could do and that he would do everything possible to supply the type of information desired.

h. During the meeting DRAGANOVIC asked where FRANCO was located. FRANCO told him that he resided in Verona but that he travelled considerably and gave DRAGANOVIC the impression that maybe FRANCO's office was not actually in Verona but that FRANCO merely maintained a residence in that city. DRAGANOVIC stated that he also travelled considerably to Germany and France and that these trips sometimes kept him

away from Rome for 10 days at a time. He explained that there were a lot of refugees in Germany and France who needed his help and that was the reason for his travels. DRAGANOVIC stated that he would be willing to travel anywhere in order to meet with FRANCO or with his colleague when it was decided to start working. DRAGANOVIC stated that he would like to have FRANCO write to him within 10 days indicating the decision taken by his superiors. He stated that he is presently living with a very reliable family and that FRANCO could address a letter to that address to him. This family is [censored]. The telephone number of [censored] is 814584. FRANCO promised to write to him as soon as a decision was made and also stated that he would probably be seeing DRAGANOVIC shortly.

5. Leads: None

6. Instructions to Agent: Not applicable at this time.

7. Agent Handler's Comments and Recommendations:

a. Comments: During the meeting, FRANCO learned that DRAGANOVIC was born on 30 October 1903. He does not smoke and when invited to dine with FRANCO, stated that he prefers to dine at home as he only eats one soft boiled egg which he really enjoys. DRAGANOVIC is approximately 72 inches tall, weighs approximately 185 pounds, has light brown hair and a sallow complexion. He speaks Italian with a Yugoslav accent and stated that he is very fluent in German. He also speaks Croat and stated that he will speak Serbian only when necessary. DRAGANOVIC impressed FRANCO as being very astute, very intelligent, sincere and straightforward. He is blunt in his speech and does not mince words. He has an immense hatred of Tito and the Communist regime in Yugoslavia. He is writing a book or series of documents which he hopes someday to publish or to turn over to a United States commission or committee charged with the decision of giving aid to Tito. He

stated that these documents will convince anyone, without a doubt, that Tito is not to be trusted and that he will never fight on the side of the West. He indicated that we can expect him to ask us for favors relative his refugee work. He gave all indications that he has excellent coverage of Yugoslav activities and that he is an able organizer. FRANCO was impressed with his knowledge of security and his security precautions. He is a mature person and realizes that he is not engaged in child's play when working against Tito. He can be rightfully called shrewd and as being experienced in intelligence work. He appears to be happy in his work as a priest.

b. FRANCO recommends that permission be given to him to write to DRAGANOVIC as soon as a decision is reached relative him. FRANCO is of the opinion that DRAGANOVIC will prove to be of extreme value to this unit. He can give us extensive coverage in Yugoslavia. There is no doubt that this operation will proceed [rest illegible] DRAGANOVIC gave FRANCO the impression that he hates Italian Intelligence with a passion so there is no fear that he is working for the Italian authorities. The person selected to work with DRAGANOVIC should be mature and should have a good knowledge of Yugoslavia. DRAGANOVIC will not prove difficult to work with but FRANCO would again like to point out his emphasis on sincerity. He indicated that he is willing to work with us but never once did he attempt to ask the designation of FRANCO's unit or the level of same. He appeared to be happy and satisfied when FRANCO told him that he was working for the United States Government. FRANCO feels that we have nothing to lose and a lot to gain by going ahead with the next meeting, introducing the Agent Handler selected, and working out all final arrangements.

[signed]
FRANCO

Source: Declassified CIA file (declassification date 12 Mar 2001), courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0015.txt>

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Headquarters
Detachment "B"
APO 168 US Army

XOR: 0-0214

2 May 1959

SUBJECT: IRAGANOVIC, Ermonslav (U) - (U)

REFER: XOR: 0-0149

1. Circumstances of Contact:

- a. Reason for meeting: To attempt to determine SUBJECT's potential and his willingness to cooperate with this unit in the collection of military intelligence information.
- b. Date, time and place of meeting: 28 April 1959; 1900-2130 hours; in FRANCO's room at the Pensione Santa Caterina, via Po 2, Rome, Italy.
- c. Transportation utilized: FRANCO travelled by commercial rail to and from Rome.
- d. Language spoken: Italian
- e. Unusual occurrences: FRANCO met a priest, [b6] the details relative this meeting are reported under Operational Data of this report.
- f. Additional security precautions: None

2. Finance: Not applicable

3. Logistics: Not applicable

4. Operational Data:

- a. FRANCO departed from Verona, Italy, via commercial rail, at 2155 hours, 27 April 1959, arrived in Rome, Italy, at 0730 hours, 28 April 1959. FRANCO registered under his true identity at the Pensione Santa Caterina, via Po 2, where personnel of this Pensione are under the impression that FRANCO is an American businessman from Munich, Germany. Upon completion of the mission, FRANCO departed from Rome at 2220 hours, 1 May 1959, and arrived in Verona at 0530 hours, 2 May 1959. No difficulty was experienced while at the Pensione or while in Rome.
- b. During the early morning hours of 28 April 1959, FRANCO (as reported in XOR: 0-0213) had met with [b6] and during this meeting ORVAL again highly recommended IRAGANOVIC and stated that FRANCO would find him to be a very valuable collaborator. FRANCO proceeded to the Collegio San Girolamo, via Tomacelli 132, Rome, which is a religious institute dedicated to processing documents pertaining to Yugoslav refugees and is also the office of Father IRAGANOVIC. FRANCO did not find IRAGANOVIC at the College but was confronted by a priest who identified himself as [b6] and who asked FRANCO to identify himself. FRANCO told [b6] that he desired to meet IRAGANOVIC and asked [b6] if he knew where IRAGANOVIC could be located. [b6] after being convinced that

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FRANCO was an American and not a Tito agent, stated that he would attempt to contact DRAGANOVIC telephonically. He proceeded to a wall telephone and dialed a number but obtained no answer. It was obvious to FRANCO that [b6] did not want FRANCO to observe the number he had dialed. [b6] and FRANCO then engaged in a long conversation with [b6] doing most of the talking. FRANCO noted that [b6] began to be more cordial and finally [b6] wrote an address and telephone number where DRAGANOVIC could be reached. [b6] a young looking priest of approximately 40 years of age, was very bitter at what he called the high pressure or high powered politics of the "Anglo-Saxons" concerning the country of Yugoslavia. [b6] stated that the United States and England were responsible for the Tito regime in Yugoslavia and that the United States and England had betrayed the "real people" of Yugoslavia. He preached on this subject at length and finding FRANCO an attentive listener, invited FRANCO to take a short walk with him. FRANCO and [b6] walked near the Tiber River for a short while and during this walk [b6] stated that he greatly admired DRAGANOVIC and that he felt that FRANCO would feel the same way when he met and talked to DRAGANOVIC. [b6] stated that DRAGANOVIC travelled considerably and that he was a person who "knew what he was doing". [b6] then stated that he had to leave and told FRANCO that he would attempt to get in contact with DRAGANOVIC and to tell him where FRANCO was staying. By this time [b6] was completely cordial and stated that he had been happy to meet FRANCO and hoped someday to meet him again.

- c. At 11:00 hours, DRAGANOVIC called FRANCO at the Pensions and stated he would like to meet with FRANCO that evening. FRANCO informed DRAGANOVIC that he would be pleased to meet with him anywhere he selected but DRAGANOVIC stated that he knew where the Pensions was and that he had to go by the Pensions to get to his home, therefore, he preferred to meet at the Pensions. DRAGANOVIC appeared at 1900 hours. In the room, he immediately asked to see FRANCO's identification document and when shown same stated that he was satisfied. FRANCO asked DRAGANOVIC if he knew who FRANCO was and what he was engaged in and DRAGANOVIC replied that he had talked to [b6] and that [b6] had told him that FRANCO was employed with United States Intelligence and that FRANCO had been known to him for 15 years. DRAGANOVIC stated that [b6] had highly recommended FRANCO to him and that was the reason he was in FRANCO's room, otherwise he would not have been there.
- d. DRAGANOVIC stated that he had known a William GOWAN (formerly with CIC in Italy) years ago and also a certain [b6] (believed to have been working with a United States visa program in Italy) and that he had assisted them in their work and had always had pleasant relations with them. He spoke at length on cases of Tito brutality against the people of Yugoslavia and also discussed the murder of 35,000 people by an execution squad composed of Tito's partisans during World War II. He stated that these people had all been murdered and then buried in a deep ravine not too far from Basovizza. DRAGANOVIC had personally

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conducted an investigation relative these atrocities and had succeeded in obtaining statements from members of the execution squads. He stated that he had conclusive proof that entire families had been exterminated. He also recounted that approximately over one year ago the port of Rijeka had been sealed off for a few days and that an entire shipload of arms and ammunition given to the country of Yugoslavia by the United States had been loaded onto a ship which had no markings but which was obviously either Soviet or of a satellite nation. He stated that he had conclusive proof of this as some of "his men" were involved in unloading and loading crates of rifles. His men wanted to smuggle out a case of rifles in order to obtain the serial numbers and therefore prove that they were of United States manufacture. IRAGANOVIC stated that he "reported" this plan and got nowhere as he could not find anybody that was even interested. IRAGANOVIC stated that he also has proof that Tito has been delivering arms to the rebel forces in Algeria. X

- e. IRAGANOVIC and FRANCO then discussed the reason for the meeting. FRANCO asked IRAGANOVIC if he would be willing to assist FRANCO in obtaining information relative Yugoslavia. IRAGANOVIC stated that he would be willing as long as FRANCO demonstrated sincerity with him in all of his dealings but at the first sign of insincerity, he, IRAGANOVIC, would cut off the relationship. He stated that he had too much to lose and would not tolerate anyone playing any games with him. He also added that because of [b6] recommendation of FRANCO, he was sure that he would never have any trouble with FRANCO in this respect. IRAGANOVIC stated that he had many excellent sources in almost every part of Yugoslavia, some of these sources had been personally recruited by him when he was in that country, and some that had been cultivated over the years since his departure. He stated that he has been engaged in intelligence activities since 1943 and that in the past 12 years he has never lost a source. IRAGANOVIC stated that he has been written up at least 200 times in the Yugoslav press as an enemy of the State and that the UDB has arrested persons and accused them of working for him but he was emphatic in stating that all these accusations were unfounded and that the persons arrested not only had not worked for him but were unknown to him. IRAGANOVIC stated that he is in contact with persons in Yugoslavia who keep him abreast of the political, economic situation and also on opposition groups. He stated that it would not be difficult to obtain military type information.
- f. IRAGANOVIC added that he had excellent channels of communication into and out of Yugoslavia, that these channels were not as "speedy" as he would probably like them to be but that they were very secure. He stated that he was satisfied with them but would be willing to work out any plan that FRANCO might suggest relative making them faster. He stressed the security of these channels but did not go into any detail. He also kept away from the subject of identifying the level of his sources and this was obvious to FRANCO. FRANCO made no attempt to press IRAGANOVIC on these two points. IRAGANOVIC was asked about finances in the event he desired to collaborate. He stated that he expected expenses to be paid to any individual who was sent in on a mission or who was asked to come out of the country. He stated that these expenses should include hotel, food, and travel.

DECLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 MAR 2001
BY USANCOM FOIPA
And Para 4-122 DOD 5100.12

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XOR: 0-0214 cont'd

DRAGANOVIC was asked about his expectations relative payment and he replied that he would never accept one cent for his collaboration as he did not desire any personal gain for his fight against the Tito regime. He stated however, that he could and that he would accept money which would be used by him to continue his fight against Tito. DRAGANOVIC stated that he often published anti-Tito material for distribution in Yugoslavia and that he would probably use any money given him to defray printing expenses.

- g. DRAGANOVIC stated that he often changes his residence in Rome because he knows that Tito is after him. He stated that Tito has attempted to infiltrate Catholic priests sympathetic to Tito into the Collegio San Girolamo but that he has always unmasked them and gotten rid of them before they could do any harm. DRAGANOVIC stated that he has dedicated his life in the fight against Tito and when asked by FRANCO how he, a priest, could spend so much of his time in the fight against a regime, DRAGANOVIC replied that he placed his country before his church. FRANCO explained to DRAGANOVIC that this meeting had been held in order to learn DRAGANOVIC's views relative collaboration with FRANCO's unit and that FRANCO was to report all details of the meeting to his superiors for a final decision. FRANCO also explained that if his superiors decided to go ahead with this collaboration, another person, an expert of Yugoslav activities, would probably be introduced to DRAGANOVIC at the next meeting for the purpose of working in the future with him. DRAGANOVIC stated that he understood this perfectly and that he was agreeable to this plan. He again stressed sincerity and added that he did not want to deal with an immature person as well. DRAGANOVIC stated that he would also like to think over FRANCO's proposition but that he was sure that he desired to work with FRANCO's unit. He stated that he would give serious consideration to what he could do and that he would do everything possible to supply the type of information desired.
- h. During the meeting DRAGANOVIC asked where FRANCO was located. FRANCO told him that he resided in Verona but that he travelled considerably and gave DRAGANOVIC the impression that maybe FRANCO's office was not actually in Verona but that FRANCO merely maintained a residence in that city. DRAGANOVIC stated that he also travelled considerably to Germany and France and that these trips sometimes kept him away from Rome for 10 days at a time. He explained that there were a lot of refugees in Germany and France who needed his help and that was the reason for his travels. DRAGANOVIC stated that he would be willing to travel anywhere in order to meet with FRANCO or with his colleague when it was decided to start working. DRAGANOVIC stated that he would like to have FRANCO write to him within 10 days indicating the decision taken by his superiors. He stated that he is presently living with a very reliable family and that FRANCO could address a letter to that address to him. This family is [66] The telephone number on [66] his 614584. FRANCO promised to write to him as soon as a decision was made and also stated that he would probably be seeing DRAGANOVIC shortly.

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5. Leads: None
6. Instructions to Agent: Not applicable at this time.
7. Agent Handler's Comments and Recommendations:

- a. Comments: During the meeting, FRANCO learned that DRAGANOVIC was born on 30 October 1903. He does not smoke and when invited to dine with FRANCO, he stated that he prefers to dine at home as he only eats one soft boiled egg which he really enjoys. DRAGANOVIC is approximately 72 inches tall, weighs approximately 185 pounds, has light brown hair and a sallow complexion. He speaks Italian with a Yugoslav accent and stated that he is very fluent in German. He also speaks Croat and stated that he will speak Serbian only when necessary. DRAGANOVIC impressed FRANCO as being very astute, very intelligent, sincere and straightforward. He is blunt in his speech and does not mince words. He has an immense hatred of Tito and the Communist regime in Yugoslavia. He is writing a book or series of documents which he hopes someday to publish or to turn over to a United States commission or committee charged with the decision of giving aid to Tito. He stated that these documents will convince anyone, without a doubt, that Tito is not to be trusted and that he will never fight on the side of the West. He indicated that we can expect him to ask us for favors relative his refugee work. He gave all indications that he has excellent coverage of Yugoslav activities and that he is an able organizer. FRANCO was impressed with his knowledge of security and his security precautions. He is a mature person and realizes that he is not engaged in child's play when working against Tito. He can be rightfully called shrewd and as being experienced in intelligence work. He appears to be happy in his work as a priest.
- b. FRANCO recommends that permission be given to him to write to DRAGANOVIC as soon as a decision is reached relative him. FRANCO is of the opinion that DRAGANOVIC will prove to be of extreme value to this unit. He can give us extensive coverage in Yugoslavia.
~~These are good contacts that the cooperation with the person selected for this purpose is of great value.~~
DRAGANOVIC gave FRANCO the impression that he hates Italian Intelligence with a passion so there is no fear that he is working for the Italian authorities. The person selected to work with DRAGANOVIC should be mature and should have a good knowledge of Yugoslavia. DRAGANOVIC will not prove difficult to work with but FRANCO would again like to point out his emphasis on sincerity. He indicated that he is willing to work with us but never once did he attempt to ask the designation of FRANCO's unit or the level of same. He appeared to be happy and satisfied when FRANCO told him that he was working for the United States Government. FRANCO feels that we have nothing to lose and a lot to gain by going ahead with the next meeting, introducing the Agent Handler selected, and working out all final arrangements.

Concun.

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France
FRANCO

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RECORDED
ON 12 MAR 1951
BY USAFECOM FOIPA
AND PER 4-102 DOD 5100.1R

REPORT BY SENIOR AGENT "SARDI"

A few weeks after making initial contact, the American intelligence agent code-named "FRANCO" (here, "FRANKO") brought Father Krunoslav Draganovic to meet his superior, code-named "SARDI." SARDI questions Draganovic at length and concludes he is probably lying about the extent of his organization. The agent's recommendations were more or less ignored, and Draganovic became a source, and later a paid agent of American intelligence - in spite of SARDI's warning that the priest's "organization" was most likely connected with Ustase fugitive Ante Pavelic. Neither the anonymous analyst who wrote the operational comments at the end, nor SARDI himself are very much troubled that they may be brokering an alliance with a European Nazi organization. One other note: the practical demands placed on the Americans by Draganovic (items g.1 and g.2 below) as the price of his cooperation - that they notify him when their agents enter Yugoslavia, and that they advise him of all Yugoslavs who request political asylum at US embassies - is precisely the type of information Yugoslav counter-intelligence would be interested in obtaining. There is not yet convincing evidence that Draganovic was working for UDB-a at this date, but the peculiar nature of his demands might lend credence to that theory.

XOR-0-0271

29 May 1959

SUBJECT: DRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav REFER:

1. Circumstances of Contact:

a. Reason for meeting: To be introduced to DRAGANOVIC and attempt to establish a controlled operation into Yugoslavia with use of SUBJECT's organization.

b. Date, time and place of meeting: 28 May 59, 1330 hours-1500 hours, Via Risorgimento 2, Verona, Italy

c. Transportation utilized: Private Vehicle

d. Language(s) spoken: Serbo-Croatian [sic]

e. Unusual occurrences: None

f. Additional security precautions: None

2. Finance:

[.....]

Other (specify): Development of Source - 10,000 Lire

3. Logistics:

4. Operational Data:

a. FRANKO, who established initial contact with DRAGANOVIC, had made arrangements for DRAGANOVIC to travel to Verona from Rome for the purpose of meeting SARDI. On the basis of a letter sent FRANKO by DRAGANOVIC that he would be in Verona on 28 May 59, arrangements were made for SARDI to meet SUBJECT at FRANKO's home upon DRAGANOVIC's arrival. At approximately 1315 hours, FRANKO's wife phoned and stated that DRAGANOVIC had phoned and was on his way over to FRANKO's residence. FRANKO and SARDI departed their offices and arrived at approximately 1330 hours. FRANKO introduced SARDI as Marko SOPAR. After initial exchange of pleasantries, FRANKO departed the room and SARDI decided to get to the business at hand.

b. SARDI informed DRAGANOVIC that he was informed by

FRANKO that DRAGANOVIC through his organization may be able to help SARDI in obtaining information from within Yugoslavia. SARDI explained to DRAGANOVIC what he wanted was a controlled operation into target area, utilizing DRAGANOVIC and individuals who he has in place within the country. DRAGANOVIC stated that he personally does not have or control the men, but that they are members and followers of his organization. He stated that that is the method in which information was to be obtained. He asked SARDI exactly as to what type information was desired.

c. SARDI explained that he was interested primarily in OB information, then secondary economic and political. DRAGANOVIC informed SARDI that his organization and his contacts were not trained in the gathering of OB information, but that it could be done with training. SARDI agreed with him that training would have to be conducted. SARDI began to explain in detail as to what was desired in line of OB information. He informed DRAGANOVIC that he wanted a operation set-up as such that SARDI would be able to request specific information in specific locals and that DRAGANOVIC's net or sources would be able to supply the answers to questions as given by SARDI. DRAGANOVIC interrupted and informed SARDI that he has the ways and means available in doing exactly that as SARDI outlined.

d. DRAGANOVIC continued to expound on the beliefs and ideals of he and his organization. They were anti-TITO and pro-Croatia. He continued to elaborate to SARDI that the organization was such that it was large, had contacts all through-out Yugoslavia, could cover any portion of Yugoslavia and in any field. He rambled on along this line for approximately 20 minutes and then informed SARDI that before he or the organization would be become [sic] involved in this type of work he had to have some agreements drawn up between his organization and the United States Government. SARDI inquired as to what these agreements were.

e. DRAGANOVIC then proceeded to inform SARDI that his organization has three objectives. He stated that these objectives may not come into reality next day, next year or perhaps ten years from now, however, the objectives were given as follows:

- (1) A free Yugoslavia from the Communist regime.
- (2) The needs of the people looked after first before anything else.
- (3) The people themselves select and determine the ruling power, party or faction when liberated or freed from Communism. His organization itself desires a plebiscite, made of the six Yugoslav Republics.

f. SARDI inquired as to how did the objectives of the organization or those of DRAGANOVIC enter into the picture in connection with the matter at hand, that is utilizing the services of DRAGANOVIC or his organization in obtaining information from within Yugoslavia. DRAGANOVIC replied that on the basis of the objectives he would have to have a agreement drawn up by the US guaranteeing that when and if the Communists are overthrown be it now or ten years from now, that America, it's political groups or other Western powers would not force upon Yugoslavia or it's people a individual selected by the aforementioned powers or forces as the governing head of the country. He continued to elaborate or rather spell out that his organization or he himself did not want at a future date to have America tell the Yugoslavs that King PETER is the selected leader, or select someother [sic] individual who America desires to lead the country. DRAGANOVIC stated that this agreement would not have to be a so-called pact or treaty, but it would have to be written up and signed by some high responsible American Government official in Washington.

g. SARDI explained to DRAGANOVIC that he was not a representative of the US Government for matters such as this, he merely had a job to do and that was obtaining information on a country of interest to us. DRAGANOVIC stated that he was fully aware of this, however, if he and/or his organization were to work with SARDI the agreement would have to be drawn. He stated that he had to return to Rome, contact other responsible heads of the organization, they would write a memorandum, which would contain all information as to what his organization stands for, what it can assist us in and what it demands for it's services. He stated that when it was completed he would submit it to SARDI for transmittal to higher offices. In addition to this so-called pact or

agreement, DRAGANOVIC brought up other stipulations which his organization would want. He stated that of course that once the agreement is signed his organization would begin to work in obtaining information as requested and that these latter stipulations would come later as work progressed. He outlined the other demands as follows:

(1) DRAGANOVIC stated that he knows we have Agents operating in Yugoslavia, travelling from and into Yugoslavia. He wants these travellers, whether legal or illegal to take mail into the country and mail it from within the country. He described an example that we may have a individual [sic] going to Belgrade, SARDI would inform DRAGANOVIC that we do have a man going, thereupon, DRAGANOVIC would give SARDI several letters to be given to this traveller to be mailed upon his arrival in Yugoslavia. SARDI questioned as to why that. DRAGANOVIC stated that he or his organization does not desire to mail anything from outside the county, explaining that although there is no censorship, spot checks are made occasionally and some receivers may be on a watch list.

(2) Another stipulation was that SARDI or his superiors would put DRAGANOVIC in contact with various American Consulates in Eurpoe. [sic] SARDI when asking why, was informed by DRAGANOVIC that numerous Yugoslavs permitted to emigrate to the US are no good and that all the good ones have been left behind. He added that if he was in contact with all Consulates, the Consulate when having an individual (Yugoslav) reading for emmigration they would contact DRAGANOVIC and then he would inform the Consultae [sic] whether the individual was qualified to emmigrate or not. In other words he would be the one to pass judgement as to which or what Yugoslav refugee would emmigrate to the United States.

(3) Numerous contacts and/or followers of DRAGANOVIC or his organization are known or suspected as such within Yugoslavia and are not permitted to travel from outside their immediate area of residence or employment. DRAGANOVIC wants that we obtain blank Yugoslav identity and travel documents to be given him for the purpose of falsely documenting his contacts or sub-sources for travel within the country. He even outlined the fact that some of the documents would be

student documents, military documents and others utilized. He stated that he knows our intelligence facilities could obtain such documents and send them out of Yugoslavia through the use of the US diplomatic pouch.

h. Remaining portion of the meeting was spent in going over in detail of what was wanted from SUBJECT and/or his organization in line of OB information, political and economical. During the course of the meeting SARDI also brought up the fact that if we could not meet DRAGANOVIC's requests for the written agreement, and other 3 secondary requests could SARDI work just with DRAGANOVIC on a personal basis. DRAGANOVIC stated that he is only familiar with cultural and social work and would not be able to devote time and effort to the gathering of information as outlined by SARDI. He also brought up the fact that or rather hinted and gave SARDI the feeling that he would not do anything except through his organization. Likewise, SARDI felt him out as to whether he knew of individuals who he could put in contact with SARDI, these said individuals having communications with residents in Yugoslavia so that something of an operation could be initiated through these individuals. DRAGANOVIC stated that he has a few colleagues but that they are within the organization and would not work on an individual basis but rather through the organization. Now these aforementioned, DRAGANOVIC or his freinds, [sic] were not flat refusals, but sort of hinted at that if a agreement [sic] as outlined by SUBJECT was not acceptable and the services of the entire organization were not utilized, that neither he nor the friend would not want to work. His position in replying was to wait and see until he had the so-called memorandum drawn up and forwarded to Washington, then on the basis of the results on it then maybe or perhaps we could talk business. SARDI brought up the fact that DRAGANOVIC in his position in life has numerous acquaintances that have no ties with the organization, and that these individuals may have channels of communication into Yugoslavia and would be willing to work with SARDI for either idealistic reasons or financial gains. DRAGANOVIC admitted that he did know some individuals such as, however, bringing to SARDI's attention that if they were not members of his organization they were not idealists and others who could be tapped because of want for financial gain were not to be

trusted, being liars, cheats etc. He left the impression that if he or his organization were not accepted on their basis then he wouldn't even bother placing SARDI into contact with the so-called liars and cheats.

j. SARDI spent some time in trying to obtain the name or official designation of the so-called organization with which DRAGANOVIC is connected. This he would not disclose, merely stating when asked as to the location of it's headquarters that it was not in Italy. He also brought out the fact that he himself was not the head of it. Informing SARDI that the so-called memorandum would have to be agreed upon by other members or parallel heads in addition to DRAGANOVIC that is in the organization.

5. Leads: NTR

6. Instructions to Agent:

- a. Next contact to be made by SARDI with DRAGANOVIC will be done through FRANKO.
- b. When the so-called memorandum is drawn up and prepared DRAGANOVIC will notify FRANKO and then [sic] arrangements will be made for it's pick up by SARDI or delivery to SARDI.

7. Comments and recommendations of Agent Handler:

- a. Initial contact with SUBJECT, disclosed that he is a very intelligent if not shrewd politician. He and his organization have a goal and they want to attain that goal by any means.
- b. He would not disclose the name of his organization or other names of leading heads, however, he did disclose that he was recently on a trip to South America. This leads SARDI to believe that the organization with which DRAGANOVIC is

connected is the Anton PAVELIC Croation [sic, here and below] Liberation Movement. PAVELIC is the ex-Ustashi quissling leader of Yugoslavia. He is wanted as a war criminal by the Yugoslav government. PAVELIC currently resides in Buenos Aires, South America and likewise the headquarters for the Croation Liberation Movement is located there.

c. Of course nothing further can be done until the memorandum reaches us and we can see what the demands are, however, the demands made verbally gives SARDI the personal belief that we would be working for DRAGANOVIC and his organization rather than they working for us. First is the guarantee they demand. Matters such as that are taken up on the State Department level. No commitments were made by SARDI, merely agreeing that he will accept it when furnished by DRAGANOVIC and turn it over to SARDI's superiors. Now the next three stipulations do not ring true for an organization claiming that they have channels of communication into the target country. First wanting us to mail letters from within the country to addressees. In other words we are to be couriers and letter drops for the organization. Probably want us to deliver propaganda material for the organization to loyal followeres [sic] inside Yugoslavia. This way if our people would do it and they were caught then of course his organization would not lose anybody. Next is the request for documents to document his people. This is in reverse. We have standing requirements to attempt to obtain any type of identity documents from target countries for the purpose of documenting any potential IBC's we may have. Here an organization that claims that they have many individuals in the target area requesting documents. Of course known followers of the organization are probably on a watch list and only permitted to travel in a small area, therefore for it's own purposes the organization would want documents to permit the restricted members to travel around Yugoslavia.

d. Another factor which leaves SARDI to believe that the organization does not have the so-called connections and channels of communication into Yugoslavia as claimed by DRAGANOVIC was the fact that during the course of the conversation DRAGANOVIC brought up the fact as to whether SARDI had heard about the riots in Zagreb. When SARDI replied that he had, he asked DRAGANOVIC how did he obtain the

information, through the organization and how fast was it in comparison through the normal news releases. DRAGANOVIC stated that he had the news three days prior to anything being written in the local presses. SARDI attempted to draw out the fact out [sic] as to how it was delivered to the organization, courier, or what means to have it so rapid. DRAGANOVIC stated that through the Croation [sic] Radio Station in Madrid, Spain. Now on this point SARDI could not determine whether it is a radio operated by the organization or some other broadcast from within Yugoslavia picked up by the organization in Spain.

e. Of course if nothing can be worked out with the organization then we may be able to do something with DRAGANOVIC on a personal basis. Either he directly or he could place us contact [sic] with prospective sources, however, from the line of replys [sic] to these specific questions given him, it appears that if we can't do business with the organization that we may not do business at all. Perhaps if he does come across with something, it may be members of his organizations and they will be controlled by the organization or SUBJECT. Anything we levy on the sources will be reports to the organization or DRAGANOVIC and anything readied for transmittal to us will first reach him or them and they will OK it or tell the source not to give it to us.

f. Of course all of the aforementioned are personal opinions of SARDI and only time will tell. It is recommended that SARDI continue on with DRAGANOVIC until we see the memorandum and their demands. Then on the basis of that we will see if we can work. As DRAGANOVIC stated it will be either yes or no, if yes we cooperate if no we shake hands and depart friends.

[signed]
SARDI

8. Operational Comments: We will wait for the memorandum

promised us by DRAGANOVIC and take it up from there. A/H has given considerable thought in preparation of this XOR and has definitely pointed out the various ramifications of a possible operation involving DRAGANOVIC. Agree that on certain points DRAGANOVIC contradicted himself, however, this could be done by any of us in a lengthy discussion on some new exploitation. Also agree with A/H that we may be able to use DRAGANOVIC on an individual basis separate from his organization - if we cannot use the organization.

Concur with recommendations

Filing information:

Title: Report by Senior Agent "SARDI"

Source: CIA, declassified March 12, 2001

Date: May 29, 1959 Added: March 16, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0019.txt>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XOR-0-0271

Source

29 May 1959
(Date)

SUBJECT: IRAGANOVIC, Krunoslav W1 REPER:

1. Circumstances of Contact:

- a. Reason for meeting: To be introduced to IRAGANOVIC and attempt to establish a controlled operation into Yugoslavia with use of SUBJECT's organization.
- b. Date, time and place of meeting:
28 May 59, 1330 hours-1500 hours, Via Risorgimento 2, Verona, Italy

- c. Transportation utilized: Private Vehicle
- d. Language(s) spoken: Serbo-Croatian
- e. Unusual occurrences: None

- f. Additional security precautions: None

2. Finance:

Source payment for the month(s) of _____

Sub-source payment: _____

Operational expenses for the period _____

Food and/or drinks consumed by _____

Commo (telephone calls/telegrams) _____

Incentive pay (or items) _____

Other (specify): Development of Source 10,000 Lire

3. Logistics:

REGRADU UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 MAR 2001
BY USAN/COM FOIPA
Auth Para 4-102 DOD 5200.1R

4. Operational Data:

a. FRANKO, who established initial contact with DRAGANOVIC, had made arrangements for DRAGANOVIC to travel to Verona from Rome for the purpose of meeting SARDI. On the basis of a letter sent FRANKO by DRAGANOVIC that he would be in Verona on 28 May 59, arrangements were made for SARDI to meet SUBJECT at FRANKO's home upon DRAGANOVIC's arrival. At approximately 1915 hours, FRANKO's wife phoned and stated that DRAGANOVIC had phoned and was on his way over to FRANKO's residence. FRANKO and SARDI departed their offices and arrived at approximately 1330 hours. FRANKO introduced SARDI as Marko SOPAR. After initial exchange of pleasantries, FRANKO departed the room and SARDI decided to get to the business at hand.

b. SARDI informed DRAGANOVIC that he was informed by FRANKO that DRAGANOVIC through his organization may be able help SARDI in obtaining information from within Yugoslavia. SARDI explained to DRAGANOVIC what he wanted was a controlled operation into target area, ~~with~~ utilizing DRAGANOVIC and individuals who he has in place within the country. DRAGANOVIC stated that he personally does not have or control the men, but that they are members and followers of his organization. He stated that that is the method in which information was to be obtained. He asked SARDI exactly as to what type information was desired.

c. SARDI explained that he was interested primarily in OB information, then secondary economic and political. DRAGANOVIC informed SARDI that his organization and his contacts were not trained in the gathering of OB information, but that it could be done with training. SARDI agreed with him that training would have to be conducted. SARDI began to explain in detail as to what was desired in line of OB information. He informed DRAGANOVIC that he wanted a operation set-up as such that SARDI would be able to request specific information in specific locals and that DRAGANOVIC's net or sources would be able to supply the answers to questions as given by SARDI. DRAGANOVIC interrupted and informed SARDI that he has the ways and means available in doing exactly that as SARDI outlined.

d. DRAGANOVIC continued to expound on the beliefs and ideals of he and his organization. They were anti-TITO and pro-Croatia. He continued to elaborate to SARDI that the organization was such that it was large, had contacts all through-out Yugoslavia, could cover any portion of Yugoslavia and in any field. He rambled on along this line for approximately 20 minutes then informed SARDI that before he or the organization would be become involved in this type of work he had to have some agreements drawn up between his organization and the United States Government. SARDI inquired as to what these agreements were.

e. DRAGANOVIC then proceeded to inform SARDI that his organization has three objectives. He stated that these objectives may not come into reality next day, next year or perhaps ten years from now, however, the objectives were given as follows:

- (1) A free Yugoslavia from the Communist regime.
- (2) The needs of the people looked after first before anything else.
- (3) The people themselves select and determine the ruling power, party or faction when liberated or freed from Communism. His organization itself desires a plebesite, made of the six Yugoslav republics.

f. SARDI inquired as to how did the objectives of the organization or those of DRAGANOVIC enter into the picture in connection with the matter at hand, that is utilizing the Services of DRAGANOVIC or his organization in obtaining information from within Yugoslavia. DRAGANOVIC replied that on the basis of the objective he would have to have a agreement drawn up by the US guaranteeing that when and if the Communists are overthrown be it now or ten years from now, that America, it's political groups or other Western powers would not force upon Yugoslavia or it's people a individual selected by the aforementioned powers or forces as the governing head of the country. He continued to elaborate or rather spell out that his organization or he himself did not want at a future date have America tell the Yugoslavs that King PETER is the selected leader, or select someother individual who America desires to lead the country. DRAGANOVIC stated that this agreement would not have to be a so-called pact or treaty, but it would have to be written up and signed by some high responsible American Government official in Washington.

g. SARDI⁴ explained to DRAGANOVIC that he was not a representative of the US Government for matters such as this, he merely had a job to do and that was obtain information on a country of interest to us. DRAGANOVIC stated that he was fully aware of this, however, ~~he~~ if he and/or his organization were to work with SARDI the agreement would have to be drawn. He stated that he had to return to Rome, contact other responsible heads of the organization, they would write a memorandum, which would contain all information as to what his organization stands for, what it can assist us in and what it demands for it's services. He stated that when it was completed he would submit it to SARDI for transmittal to higher offices. In addition to this so-called pact or agreement, DRAGANOVIC brought up other stipulations which his organization would want. He stated that of course that once the agreement is signed his organization would begin to work in obtaining information as requested and that these latter stipulations would come later as work progressed. He outlined the other demands as follows:

(1) DRAGANOVIC stated that he knows we have Agents operating in Yugoslavia, travelling from and into Yugoslavia. He wants these travellers, whether legal or illegal to take mail into the country and mail it from within the country. He described an example that we may have a individual going to Belgrade, SARDI would inform DRAGANOVIC that we do have a man going, thereupon, DRAGANOVIC would give SARDI⁴ several letters to be given to this traveller to be mailed upon his arrival in Yugoslavia. SARDI⁴ questioned as to why that. DRAGANOVIC stated that he or his organization does not desire to mail anything from outside the country, explaining that although there is no censorship, spot checks are made occassionally and some receivers may be on a watch list.

(2) Another stipulation was that SARDI or his superiors would put DRAGANOVIC in contact with various American Consulates in Burpoe. SARDI when asked why, was informed by DRAGANOVIC that numerous Yugoslavs permitted to emigrate to the US are no good and that all the good ones have been left behind. He added that if he was in contact with all Consulates, the Consulate when having a individual (Yugoslav) reading for emigration they would contact DRAGANOVIC and he then would inform the Consulate whether the individual was qualified to emigrate or not. In other words he would be the one to pass judgement as to which or what Yugoslav refugees would emigrate to the United States.

(3) Numerous contacts and/or followers of DRAGANOVIC or his organization are known or suspected as such within Yugoslavia and are not permitted to travel from outside their immediate area of residence or employment. DRAGANOVIC wants that we obtain blank Yugoslav identity and travel documents to be given him for the purpose of falsely documenting his contacts or sub-sources for travel within the country. He even outlined the fact that some of the documents would be student documents, military documents and others utilized. He stated that he knows our intelligence facilities could obtain such documents and send them out of Yugoslavia through the use of the US diplomatic pouch.

h. Remaining portion of the meeting was spent in going over in detail of what was wanted from SUBJECT and/or his organization in line of OB information, political and economical. During the course of the meeting SARDI also brought up the fact that if we could not meet DRAGANOVIC's requests for the written agreement, and other 3 secondary requests could SARDI work just with DRAGANOVIC on a personal basis. DRAGANOVIC stated that he is only familiar with cultural and social work and would not be able to devote time and effort to the gathering of information as outlined by SARDI. He also brought up the fact that or rather hinted and gave SARDI the feeling that he would not do anything except through his organization. Likewise SARDI felt him out as to whether he knew of individuals who he could put in contact with SARDI, these said individuals having communications with residents in Yugoslav so that something of an operation could be initiated through these individuals. DRAGANOVIC stated that he has a few colleagues but that they are within the organization and would not work on an individual basis but rather through the organization. Now these aforementioned, DRAGANOVIC or his friends, were not flat refusals, but sort of hinted at that if a agreement as outlined by SUBJECT was not acceptable and the services of the entire organization were not utilized, that neither he nor the friend would not want to work. His position in replying was to wait and see until he had the so-called memorandum drawn up and forwarded to Washington, then on the basis of the results on it then maybe or perhaps we could talk business. SARDI brought up the fact that DRAGANOVIC in his position in life has numerous acquaintances that have no ties with the organization, and that these individuals may have channels of communication into Yugoslavia and would be willing to work with SARDI for either idealistic reasons or financial gains. DRAGANOVIC admitted that he did know some individuals such as, however, bringing to SARDI's attention that if they were not members of his organization they were not idealists and others who could be tapped because of want for financial gain were not to be trusted, being liars, cheats etc. He left the impression that if he or his organization were not accepted on their basis then he wouldn't even bother placing SARDI into contact with the so-called liars and cheats.

i. SARDI then spent some time in inquiring as to whether the organization or SUBJECT had channels of communication in Albania. He stated yes they had, elaborating that his organization was the first to uncover the fact the Soviets had built missile sites on the Island of Sessana, around Vlome and Duress. SARDI asked how was it obtained and DRAGANOVIC replied that he didn't know but merely saw a report that a co-worker in the organization was working on. Of course this item alone contradicted what was told SARDI initially that the organization did not gather information of a military nature. Just political and economic standpoint. SARDI did not call DRAGANOVIC's attention to the contradiction for the sake of courtesy.

j. SARDI spent some time in trying to obtain the name or official designation of the so-called organization with which DRAGANOVIC is connected. This he would not disclose, merely stating when asked as to the location of it's headquarter that it was not in Italy. He also brought out the fact that he himself was not the head of it. Informing SARDI that the so-called memorandum would have to be agreed upon by other members or parallel heads in addition to DRAGANOVIC that is in the organization.

5. Leads: NTR

6. Instructions to Agents:

a. Next contact to be made by SARDI with DRAGANOVIC will be done through FRANKO.

b. When the so-called memorandum is drawn up and prepared DRAGANOVIC will notify FRANKO and then arrangements will be made for it's pick up by SARDI or delivery to SARDI.

7. Comments and Recommendations of Agent Handler:

a. Initial contact with SUBJECT, disclosed that he is a very ~~intelligent~~ intelligent if not shrewd politician. He and his organization have a goal and they want to attain that goal by any means.

b. He would not disclose the name of his organization or other names of leading heads, however, he did disclose that he was recently on a trip to South America. This leads SARDI to believe that the organization with which DRAGANOVIC is connected is the Anton PAVELIC Croatia Liberation Movement. PAVELIC is the ex-Ustashi quisling ~~leader~~ leader of Yugoslavia. He is wanted as a war criminal by the Yugoslav government. PAVELIC currently resides in Buenos Aires, South America and likewise the headquarters for the Croatia Liberation Movement is located there.

c. Of course nothing further can be done until the memorandum reaches us and we can see what the demands are, however, the demands made verbally gives SARDI the personal belief that we would be working for DRAGANOVIC and his organization rather than they working for us. First is the guarantee they demand. Matters such as that are taken up on the State Department level. No commitments were made by SARDI, merely agreeing that he will accept it when furnished by DRAGANOVIC and turn over to SARDI's superiors. Now the next three stipulations do not ring true for a organization claiming that they have channels of communication into the target countries. First wanting us to mail letters from within the country to addressees. In other words we are to be couriers and letter drops for the organization. Probably want us to deliver propaganda material for the organization to loyal followers inside Yugoslavia. This way if our people would do it and they were caught then of course his organization would not lose anybody. Next is the request for documents to document his people. This is in reverse. We have standing requirements to attempt to obtain any type of identity documents from target countries for the purpose of documenting any potential IBC's we may have. Here an organization that claims that they have many individuals in the target area requesting documents. Of course known followers of the organization are probably on a watch list and only permitted to travel in a small area, therefore for it's own purposes the organization would want documents to

permit the restricted members to travel around Yugoslavia.

d. Another factor which leaves SARDI to believe that the organization does not have the so-called connections and channels of communication into Yugoslavia as claimed by DRAGANOVIC was the fact that during the course of the conversation DRAGANOVIC brought up the fact as to whether SARDI had heard about the riots in Zagreb. When SARDI replied that he had, he asked DRAGANOVIC how did he obtain the information, through the organization and how fast was it in comparison through the normal news releases. DRAGANOVIC stated that he had the news three days prior to anything being written in the local presses. SARDI attempted to draw out the fact out as to how was it delivered to the organization, courier, or what means to have it so rapid. DRAGANOVIC stated that through the Croation Radio Station in Madrid, Spain. Now on this point SARDI could not determine whether it is a radio operated by the organization or some other broadcast from within Yugoslavia picked up by the organization in Spain.

e. Of course if nothing can worked out with the organization then we may be able to do something with DRAGANOVIC on a personal basis. Either he directly or he could place us contact with prospective sources, however, from his line of replies to these specific questions given him, it appears that if we can't do business with the organization that we may not do business at all. Perhaps if he does come across with something, it may be members of his organizations and they will be controlled by the the organization or SUBJECT. Anything we levy on the sources will be reported to the organization or DRAGANOVIC and anything readied for ~~transmittal~~ transmittal to us will first reach him or them and they will OK it or tell the source not to give it to us.

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SARDI
SARDI

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Concur with recommendations.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOURCE: DRAGANOVIC

Date: MAY 1959

Sub-Source:

Date and Place of Contact	Expenditures	No. of XIR's	No. of Leads
28 May 1959 1330-1700 hrs. VERONA	\$ 16.00 Ex.		

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 09 SEP 1983
BY CDR USAINSCOM FORG
Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

C O S T A C C O U N T I N G

MONTH:-- JULY 1959

SOURCE:-- DYNAMO

DATE	XOR REF.	TYPE OF EXPENDITURE	COST
7/7	O-0364	\$ 15.00 as an incentive for work to be performed. 35,000 Lire for info submitted	
23/7	O-0364	100,000 Lire for information submitted \$ 10.00 for a special report	\$ 253.70
TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR MONTH: \$ 253.70			
TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS SUBMITTED: 37			
AGENT HANDLER: FRANCO			

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ON 9 SEP 1983
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COST ACCOUNTING

MONTH: -- AUGUST 1959

SOURCE: -- DYNAMO (41)

DATE	XCR REP.	TYPE OF EXPENDITURE	COST
13/8 14/8	O-0429	None	
2/8 3/8	O-0399	75,000 Lire for services rendered	75,000 Lire

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ON 09 SEP 1983
BY : CDR USASCOM FORPO
Auth Para 1-603 D40 5200. 1-R

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TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR MONTH: \$ 121.50

TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS SUBMITTED: 8

AGENT HANDLER: FRANCO

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COST ACCOUNTING

MONTH: --SEPTEMBER 1959

SOURCE: -- SETAF-42 (DYNAMO)

DATE	XOR REF.	TYPE OF EXPENDITURE	COST
1/9 2/9	0-0484	60,000 Lire, payment for services rendered during month of Aug.59	302
16/9	0-0510	No expenses	
5/9	0-0490	None	
21/9 22/9	0-0524	40,000 Lire, for services rendered during Sept.59	
26/9	0-0535	415 Lire, telephone call to source 830 Lire, telephone call to source	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR MONTH: \$ 164.00			101,245 Lire
TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS SUBMITTED: 36			
AGENT HANDLER: FRANCO			

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ON 09 SEP 1983
BY CDR USAINCOM FORFO
Auth Pw's 1-603 DoD 5000.1-R

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

C O S T A C C O U N T I N G

MONTH:-- OCTOBER 1959

SOURCE:-- SETAP-41 (DYNAMO)

DATE	NO. REP.	TYPE OF EXPENDITURE	COST
1/10			
2/10	0-0550	45,000 Lire payment for info re [b6] 50,000 Lire, payment for Mr. I 450 Lire, Taxi fare in connection w/meeting 400 Lire, Taxi fare in connection w/meeting	
15/10	0-0579	1,790 Lire, telephone call 910 Lire, telephone call	
21/10	0-0597	60,000 Lire, payment for services rendered 800 Lire, taxi fares in connection w/meeting	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR MONTH:			\$ 258.10
TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS SUBMITTED:			35
AGENT HANDLER:			FRANCO

REGRADING UNCLASSIFIED
ON 09 SEP 1983
BY: CIA US/SC/OT/PO
Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

C O S T A C C O U N T I N G

MONTH:-- DECEMBER 1959

SOURCE:--SETAF-41 (DYNAMO)

DATE	XCR REP.	TYPE OF EXPENDITURE	COST
22/12	O-0712	270 Lire, Telephone call in connection w/meeting. 910 Lire, Telephone call in connection w/meeting. 270 Lire, Telephone call in connection w/meeting. 115,000Lire, Salary for Source and contacts (December 59). (25,000 for VAROS; 30,000 part pay for X 3.34 Xmas Present (Parker pen and pencil set)	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR MONTH: \$ 190.85			
TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTS SUBMITTED: 50			
AGENT HANDLER: BRANCO			

RECLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 09 SEP 1983
BY CDR USAINSCOM POMPQ
Auth Para 1-403 DoD 5200.1-R

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POST ACCOUNTING

SOURCE: SETAP-41

MONTH: APRIL 1960

DATE	NO. OF	TYPE OF EXPENDITURE	CCB
0-0209		60,000 Lire, Salary for March 60. 400 Lire, Food and drinks consumed at meeting.	

RECLASSIFIED INCLASSIFIED

ON 09 SEP 1983

BY: CDR USAUSCOM POGO

Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R

~~EXCLUDED FROM GENERAL
DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE~~

295

TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR MONTH: \$ 97.10

TOTAL NUMBER OF RPIS SUBMITTED: 2

U.S. HANDLER: FRANCO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COST

ACCOUNTING

MONTH: MAY 1960

SOURCE: SETAF-41

DATE	XDR REP	TYPE OF EXPENDITURES	COST
	0-037A	2,289 Lire, food and drinks consumed at meeting 4,060 Lire, Hotel room for source 60,000 Lire, Salary for April 60 100 Lire, Parking fee for sterile vehicle	<div>294</div> <div>EXCLUDED FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE</div> <div>REGRANDED UNCLASSIFIED ON 09 SEP 1983 BY * CDR USAINCOM FORG Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R</div>
AGENT HANDLER: FRANCO			TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR MONTH: \$ 167.00 TOTAL NUMBER OF RPTS SUBMITTED: 6

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COST

ACCOUNTING

MONTH: JUNE 60

SOURCE: SETAF-41

DATE	XOR REF	TYPE OF EXPENDITURES	COST
	0-0398	30,000 Lire, Sal May 60	
	0-041	750 Lire, Payment for hotel room in connection w/meeting.	
		30,000 Lire, Sal May 60	
AGENT HANDLER:			
TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR MONTH: \$ 146.14			
TOTAL NUMBER OF RPTS SUBMITTED: 7			

~~EXCLUDED FROM CENTRAL
DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE~~

DECLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED
BY: 09 SEP 1983
BY: CDR USAINSCOM FORPO
Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COST

ACCOUNTING

MONTH: JULY 60

SOURCE: SETAF-11

DATE XOR REP

TYPE OF EXPENDITURES

0-0490

60,000 Lire, Sal June 60

~~EXCLUDED FROM
DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE~~

RECORDED UNCLASSIFIED

SEP 1983
BY: 08 SEP 1983
COR USAINCOM FORPO
Auth Pers 1-603 DoD 5200. 1-R

292

AGENT HANDLER:

TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR MONTH: \$ 96.62

TOTAL NUMBER OF MPTS SUBMITTED: *None*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE DOCTOR FABIANO STATEMENT

This statement, seemingly banal, was discovered during the furor over the Klaus Barbie case, when the US Attorney General ordered the CIA, the Army, and several other agencies to search their files and turn over all documents relating to the "Ratline" and other keywords associated with program to smuggle Nazi fugitives out of Europe at the end of World War II. It links the "Golden Priest" and operative on the Ratline, Father Krunoslav Draganovic, with the agent known as DYNAMO, who worked with US intelligence well into the 1960s. For more on the importance of this statement, see this document and the accompanying introductory note. The Italian text is translated below; "Luglio" is Italian for July.

8 LUGLIO 1959

Io, DOTT. KRUNOSLAV S. DRAGANOVIC, dichiaro che nel futuro firmerò tutte ricevute per soldi datomi, con il seguente nome di copertura, Dott. FABIANO.

Bruno G. Francazi
Dott. Krunoslav S. Draganovic

(date)

I, _____, hereby state that I will sign all future receipts for money received by me with the following cover name: _____.

(witness)

(signature)

Source: Declassified CIA file (declassification date 12 Sept. 1983), courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0017.txt>

8 LUGLIO 1957
(date)

Io, DOTT. KRUMOSLAV S. DRAGANOVIC, dichiaro che nel futuro
firmerò tutte le ricevute per soldi datomi, con il seguente nome di copertura,
Dr. FABIANO.

Bruno G. Francini
(testimone)

Dot. Krumoslav S. Draganovic
(firma)

____ 19
(date)

I, _____, hereby state that I will
sign all future receipts for money received by me with the following cover
name: _____.

(witness)

(signature)

274

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 2 SEP 1983
BY CDR USAINSCOM FOIPO
Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-8

DOTTORE DYNAMO

The first page, or more, of this document detailing negotiations between a Catholic priest and an American intelligence agent is missing. Nevertheless it is a Rosetta Stone which unlocks at least one of they various code-names used by US intelligence in their relations with the Ustase after the war. In section 4, sub-section (i), the asset hereafter known as "DYNAMO" signs "a statement in his true name whereby he agrees to use the cover name DOTTORE FABIANO for all future financial transactions." We have located that statement, and the true name of DYNAMO and DOTTORE FABIANO is none other than Father Krunoslav Draganovic, chief operative of the Ratline which smuggled untold numbers of accused Nazi and Ustase war criminals to South America. Draganovic was now being recruited again for US intelligence to coordinate a network of spies inside Yugoslavia. The date of the "FABIANO" statement is July 8 1959; we presume this report was filed a few days after. The report describing FRANCO's first meeting with Draganovic is described here. Contrast FRANCO's evolving impressions of Draganovic and his motives from that document (where Draganovic is strikingly "sincere and straightforward") to this one, where he repeatedly brings up the subject of compensation, and his behavior is described as appearing similar to a "man who has a product to sell".

he had a very capable organizer, a Croat, who resides in Rome and upon whom he can depend for collaboration. This individual can travel to Germany, Austria and Switzerland to maintain contact with sources in Yugoslavia. FRANCO informed DYNAMO that it was imperative to know the identity of this individual. DYNAMO objected at first but was convinced by FRANCO that his identity was necessary for the overall security of all concerned. DYNAMO stated that he would consider it in this light and would probably reveal the man's identity in the near future. At this point DYNAMO remarked that FRANCO was a difficult person to do business with but that he was convinced FRANCO was sincere.

e. FRANCO asked DYNAMO what else he could do in the way of intelligence coverage in Yugoslavia. DYNAMO replied that he would, in time, be able to furnish the following:

- (1) Flow of arms and ammunition in Yugoslavia
- (2) Pinpoint radar sites
- (3) Pressure of KHRUSHCHEV on TITO
- (4) Dissention [sic] in Yugoslav government
- (5) Names and positions held by Yugoslav leaders to include pro- and anti-sentiments of each.
- (6) High powered politics in Yugoslavia
- (7) Relationship of Yugoslavia with neighbor countries
- (8) Order of Battle information
- (9) Codes presently in use in Yugoslav Army

DYNAMO also stated that he would be able to expand his coverage and that he was positive FRANCO would be pleased with the results. He stated he did not consider it difficult to obtain information out of Yugoslavia and that he would prove to FRANCO that "TITO was a toothless tiger who no longer frightens people".

f. FRANCO asked DYNAMO if he could establish a good contact in the San Sabba Refugee Camp in Trieste who could debrief newly arrived refugees, persons of interest, and act as a spotter. DYNAMO replied that he already had such an individual and that he would direct this man's efforts to serve this unit. He stated he would arrange the same setup at the Cremona Refugee Camp. FRANCO again reminded DYNAMO that identities were important; however, all dealings with these individuals would be through him. DYNAMO stated this plan was agreeable and that he would furnish identities at a later date when he could confirm what these individuals could do for us.

g. DYNAMO asked FRANCO if he desired him to make a trip to Trieste. FRANCO replied in the affirmative and DYNAMO stated he believed he could perform this trip in 7 or 8 days. He said he will visit FRANCO on his return from Triest [sic] on or about 18 July and that he would turn over several reports to FRANCO at that time. The question of travel and expenses arose at this time. Because of his position as a priest, it

was agreed that DYNAMO could travel first class while on trips for this unit and could spend up to 4,000 lire per day for living expenses. He was instructed on the keeping of train stubs and receipts to which he agreed. He was informed that his sub-sources would be paid for information furnished and that he would be held accountable for any money given to pay them. DYNAMO stated that he realized a lot of details had to be ironed out but requested FRANCO to be patient with him as he was sure there would be complete coordination and agreement in time. DYNAMO showed FRANCO a worn pair of shoes he was wearing and asked FRANCO if he could get him a new pair for him. FRANCO told DYNAMO he would have a pair of black shoes for him when he visited Verona. FRANCO also informed DYNAMO that he would get a new outfit if he came through with his promises; however, if he did not, he would be riding second class again. DYNAMO laughed and replied that he was sure he would get the outfit and he would continue to ride first class.

h. During the course of conversation DYNAMO asked FRANCO whether or not he knew DYNAMO was working for another country. FRANCO replied, "Are you?" DYNAMO stated he was not, and asked FRANCO's opinion of him. FRANCO stated he thought DYNAMO was an individual who believed in an idea and was trying to convince himself he was doing the right thing in pursuing this belief. DYNAMO's face colored at this point and he answered that FRANCO was exact in his opinion. FRANCO then asked why he had obtained Austrian citizenship. DYNAMO replied that he could not answer this question clearly but that it had been the only thing to do at the time. He promised to elaborate on this point at a future meeting.

i. DYNAMO signed a statement in his true name whereby he agrees to use the cover name DOTTORE FABIANO for all future financial transactions. DYNAMO also suggested that FRANCO sign all correspondence to him with the common name FRANCO. This was agreed upon. DYNAMO repeated prior to FRANCO's departure that he would mail FRANCO a card from Trieste advising him when DYNAMO would arrive in Verona. FRANCO then departed and returned to the hotel via #56 bus.

5. Leads: None

6. Instructions to Agent: All instructions to DYNAMO have been reflected at some time or other in paragraph 4 of this report.

7. Agent Handler's Comments and Recommendations:

a. Comments:

DYNAMO is a shrewd individual. He is very blunt in his questions but FRANCO noted that he is impressed when he receives blunt answers. He does not like to "beat around the bush" but is emphatic in his expectations as far as treatment expected and financial remuneration. He does not act like a priest when engaged in intelligence conversations but assumes the attitude of a business man who has a product to sell and who is talking to a potential buyer. He is very business like [sic] in his approach and exudes confidence in his capabilities. He devoted little time to his dislike of TITO but seemed anxious to get right down to business and come to an agreement. FRANCO is convinced that DYNAMO is in this business not only for his conviction but also because of the personal comforts an extra income can provide him with. He will do his best to continue this relation and to assure this income. FRANCO will sit down with him at the next meeting and obtain a complete BSD.

b. Recommendations:

That FRANCO be permitted to continue with DYNAMO working toward a controlled operation. This may take a little time but FRANCO is convinced that DYNAMO will come through.

[signed]
FRANCO

8. Operations Comments:

OK. Will coordinate with [censored] as soon as possible and prior to carding. Until we coordinate [censored] don't make any commitments that we can't break away from. Looks promising.

Source: Declassified CIA file (declassification date 12 Mar 2001), courtesy Atty. Jonathan Levy.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0016.txt>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

he had a very capable organizer, a Croat, who resides in Rome and upon whom he can depend for collaboration. This individual can travel to Germany, Austria and Switzerland to maintain contact with sources in Yugoslavia. FRANCO informed DYNAMO that it was imperative to know the identity of this individual. DYNAMO objected at first but was convinced by FRANCO that his identity was necessary for the overall security of all concerned. DYNAMO stated that he would consider it in this light and would probably reveal the man's identity in the near future. At this point DYNAMO remarked that FRANCO was a difficult person to do business with but that he was convinced FRANCO was sincere.

e. FRANCO asked DYNAMO what else he could do in the way of intelligence coverage in Yugoslavia. DYNAMO replied that he would, in time, be able to furnish the following:

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- (2) Pinpoint radar sites
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- (5) Names and positions held by Yugoslav leaders to include pro- and anti-sentiments of each.
- (6) High powered politics in Yugoslavia
- (7) Relationship of Yugoslavia with neighbor countries
- (8) Order of Battle information
- (9) Codes presently in use in Yugoslav Army

DYNAMO also stated that he would be able to expand his coverage and that he was positive FRANCO would be pleased with the results. He stated he did not consider it difficult to obtain information out of Yugoslavia and that he would prove to FRANCO that "TITO was a toothless tiger who no longer frightens people".

f. FRANCO asked DYNAMO if he could establish a good contact in the San Sabba Refugee Camp in Trieste who could debrief newly arrived refugees, persons of interest, and act as a spotter. DYNAMO replied that he already had such an individual and that he would direct this man's efforts to serve this unit. He stated he would arrange the same setup at the Cremona Refugee Camp. FRANCO again reminded DYNAMO that identities were important; however, all dealings with these individuals would be through him. DYNAMO stated this plan was agreeable and that he would furnish identities at a later date when he could confirm what these individuals could do for us.

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REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 MAR 2001
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g. DYNAMO asked FRANCO if he desired him to make a trip to Trieste. FRANCO replied in the affirmative and DYNAMO stated he believed he could perform this trip in 7 or 8 days. He said he will visit FRANCO on his return from Trieste on or about 18 July, and that he would turn over several reports to FRANCO at that time. The question of travel and expenses arose at this point. Because of his position as a priest, it was agreed that DYNAMO could travel first class while on trips for this unit and could spend up to 4,000 lire per day for living expenses. He was instructed on the keeping of train stubs and receipts to which he agreed. He was informed that his sub-sources would be paid for information furnished and that he would be held accountable for any money given him to pay them. DYNAMO stated that he realized a lot of details had to be ironed out but requested FRANCO to be patient with him as he was sure there would be complete coordination and agreement in time. DYNAMO showed FRANCO a worn pair of shoes he was wearing and asked FRANCO if he could get him a new pair for him. FRANCO told DYNAMO he would have a pair of black shoes for him when he visited Verona. FRANCO also informed DYNAMO that he would get a new outfit if he came through with his promises; however, if he did not, he would be riding second class again. DYNAMO laughed and replied that he was sure he would get the outfit and that he would continue to ride first class.

h. During the course of conversation DYNAMO asked FRANCO whether or not he knew DYNAMO was working for another country. FRANCO replied, "Are you?" DYNAMO stated he was not, and asked FRANCO's opinion of him. FRANCO stated he thought DYNAMO was an individual who believed in an idea and was trying to convince himself he was doing the right thing in pursuing this belief. DYNAMO's face colored at this point and he answered that FRANCO was exact in his opinion. FRANCO then asked why he had obtained Austrian citizenship. DYNAMO replied that he could not answer this question clearly but that it had been the only thing to do at the time. He promised to elaborate on this point at a future meeting.

i. DYNAMO signed a statement in his true name whereby he agrees to use the cover name DOTTOR FABIANO for all future financial transactions. DYNAMO also suggested that FRANCO sign all correspondence to him with the common name FRANCO. This was agreed upon. DYNAMO repeated prior to FRANCO's departure that he would mail FRANCO a card from Trieste advising him when DYNAMO would arrive in Verona. FRANCO then departed and returned to the hotel via #56 bus.

5. Leads: None

4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DECLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 MAR 2001
BY USAF/COM/FOIPA
Auth Para 4-102 DOD 5200.12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6. Instructions to Agent: All instructions to DYNAMO have been reflected at some time or other in paragraph 4 of this report.

7. Agent Handler's Comments and Recommendations:

a. Comments:

DYNAMO is a shrewd individual. He is very blunt in his questions but FRANCO noted that he is impressed when he receives blunt answers. He does not like to "beat around the bush" but is emphatic in his expectations as far as treatment expected and financial remuneration. He does not act like a priest when engaged in intelligence conversations but assumes the attitude of a business man who has a product to sell and who is talking to a potential buyer. He is very business like in his approach and exudes confidence in his capabilities. He devoted little time to his dislike of TITO but seemed anxious to get right down to business and come to an agreement. FRANCO is convinced that DYNAMO is in this business not only for his conviction but also because of the personal comforts an extra income can provide him with. He will do his best to continue this relation and to assure this income. FRANCO will sit down with him at the next meeting and obtain a complete BSD.

b. Recommendations:

That FRANCO be permitted to continue with DYNAMO working toward a controlled operation. This may take a little time but FRANCO is convinced that DYNAMO will come through.

Franco
FRANCO

8. Operations Comments:

OK. Will coordinate this with CIA as soon as possible and prior to carding. Until we coordinate, don't make any commitments that we can't break away from. Looks promising.

CIA
b1, b3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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SECURITY INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
12 MAR 2001
BY 1042 DOD 5200.11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SETAP 41 BONA FIDES

DYNAMO is in possession of one-half of the nine-of-diamonds playing card which has been cut diagonally across. Agent Handler will present himself and say to DYNAMO "VINCIT QUI SE VINCIT" (He conquers who conquers himself). DYNAMO will answer "VERBUM SAT SAPIENTI" (A word is enough for a wise man). Agent Handler will then ask DYNAMO for his half of the bona fides which will match with the half in possession of the Agent Handler.

FRANCO

Note: Bona fides with instructions were established on 2 September 1959 while DYNAMO was in Verona.



~~334E~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 MAR 2001
BY USAINSCOM FOLPA
Auth Para 4-102 DOD 5200.1R

SETAF 41 BONA FIDES

DYNAMO is in possession of one-half of the nine-of-diamonds playing card which has been cut diagonally across. Agent Handler will present himself and say to DYNAMO "VINCIT QUI SE VINCIT" (He conquers who conquers himself). DYNAMO will answer "VERBUM SAT SAPIENTI" (A word is enough for a wise man." Agent Handler will then ask DYNAMO for his half of the bona fides which will match with the half in possession of the Agent Handler.

FRANCO

Note: Bona fides with instructions were established on 2 September 1959 while DYNAMO was in Verona.

Filing information:

Title: SETAF 41 Bona Fides for Krunoslav Draganovic

Source: CIA, declassified March 12, 2001

Date: ca. 1959

Added: May 25, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0023.txt>

"THE PROFESSOR"

1. 30 OCT 03, BRCKO, YUGOSLAVIA
 2. OF DRAGANOVIC, KRUNOSLAV STEFANO
 3. VIA MORICONE 14, ROME, ITALY PHONE #814584
 4. ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST /MONSIGNOR/
 5. YUGOSLAV
 6. M
 7. 72
 8. 185
 9. LTBROWN
 10. GREY
 11. WEARS CLERICAL ROBES
 12. NONE
 13. WITH PREJUDICE 23 JAN 62
 14. NO
 15. SECURITY & LACK OF CONTROL; TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE OF UNIT
PERSONNEL AND ACTIVITY; DEMANDS OUTRAGEOUS MONETARY TRIBUTE
AND U.S. SUPPORT OF CROAT ORGS. AS PARTIAL PAYMENT FOR
COOPERATION
 16. NO
 17. NOFORN
- [censored] 07 FEB 62

FABIANO, /DR./

1. 30 OCT 03, BRCKO, YUGOSLAVIA
2. OF DRAGANOVIC, KRUNOSLAV STEFANO
3. VIA MORICONE 14, ROME, ITALY PHONE #814584
4. ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST /MONSIGNOR/
5. YUGOSLAV
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PERSONNEL AND ACTIVITY; DEMANDS OUTRAGEOUS MONETARY TRIBUTE

AND U.S. SUPPORT OF CROAT ORGS. AS PARTIAL PAYMENT FOR
COOPERATION

16. NO

17. NOFORN

[censored] 07 FEB 62

"DYNAMO"

1. 30 OCT 03, BRCKO, YUGOSLAVIA

2. OF DRAGANOVIC, KRUNOSLAV STEFANO

3. VIA MORICONE 14, ROME, ITALY PHONE #814584

4. ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST /MONSIGNOR/

5. YUGOSLAV

6. M

7. 72

8. 185

9. LTBROWN

10. GREY

11. WEARS CLERICAL ROBES

12. NONE

13. WITH PREJUDICE 23 JAN 62

14. NO

15. SECURITY & LACK OF CONTROL; TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE OF UNIT
PERSONNEL AND ACTIVITY; DEMANDS OUTRAGEOUS MONETARY TRIBUTE

AND U.S. SUPPORT OF CROAT ORGS. AS PARTIAL PAYMENT FOR
COOPERATION

16. NO

17. NOFORN [censored] 07 FEB 62

Filing information:

Title: Termination Files of Krunoslav Draganovic

Source: CIA, September 12, 1983

Date: February 7, 1962

Added: May 25, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/cia/text/cia0025.txt>

"THE PROFESSOR"

~~CONFIDENTIAL/NOFORN~~

1. 30 OCT 03, BRCKO, YUGOSLAVIA
2. OF DRAGANOVIC, KRUNOSLAV STEFANO
3. VIA MORICONE 14, ROME, ITALY PHONE #814584
4. ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST /MONSIGNOR/
5. YUGOSLAV 6. M 7. 72 8. 185 9. LT BROWN
10. GREY 11. WEARS CLERICAL ROBES 12. NONE
13. WITH PREJUDICE 23 JAN 62 14. NO
15. SECURITY & LACK OF CONTROL: NOT AMENABLE TO CONTROL; TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE OF UNIT PERSONNEL AND ACTIVITY; DEMANDS OUTRAGEOUS MONETARY TRIBUTE AND U.S. SUPPORT OF CROAT ORGS. AS PARTIAL PAYMENT FOR COOPERATION.
16. NO
17. ~~NOFORN~~ [CIA 63] 07 FEB 62

XE 207018

~~CONFIDENTIAL/NOFORN~~

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ON 12 SEP 1983
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Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R

FABIANO, /DR./

~~CONFIDENTIAL/NOFORN~~

1. 30 OCT 03, BROKO, YUGOSLAVIA
2. OF DRAGANOVIC, KRUNOSLAV STEFANO
3. VIA MORICONE 14, ROME, ITALY PHONE
#814584
4. ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST /MONSIGNOR/
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TO CONTROL; TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE OF UNIT
PERSONNEL & ACTIVITY; DEMANDS OUTRAGEOUS
MONETARY TRIBUTE AND U.S. SUPPORT OF CROAT
ORGANIZATIONS AS PARTIAL PAYMENT FOR
COOPERATION
16. NO
17. ~~NOFORN~~

[CIA b3] 07 FEB 62

XF 207018

~~CONFIDENTIAL/NOFORN~~

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REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 SEP 1907
BY CDR USAINSCOM FOIPO
Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-R

~~CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN~~

"DYNAMO"

1. 30 OCT 03, BROKO, YUGOSLAVIA
2. CN OF DRAGANOVIC, KRUNOSLAV STEFANO
3. VIA MORICONE 14, ROME, ITALY PHONE #814584
4. ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST /MONSIGNOR/
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16. NO
17. NOFORN

[CIA-03] 07 FEB 62

XE 207018

~~CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN~~

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 12 SEP 1964
BY CDR USAINSCOM FORM
Auth Para 1-603 DoD 5200.1-2

PRIEST, TERMED WAR CRIMINAL, BACK IN YUGOSLAVIA

By RICHARD EDER

Special to The New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Nov. 10 - The Yugoslav Government announced today that a 64-year-old priest whom it had branded as a war criminal returned voluntarily to Yugoslavia eight weeks ago to face possible trial.

The announcement, at a news conference, that the Rev. Krunoslav Draganovic, who was a leading member of the emigre opposition, was now in Sarajevo ended the mystery over his disappearance from Trieste on Sept. 16, while he was en route from Rome to Vienna.

Rumors that Father Dragonovic had been kidnapped by Yugoslav officials have appeared recently in Austrian and Italian newspapers. The Austrian Government, deeply concerned about the case, was reported to have been awaiting a report from the Italian authorities before making formal inquiries here.

Avdo Humo, the Yugoslav spokesman, indicated that the growing international speculation about the case had led the Government to reply in detail to questions about it. The main part of his presentation was a photocopy of a seven-page handwritten letter, which he said had been written by Father Dragonovic and which describes the priest's reasons for returning.

Case Under Investigation

The federal prosecutor, Vladimir Djukic, who answered most of the questions at the news conference, said that Father Dragonovic's case was under investigation but that he was not being detained and had not been formally charged.

Tanyug, the official press agency, said that charges might not be brought.

Mr. Humo said that before his return Father Draganovic had been in touch with Yugoslav officials to ask what would be done if he were to return. Mr. Humo did not disclose the reply.

Was Professor of Theology

According to some reports, these contacts took place in Rome and there is speculation that the Vatican, which has been seeking to improve relations with Yugoslavia, may have encouraged them.

It was not possible today to reach the priest, whose whereabouts in Sarajevo has not been disclosed by the Government although it invited the press to see him.

Father Dragonovic, who is a Croat and comes from Bosnia, a region inhabited both by Croats and Serbs, was a professor of theology in Sarajevo before World War II. An ardent Croatian nationalist, he joined the Government of the German-dominated Republic of Croatia, in which extreme nationalism shaded into outright Nazism.

According to his letter, he has, in recent years, withdrawn from political activities and concentrated on historical studies. At this time, the letter says, he became increasingly aware of the dilemma of reconciling his views about Yugoslavia [sic] with what he learned of reforms here.

Filing Information:

Title: News: Priest, Termed War Criminal, Back in Yugoslavia

Source: New York Times. Transcribed by Erica Case.

Date: November 11, 1967

Added: November 26, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/draganovic/text/kd0005.txt>

Priest, Termed War Criminal, Back in Yugoslavia

By RICHARD EDER

Special to The New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Nov. 10—The Yugoslav Government announced today that a 64-year-old priest whom it had branded as a war criminal returned voluntarily to Yugoslavia eight weeks ago to face possible trial.

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Rumors that Father Draganovic had been kidnapped by Yugoslav officials have appeared recently in Austrian and Italian newspapers. The

Austrian Government, deeply concerned about the case, was reported to have been awaiting a report from the Italian authorities before making formal inquiries here.

Avdo Humo, the Yugoslav spokesman, indicated that the growing international speculation about the case had led the Government to reply in detail to questions about it. The main part of his presentation was a photocopy of a seven-page handwritten letter, which he said had been written by Father Draganovic and which describes the priest's reasons for returning.

Case Under Investigation

The federal prosecutor, Vladimir Djukic, who answered most of the questions at the news conference, said that

Father Draganovic's case was under investigation but that he was not being detained and had not been formally charged.

Tanyug, the official press agency, said that charges might not be brought.

Mr. Humo said that before his return Father Draganovic had been in touch with Yugoslav officials to ask what would be done if he were to return. Mr. Humo did not disclose the reply.

Was Professor of Theology

According to some reports, these contacts took place in Rome and there is speculation that the Vatican, which has been seeking to improve relations with Yugoslavia, may have encouraged them.

It was not possible today to reach the priest, whose where-

abouts in Sarajevo has not been disclosed by the Government although it invited the press to see him.

Father Draganovic, who is a Croat and comes from Bosnia, a region inhabited both by Croats and Serbs, was a professor of theology in Sarajevo before World War II. An ardent Croatian nationalist, he joined the Government of the German-dominated Republic of Croatia, in which extreme nationalism shaded into outright Nazism.

According to his letter, he has, in recent years, withdrawn from political activities and concentrated on historical studies. At this time, the letter says, he became increasingly aware of the dilemma of reconciling his views about Yugoslavia with what he learned of reforms here.

AUSTRALIAN POLICE RAID OFFICE OF THE NATION'S SECRET SERVICE

SYDNEY, Australia, March 16 (AP) - Commonwealth policemen raided the headquarters of the nation's secret service, the Security Intelligence Organization, in Melbourne today.

Government sources [sic] in the Federal capital, Canberra, said the police were seeking files on Croatian liberation movements operating in Australia.

The informants said that agency, which is under Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's control, had refused to hand over the files and that police acted on the orders of the Attorney General, Lionel Murphy.

A Government official in Canberra declared: "It's like the army attacking the navy."

In the United States, the equivalent would be a raid by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on Central Intelligence Agency headquarters.

Statement Was Expected

Mr. Murphy, who refused to comment, had been expected to make a statement in Parliament this week about the Croatian groups, which have been blamed for bomb attacks on Yugoslav buildings and supporters in Australia. The statement was scheduled to precede the visit to Canberra next week of Yugoslavia's Premier, Djemal Bijedic.

The Yugoslav Government has charged that Australia is being used as a training ground for Croatian secessionists, who return to Yugoslavia for terrorism against President Tito's Government. Government sources in Canberra said this was confirmed to Mr. Murphy by the F.B.I. when the Attorney General visited Washington earlier this year.

The groups operated under the banner of the Ustashi, the

wartime brown shirt organization of the Nazi puppet dictator, Ante Pavelic.

2 Bombs Are Defused

Meanwhile, two bombs were found here today, one of them along the route Prince Philip later took into the city from the airport on his arrival here for a visit. Experts defused the bombs, and the police guarded his route.

The second bomb was found in a locker in the central railway station. A report of another bomb in a government office building opposite a club Prince Philip was opening tonight proved to be false.

So did a fourth suspicious object found in a garbage bin near the busy Taylor Square intersection, where the Prince's limousine was to pass.

Extra policemen were rushed to the airport to meet the Prince, touring the country as president of the Australian Conservation Foundation. Welcoming ceremonies were cut back to less than a minute.

The bombs were found following an anonymous call to the office of the state Premier.

Filing information ::

Title: Australian Police Raid Office Of the Nation's Secret Service

Source: New York Times

Date: March 17, 1973 Added: October 15, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/text/odp0005.txt>

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MARIC v R
HIGH COURT OF AUSTRALIA
20 A.L.R. 513
1 June 1978 - Brisbane 8 August 1978 - Sydney
8 August 1978 - Sydney

INTRODUCTION:

Application for Special Leave to Appeal Angelo Maric was convicted on three charges relating to two explosions which took place in George Street, Sydney in September 1972. His appeal against conviction was dismissed by the New South Wales Court of Criminal Appeal and this was an application for special leave to appeal against that dismissal. The facts sufficiently appear in the judgment of Gibbs ACJ.

COUNSEL:

H F Purnell QC and W D Hosking, for the applicant. R W Job QC and E O Pain, for the respondent.

JUDGES:

GIBBS, MASON, JACOBS, MURPHY and AICKIN JJ

JUDGMENTS:

Gibbs J.

This is an application for leave to appeal from a decision of the Court of Criminal Appeal of the Supreme Court of New South Wales which by a majority dismissed an appeal by the applicant, Angelo Maric, against his conviction on three charges, namely: -

(1) that on 16 September 1972 he did maliciously by the explosion of a substance in premises at 668 George Street, Sydney, cause grievous bodily harm to Josef Martin;

(2) that on 16 September 1972 he did maliciously put at 736 George Street, Sydney, an explosive substance with intent to do grievous bodily harm;

(3) that on 16 September 1972 he did maliciously place in a building at 736 George Street, Sydney, an explosive substance with intent to damage the building.

The second and third charges arose out of exactly the same facts but it was not suggested in argument that it was wrong for that reason to convict and sentence the applicant on both those counts and I need not consider that question.

The main ground of appeal before the Court of Criminal Appeal, and the basis of the present application, was that inadmissible evidence of a prejudicial kind was placed before the jury. Before turning to discuss the nature of that evidence and the manner of its admission, it is necessary to say something as to the circumstances of the case.

On the morning of 16 September 1972 a time bomb exploded in a shop at 668 George Street, Sydney, where Josef Martin carried on business. Martin was very seriously injured in the explosion. At about the same time a shopping bag containing another time bomb was found in premises at 736 George Street, Sydney, occupied by Risto Jadrovski. The bomb was carried into the street where it later exploded.

Martin and Jadrovski were both immigrants from Yugoslavia. Both had, or at least were thought to have had some sort of association of a business kind with the Central Government of Yugoslavia and both had sold publications which had been printed in Yugoslavia. For this reason both had experienced hostility, or received threats, from opponents of the Yugoslavian Government, particularly from Croats. The applicant also was from Yugoslavia but he was a Croat. There was evidence that he had been an active member of a body known as the Croatian National Resistance in Australia, and

that he had in his possession publications which advocated the use of violence by Croatians, including Croatians abroad, against those whom they regarded as their oppressors and those who supported those so-called oppressors. This, according to the case for the Crown, revealed the motive which the applicant had to commit the offences.

At the time of the offences the applicant was employed in Townsville. The Crown case was that it could be inferred from the evidence of a number of witnesses that the applicant was absent from Townsville from Friday, 15 September 1972 until the night of Sunday, 17 September 1972 and that he made false statements and gave false evidence in an endeavour to conceal his absence during that weekend. On 22 September 1972 the applicant left Townsville for Coober Pedy, his explanation being that he wished to obtain better paid work. He stayed in Coober Pedy for about a fortnight and then travelled to Perth where he afterwards set up house. In November 1972 in Perth explosives (namely gelignite and detonators) were found in his motor vehicle. He explained their presence by saying that he had obtained them in Coober Pedy for the purpose of engaging in opal mining. The bombs used in the offences appeared to have been made of gelignite, but the detonators used in the bombs were of a different kind from those found in the applicant's vehicle. There was evidence that the applicant was experienced in the use of explosives, having been trained as an armourer and having worked as a miner, and the Crown case was that he had the necessary skill to make a time bomb.

All this evidence did no more than create a suspicion that the applicant may have committed the offences charged. However, evidence that connected him with those offences was given by police officers who said that in March 1974 he made a number of oral admissions which, if believed, clearly showed his complicity in the offences and according to the submission of the Crown showed that he had not merely made the bombs but had placed them in the premises at Sydney. It was alleged that he had said that he had done this for Croatia. The applicant, who gave evidence, denied that he had made these admissions.

It is now possible to consider the matters upon which the

applicant relies in making the present application. On the sixth day of the trial (which lasted for 19 days) the Crown called as a witness one Norman David Pratt who was asked to recount a conversation which he had had with the applicant and one Steve Brbic in the North Perth hotel early in October 1972. There was evidence that Brbic was the Australian President of the Croatian National Resistance in Australia, and had set up in Sydney a branch of that body of which the applicant had become the Vice-Treasurer. Pratt, a Canadian, was employed by Brbic at night to work in Brbic's cleaning business. Before Pratt gave evidence of the conversation he was questioned, in the absence of the jury, not only as to the events at the North Perth hotel but also as to another conversation with Brbic at a dance at Mount Hawthorne in November 1972. He said that, although the applicant was also present on that occasion, he could not say whether the applicant had heard the relevant conversation. After the voir dire had concluded, on the seventh day of the trial, the Crown Prosecutor announced that he pressed only the evidence of the conversation at the hotel, and the learned trial judge explained to Pratt that he would not be asked to give an account of what was said at the dance. Pratt then resumed his evidence in the presence of the jury. He said that he was asked by Brbic to go to the hotel, and that he there met the applicant and Brbic and had drinks with them at a table. He was then asked what was the conversation which he had at the table but apparently misunderstood the question and gave an account of what Brbic had said when he made the arrangements for the meeting. The learned trial judge was then prompted to take over the questioning, which proceeded as follows: -

HIS HONOUR: Q. - That is how you came to be there?

A. - That is right.

Q. - You got there?

A. - Yes.

Q. - Then did you meet this Angelo?

A. - Yes.

Q. - What was then said by Brbic?

A. - Steve said he had come down from Queensland and he had done a job in Sydney on the way down and that it was a good job and that it had come off good.

Q. - Would you repeat that?

A. - Steve said that Angelo had come down from Queensland and that he had done a job in Sydney.

Q. - Did he say that was done after he left Queensland, or before, or what?

A. - After, and that it was a good job and that it had come off well.

CROWN PROSECUTOR: Q. - Yes?

A. - In the meantime Angelo was saying he was in a hurry and he would like to leave.

HIS HONOUR: Q. - Did he say where this job was?

A. - Yes, in George Street.

CROWN PROSECUTOR: A. [sic] - Did the accused say anything?

A. - No, just that he wanted to leave.

It later appeared that the purpose of the meeting had been to ask Pratt to go to Fremantle to witness the forthcoming marriage of the applicant.

Pratt was then cross-examined and said in response to questioning by counsel for the accused that when he gave evidence at the committal proceedings of the conversation at the North Perth hotel he had not said anything about the job being in George Street. The learned trial judge, who had the depositions before him, appeared to think that the questions

being put by counsel were contrary to what had in fact occurred at the committal proceedings. In fact the witness was right and the judge was wrong for it appears that Pratt in his evidence before the magistrate had said that George Street was mentioned in the conversation at Mount Hawthorne, but had not said that it was mentioned at the North Perth hotel. Counsel for the applicant tried to explain that the witness's reference to George Street had been in relation to a different occasion, but the learned trial judge again took over the questioning as follows: -

Q. - You said you first went to work with him in July?

A. - Correct.

Q. - Then you met Angelo with Brbic at the North Perth hotel early October 1972?

A. - That is correct.

Q. - Then this conversation occurred we are talking about. Then you said later on in the evidence that in November there was a dance at the Mount Hawthorne Town Hall?

A. - Late October.

Q. - You fix that how?

A. - They usually have it the last Friday or Saturday in the month.

Q. - On this occasion you met Mrs Brbic?

A. - Correct.

Q. - And Mrs Maric?

A. - That is right.

... .

Q. - And then you said at that dance Brbic mentioned again certain things, and then you added: "Then he said again that Angelo did a good job for him in Sydney and that it had come off and that he was good at making bombs also?"

A. - Correct.

Q. - Did he mention any particular part of Sydney?

A. - George Street.

Counsel for the applicant protested at the admission of this evidence, and his Honour then gave a direction to the jury in the following words: "Members of the jury, I do not want this inquiry to range far and wide; it is only evidence which is admissible strictly against the accused which I am concerned with. The only reason this is led is as follows: there are circumstances in which an allegation may be made about you in your presence and where, if it were not true, you would be expected to say 'No, that is not correct, you have got the wrong man, it is not me' or 'I did not do it', and if in those circumstances you would expect a person to say something rather than say nothing you may, in your wisdom, and it is a matter for you, say he has acquiesced in that fact. The Crown is inviting you to say that the first time this witness was introduced to Maric and was told 'Now, he has come from Queensland, he has done a job for me in Sydney, it is a good job, it came off well, I want you to be a witness at his wedding', that that very introduction might be interpreted by you, Maric having made no answer to it, except to have the arrangement made for the wedding so to speak, that he was acquiescing in what was said . . . What Mr Luland [counsel for the applicant] is saying is that the discussion at the dance between Brbic and this man, where it was repeated again, was the occasion on which George Street was mentioned. What I am saying is that upon that evidence the prosecutor was asking what was this occasion that it had been indicated, and the answer is it was indicated as George Street."

Counsel for the applicant then applied for the discharge of the jury but his application was refused. At the conclusion

of Pratt's evidence, the learned trial judge said that he proposed to read to the jury some passages from Pratt's evidence and to leave it to them what the evidence meant. He then said to the jury: -

In the evidence given in the lower court, members of the jury, and in the evidence in chief, these questions were asked amongst others, concerning their presence together in the North Perth Hotel early in October.

'Q. - Did Brbic say anything to you in front of the accused?

A. - Yes.

Q. - What did he say, please?

A. - He said Angelo had come down from Queensland and prior to this he had done a job in Sydney, it was a good job and it had come off.

Q. - Was there any mention of marriage?

A. - Yes. He mentioned he wanted me to be a witness, for Angelo in Fremantle and I agree to this.'

Later on he said there was a discussion at a dance, and he said that Angelo did a good job for him in Sydney and then these questions followed:

'Did he mention any particular part in Sydney?

A. - George Street.

Q. - Was Queensland mentioned?

A. - Yes.

Q. - In what context?

A. - That he had a phone call from somebody in Queensland and that somebody was coming down to Sydney and he wanted me to

meet him.'

He added that he had read this evidence "so that this dispute about what was said in the lower court can be interpreted by you".

The applicant gave evidence denying that he had overheard any conversation between Pratt and Brbic about doing a good job for Brbic; in cross-examination he was not asked about the mention of George Street, or of making bombs. In the course of the summing up, the learned trial judge reminded the jury of Pratt's evidence as to the conversation at the hotel, and said: "He said that the job had been identified as being in George Street although it seems clear when one studies all this transcription of the evidence that in lower court he rather indicated that the last remark had been said previously, when they were talking about arrangements to meet this man and I tell you simply to disregard it." He did not mention Pratt's evidence that the applicant was good at making bombs. He directed the jury as to the circumstances in which a statement made in the presence of an accused person may be treated as an admission. Towards the end of his summing up he gave a summary of the Crown case which began as follows: "The Crown says that its case against the accused is - if I may put it in an inverse order - admissions made to the police, an admission made to Pratt, an admission by implication."

The evidence brought out by the questions put by the learned trial judge was of the most damaging character. The statement by Brbic that the applicant had done a good job in Sydney was insignificant in itself. It had a number of possible meanings consistent with the innocence of the applicant. Even if it were understood to mean that the applicant had done a good job for the Croatian National Resistance in Australia it would not have been enough to incriminate the applicant. The further circumstance, that Brbic had said that the job was done in George Street, made the statement much more harmful, although the jury might still have regarded it as equivocal, because there was no evidence to connect Brbic with the offences. However, to add further that Brbic had said that the applicant was good at making bombs was calculated to

suggest strongly to the jury that the job which the applicant had done for Brbic was in some way connected with the bombing in George Street. It is hardly possible to conceive of evidence more likely to prejudice the jury against the applicant to his detriment.

It is unnecessary to consider whether on the state of the evidence it was open to the jury to conclude that the reference to George Street had been made in the hearing of the applicant, although on the version given by Pratt before the magistrate it had not. It is, however, clear that it was not established that the statement allegedly made by Brbic that the applicant was good at making bombs was heard by the applicant. There was no evidence on which it could have been found that he had acquiesced in the truth of that statement. It was rightly conceded by the Crown that the evidence was inadmissible, but it was nevertheless contended that special leave to appeal should be refused.

The first submission put on behalf of the Crown was that the learned trial judge had a discretion either to discharge the jury or to continue with the trial, and that the question which the Court of Criminal Appeal had to decide, and which it was submitted was rightly answered in the negative, was whether any error had been shown by the judge in exercising his discretion.

In support of this submission counsel cited the decision of the Court of Appeal in *R v Weaver* [1968] 1 QB 353; [1967] 1 All ER 277. In that case the evidence against the two accused men was overwhelming (see QB at 356) but evidence prejudicial to them was inadvertently elicited by their counsel in the course of cross-examination. The judge refused to discharge the jury, the accused were convicted and an appeal was brought. The appeal failed.

Sachs LJ said (QB at 359-60; All ER at 280): -

Cases parallel to the present one have been brought before the Court of Criminal Appeal on a considerable number of occasions in the course of the last few years and the modern

practice has become well defined. In each of those cases it has, of course, been natural for counsel for the appellant of applicant to cite a trio of cases which are mentioned in Archbold's Criminal Pleadings, Evidence and Practice, 35th ed (1962) para 936; *R v Peckham* (1935) 25 Cr App R 125; ; *R v Palmer* (1935) 25 Cr App R 97, and ; *R v Firth* (1938) 26 App R 148. Those cases cannot, however, be looked at in isolation.

As already stated, the modern practice evolved in the light of these cases is that in essence, as has now often been said (see, for instance, a passage which appears in ; *R v Parsons* [1962] Crim LR 631 at 632), whether or not to discharge the jury is for the discretion of the trial judge on the particular facts and the court will not lightly interfere with the exercise of that discretion.

It follows, as has been repeated time and again, that every case depends on its own facts. It also, as has been said time and again, it thus depends on the nature of what has been admitted into evidence, the circumstances in which it has been admitted and what, in the light of the circumstances of the case as a whole, is the correct course. It is very far from being the rule that in every case where something of this nature gets into evidence through inadvertence, the jury must be discharged.

This decision was followed in *R v Palin* [1969] 1 WLR 1544; [1969] 3 All ER 689, and ; *R v Waring (No 2)* [1972] Qd R 263 and somewhat similar views had earlier been expressed in ; *R v Ball* (1960) 77 WN (NSW) 605. It may now be accepted that the rule stated in the English authorities cited in ; *R v Weaver*, supra, which were followed in ; *R v Hally* [1962] Qd R 214 at 221, was too absolute: it is not an invariable rule that the jury must be discharged in such cases. However, in my opinion, it must be remembered that when a trial judge has refused an application to discharge a jury, and the accused has been convicted, the appeal then brought to the Court of Criminal Appeal is not against the failure to discharge the jury but against the conviction. In those circumstances, I cannot see any justification for deciding appeals in such cases on any different principle from that which applies in relation to criminal appeals generally, although of course

one question will arise which will not arise in other cases, that is, whether the giving of the evidence was really the result of inadvertence, or whether it was given deliberately in an attempt to assist the accused. In practice the application of the principles stated by Sachs LJ in *R v Weaver* is not likely to lead to any different result from that which would arise if the appellate court, having decided that inadmissible and prejudicial evidence had been given, went on to consider whether a substantial miscarriage of justice had occurred. In any case, the evidence complained of on this appeal was not given inadvertently; the most prejudicial piece of evidence was given in response to a leading question asked by the judge.

It was next submitted on behalf of the Crown that the majority of the Court of Criminal Appeal were justified in holding that no substantial miscarriage of justice had occurred. The test to be applied in determining whether the wrongful admission of evidence has caused a miscarriage of justice has been stated in a variety of ways. *Stirland v Director of Public Prosecutions* [1944] AC 315 at 321 is authority for the proposition that there will have been no substantial miscarriage of justice "where a reasonable jury, after being properly directed, would, on the evidence properly admissible, without doubt convict". In *Archbold: Pleading, Evidence and Practice in Criminal Cases*, 39th ed at para 914, the principle is stated as follows: "Where it is established that evidence has been wrongfully admitted, the court will quash the conviction unless it holds that the evidence so admitted cannot reasonably be said to have affected the minds of the jury in arriving at their verdict, and that they would or must inevitably have arrived at the same verdict if the evidence had not been admitted. In considering this question, the nature of the evidence so admitted and the direction with regard to it in the summing up are the most material matters." At basis the question is whether the Court of Criminal Appeal can be satisfied that the irregularity has not affected the verdict and that the jury would certainly have returned the same verdict if the errors had not occurred - see *Driscoll v R* (1977) 15 ALR 47 at 69; 51 ALJR 731 at 743.

In the present case the admissible evidence was sufficient to

ground a conviction, but it was by no means overwhelming. In the end the crucial question was one of credibility - that is whether the jury believed that the applicant had made the oral confessions of guilt to which the police witnesses deposed. The case was one which needed to be approached with particular care. The jury had to guard against the danger that they might convict the applicant on mere suspicion engendered by his association with a body of Croats who were said to be bitterly hostile to other Yugoslavs such as Martin and Jadrovski, and by his possession of inflammatory literature.

It is in just such a case that inadmissible evidence of a prejudicial kind is likely to affect the verdict. I have already pointed out that the evidence wrongly admitted was highly prejudicial. It was central to the issues to be determined at the trial. The fact that the judge himself had elicited it may have given it added weight in the minds of the jury. I have, of course, not overlooked that the evidence was given on the sixth and seventh days of a trial that lasted for 19 days, but I cannot accept that it must be concluded that the jury had for that reason forgotten it. The case was a difficult one for any jury to consider, and they had spent many days listening to evidence much of which was quite inconclusive; it may be that the clear pungent statement attributed to Brbic that the applicant had done a good job for him in George Street, Sydney, and was good at making bombs may have seemed to the jurors a damning piece of independent evidence, and because of its importance and its nature it may have remained uppermost in their minds. In all the circumstances I find it quite impossible to be sure that the scales were not tipped against the accused by the wrongful admission of this evidence.

The directions given by the learned trial judge after the evidence was given and during his summing up could not have undone the damage caused by the admission of the evidence. In fact the judge did not tell the jury to disregard the evidence. Sometimes, particularly where inadmissible evidence has slipped out by inadvertence, it is best to refrain from mentioning it again, since to do so might merely impress it on the minds of the jurors. In the present case the judge took the course of directing the jury to Pratt's evidence,

without making any reference to the remark that the applicant was good at making bombs, first, almost immediately after the challenged evidence had been given, and again at the conclusion of Pratt's testimony. I cannot but think that if it had been intended to instruct the jury to confine their attention to the admissible parts of Pratt's evidence it would have been more helpful to say so directly; one cannot be sure that the jury took the hint that the judge no doubt intended to give them by his omission of any reference to the evidence wrongly admitted. In the summing up itself his Honour gave an express direction to the jury to disregard the mention of George Street, but did not instruct them to disregard the mention of the applicant's skill at making bombs. He later referred to an "admission by implication" made to Pratt. From these remarks the jury may have thought that it was proper to regard the evidence in question as an admission.

However, I do not base my conclusion simply on the fact that the directions given by the learned trial judge after the evidence had been wrongly admitted were not sufficient to undo the damage. In my opinion the evidence was so damaging that no directions could certainly have removed its detrimental effect. The only possible course open to the learned trial judge was to discharge the jury. For all these reasons it cannot be held that no substantial miscarriage of justice has occurred in this case.

Finally it was said on behalf of the Crown that this is not a case appropriate for the grant of special leave. The court has an unfettered discretion to grant or refuse special leave in every case although it is necessary for an applicant to make a *prima facie* case showing special circumstances: *Eather v R* (1915) 20 CLR 147;; *Shaw v R* (1952) 85 CLR 365 at 381, 382. The present case is one in which there was a serious irregularity at the trial which was likely to lead to a miscarriage of justice. In my opinion the case has that special character which warrants the grant of special leave to appeal.

I would grant special leave to appeal and would allow the appeal and order that the conviction be set aside and that there be a new trial.

Mason J. For the reasons given by Gibbs J I would grant special leave to appeal, allow the appeal and order that the conviction be set aside and that there be a new trial.

Jacobs J. I agree with the orders proposed by Gibbs J and with his reasons.

Murphy J. The applicant, Mr Maric, was convicted of maliciously causing grievous bodily harm by the explosion of a substance, of maliciously placing an explosive substance with intent to do grievous bodily harm and of maliciously placing an explosive substance with intent to damage a building.

His appeal to the New South Wales Court of Criminal Appeal was dismissed by a majority, and he now seeks special leave to appeal to this court.

He claims that inadmissible and prejudicial evidence was admitted on the seventh day of his trial (this was conceded by the Crown); the evidence, which was hearsay and did not come within any exception to warrant its admission, suggested that the applicant was a bomb maker who had done a good job which had "come off" in Sydney. The applicant's counsel applied for discharge of the jury. The trial judge refused. The trial continued for another 12 days but this reference to Mr Maric as a bomb maker was not mentioned again to the jury.

Section 6 of the Criminal Appeal Act 1912 (NSW) provides: -

(1) The court on any such appeal against conviction shall allow the appeal if it is of opinion that the verdict of the jury should be set aside on the ground that it is unreasonable, or cannot be supported, having regard to the evidence, or that the judgment of the court of trial should be set aside on the ground of the wrong decision of any question of law, or that on any other ground whatsoever there was a miscarriage of justice, and in any other case shall dismiss the appeal; provided that the court may,

notwithstanding that it is of opinion that the point or points raised by the appeal might be decided in favour of the appellant, dismiss the appeal if it considers that no substantial miscarriage of justice has actually occurred.

(2) Subject to the special provisions of this Act, the court shall if it allows an appeal against conviction, quash the conviction and direct a judgment and verdict of acquittal to be entered.

... .

Section 8(1) provides: "On an appeal against a conviction on indictment, the court may, either of its own motion, or on the application of the appellant, order a new trial in such manner as it thinks fit, if the court considers that a miscarriage of justice has occurred, and, that having regard to all the circumstances, such miscarriage of justice can be more adequately remedied by an order for a new trial than by any other order which the court is empowered to make."

The onus was on the applicant to satisfy the Court of Criminal Appeal that a miscarriage of justice had occurred. The majority of the court considered that if there was any miscarriage of justice, it was not a substantial miscarriage because the case against the applicant was very strong and that the prejudicial evidence would have been forgotten or submerged in the course of the lengthy trial, especially as it was not mentioned again by the trial judge or by either counsel. Mr Justice Larkins, who dissented, held that a substantial miscarriage had occurred.

It is questionable whether this is a proper case for special leave, but I would grant it.

THE APPEAL

An appeal to this court whether civil or criminal, is a true appeal and this court should do what the court below should have done. In my opinion, there was a miscarriage of justice and I am not satisfied that no substantial miscarriage of justice has actually occurred. However strong the case

against him, Mr Maric was entitled to a fair trial and this means that inadmissible, highly prejudicial evidence should not be put before the jury.

As there was no direction to ignore the evidence, the jury were entitled to take it into account in arriving at their verdict. The conviction should not be allowed to stand.

This raises the question whether a new trial should be ordered. A new trial is discretionary and should not be ordered unless, "having regard to all the circumstances, such miscarriage of justice can be more adequately remedied by an order for a new trial than by any other order which the court is empowered to make".

Once the trial judge introduced (although inadvertently) the prejudicial material, there was no chance of a fair trial for Mr Maric. No direction would have cured the error. The only proper course was to discharge the jury. The trial record reveals that the prosecution was placed in a very difficult position. Despite this, the prosecution should have supported the application for discharge. From then on, Mr Maric was subjected to a trial which must be regarded as unfair and to a verdict of guilt which, although it cannot be allowed to stand, is undoubtedly prejudicial in the event of any retrial.

A new trial should not be ordered as of course. I pointed out in *Demirok v R* (1977) 14 ALR 199 that a balance must be achieved between the interests of society in prosecuting charges and the interests of society and the individual in avoiding multiple criminal trials. A new trial should not be ordered unless the balance is clearly in favour of that course. The strong prejudice against double jeopardy is one of the best traditions of our system of criminal justice: "The . . . idea, . . . deeply ingrained in at least the Anglo-American system of jurisprudence, is that the State with all its resources and power should not be allowed to make repeated attempts to convict an individual for an alleged offense, thereby subjecting him to embarrassment, expense and ordeal and compelling him to live in a continuing state of anxiety and insecurity as well as enhancing the possibility that even though innocent he may be found guilty"

(; Green v United States (1957) 355 US 184 at 187).

There is a sound reason why a new trial should not be ordered in circumstances such as this. The prosecution (as well as the trial judge) have a responsibility for ensuring that no miscarriage of justice occurs. If inadmissible highly prejudicial evidence is introduced, causing a miscarriage, and the trial continues over the objection of the accused, the prosecution has little to lose if on appeal the almost automatic result, even if substantial miscarriage is shown, is a new trial. The prosecution should be as concerned as the accused to see that no miscarriage occurs and, if it does, that every endeavour is made to minimize its effect, and if an incurable irregularity (as this was) occurs during the trial, it should support an application for discharge. The sanction on the prosecution for failing to discharge its responsibility is that a new trial may not be ordered in the event of a successful appeal against conviction.

I take into account also the fact that Mr Maric has been imprisoned for a long time as a consequence of the charge and conviction.

The appeal should be allowed, the conviction quashed. A new trial should not be ordered.

Aickin J. I have had the advantage of reading the reasons for judgment of my brother Gibbs. I agree with his account of the circumstances and do not repeat it here. I also agree that the evidence in question was plainly inadmissible, and indeed it was not contended before us that it was admissible. The trial judge made a serious error and one likely to be prejudicial to the applicant.

This case does not appear to me to be one where the Court of Criminal Appeal should have used the proviso to s 6(1) of the Criminal Appeal Act 1912 (NSW) and dismissed the appeal on the basis that notwithstanding the manifest error "no substantial miscarriage of justice has actually occurred".

The role of the court is, however, a different one; it is not every error, or possible error, of a Court of Criminal Appeal

which constitutes a basis for special leave. Attempts to define or describe the circumstances which make a matter special have failed and have indeed been abandoned: see *White v R* (1962) 107 CLR 174 at 176, where the court said in respect of an appeal against sentence: "Efforts over a long period of years to define the effect of the word 'special' have broken down but it remains true that what we are required to look for is something that is special in the case. Prima facie we do not think a case is special unless it involves some point of law of general application and, therefore, of importance. This case involves no point of law, none whatever, and we do not think that in such a case we should intervene unless there appears to have been a gross violation of the principles which ought to guide discretion in imposing sentences."

The present case involves no point of law of general application or importance. It may without unfairness be described as involving an elementary question of admissibility.

It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty in the case of a trial lasting some 19 days what impact a particular piece of evidence may have had. However, it is at least possible, if not probable, that a fact elicited by a question from the trial judge himself may even after the balance of the trial have a significant effect on the jury's mind, especially when it was of so damning a character. Indeed, as Larkins J said in the Court of Criminal Appeal: "How could the tag of bombmaker and a good one at that, hung upon the appellant by Brbic, ever be forgotten by the jury?" It is certainly impossible to be satisfied that it would not have that effect. The evidence was highly prejudicial to the applicant and the error was not wholly corrected by a direction to the jury as my brother Gibbs points out, even if it was one capable of correction in that way.

The case seems close to the line but, notwithstanding some hesitation, I am prepared to agree that special leave should be granted. If special leave is granted, it is clear that the appeal should be allowed and a new trial ordered.

ORDER:

Order Special leave to appeal granted.

Appeal allowed. Order of the Supreme Court of New South Wales (Court of Criminal Appeal) set aside and in lieu thereof order that the conviction be set aside and that there be a new trial.

SOLICITORS:

Solicitor for the appellant, J P White, Public Solicitor.
Solicitor for the respondent, Crown Solicitor for the State of New South Wales.

Filing Information:

Title: Appeal of Angelo Maric (Australia)

Source: Public Records.

Date: August 8, 1978

Added: February 19, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/text/odp0010.txt>

A federal court jury on Friday convicted two Croatian nationalists of imprisoning a foreign official during a siege at the West German consulate.

The jury found Bozo Kevala, 36, and Mile Kodzoman, 32, guilty on the imprisonment charge, but found them innocent of charges of kidnapping and conspiracy to kidnap foreign officials.

They were accused of holding six consulate employees hostage for more than 10 hours on Aug. 17 with guns and a phony bomb in an attempt to free a fellow Croatian from a West German prison.

The two men feared West Germany would extradite a fellow countryman, Stjepan Bilandzic, to Yugoslavia where they claimed he would be executed for political reasons.

Kevala and Kodzoman could be sentenced to 10 years in prison. A date for sentencing was not immediately set.

Defense attorneys contended that their clients acted out of blind concern for Bilandzic [sic] and never intended to hurt anyone.

During the five-day trial, three hostages testified that Kodzoman and Kevala held them at gunpoint and "threatened to detonate" two bombs if their demands for Bilandzic's release were not met.

Bilandzic later was released by the West Germans, but not as a result of the consulate takeover.

Several policemen and FBI agents also testified they heard Kodzoman warn lawmen that if he were shot, Kevala would kill the hostages.

Prosecutors played a tape recording of a trans-Atlantic telephone call between the defendants and Bilandzic during the siege. During the conversation, in Croatian, Kodzoman told Bilandzic: "But we still have six hostages on our hands... If you want, we are ready, like Bozo said this

morning, that we throw them through the window."

The defense portrayed their clients as mild-mannered nationalists who never intended harm. During cross-examination of prosecution witnesses, they dwelled on the light-hearted and humorous aspects of the siege.

Filing Information:

Title: News: Two Odpor Agents Convicted of Terrorism

Source: Associated Press.

Date: December 1, 1978

Added: February 6, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/text/odp0006.txt>

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE

ORIGIN: Field

OFFICE: Los Angeles, California

CASE NO.: X-ODN-06056, I80-56,398, I80-56,399

TYPE OF CASE: Intelligence

STATUS: Closed - Los Angeles

INVESTIGATION MADE BY: Los Angeles, Calif.

PERIOD COVERED: 6/13-19/80

INVESTIGATION MADE BY: Special Agent

TITLE OR CAPTION: Bomb Incidents, San Pedro, California

SYNOPSIS

On 5/25/80, two improvised explosive devices exploded in the vicinity of two nearby businesses in San Pedro, California. Both of the stores are owned by Croatian persons and the suspects in these bombings are believed to be OTPOR (ODN-06056) members, although their actual identities remain unknown and no persons/groups have taken credit for the bombings.

(A) INTRODUCTION

Reference is made to ID-FIB/AE TWX #495, dated 5/27/80, and to Los Angeles TWX #569, dated 6/12/80.

(B) DETAILS OF THE INCIDENTS

Reference is made to the attached Los Angeles PD reports #80-573289 and #80-573297.

(C) IDENTITIES OF PARTICIPANTS

No person(s)/group(s) have taken credit for the subject bombings; however, the placing of the two bombs in the immediate vicinity of each other and the fact that the owners of the stores are both Croatian has caused members of the Los Angeles intelligence community to strongly suspect that the persons responsible for these incidents are members of OTPOR (ODN-06056). It should be noted that the placing of the two bombs at the same time is one method of operation utilized by OTPOR in the Los Angeles district.

(D) DEVICES

The IED utilized in the first bombing at Ante's Restaurant is believed to have consisted to approximately three sticks of commercial dynamite. Possible parts of an alarm clock were found and it may have been the timing mechanism. No exterior container, e.g., a pipe, for this IED was located. The IED was placed in a planter under the front window of the restaurant. This IED caused extensive damage to Ante's Restaurant but only broke the windows of one adjacent business.

The second IED, which exploded at Homeowner's Discount Plumbing, is believed to have consisted of approximately six sticks of commercial dynamite. It was placed on the sidewalk in front of the store and caused extensive damage to the building and broke windows of numerous adjacent businesses.

(E) OTHER INVESTIGATION

OTPOR has been attempting to infiltrate the American Croatian Club in San Pedro [censored] and the club has recently been ousting suspected OTPOR members from their group. The identities of these ousted members are unknown at this time,

but this action is suspected as a possible motive for the subject bombings, i.e., retaliation.

Members of the Los Angeles intelligence community who investigate Croatian terrorism have assured the writer that they will immediately notify LAFO if the bombers in these incidents are identified.

(F) DISPOSITION

Attached for Intelligence Division are the LAPD crime reports describing the two bombings.

Cases are closed in Los Angeles.

DISTRIBUTION: Intelligence Div., Los Angeles

COPIES: Oirg & 2cc 3cc DCG:afe

REPORT MADE BY: [censored] 6/23/80

APPROVED: [censored] 6/23/80

Filing Information:

Title: Otpor Bombing in California

Source: US Dept of Homeland Security (Secret Service)

Date: June 23, 1980

Added: June 6, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/text/odp0002.txt>

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE

X-ODN-06056
180-56,398

ORIGIN Field	OFFICE Los Angeles, California	CASE NO. 180-56,399
TYPE OF CASE	STATUS	TITLE OR CAPTION
Intelligence	Closed - Los Angeles	Bomb Incidents
INVESTIGATION MADE AT	PERIOD COVERED	San Pedro, California
Los Angeles, Calif.	6/13-19/80	
INVESTIGATION MADE BY		
Special Agent		

SYNOPSIS

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DISTRIBUTION	COPIES	REPORT MADE BY	DATE
Intelligence Div.	Orig. &		
	2 cc	SPECIAL AGENT	6/23/80
Los Angeles	3 cc	APPROVED	DATE
	DCG:afe	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	6/23/80

Los Angeles

3 cc

APPROVED

DCG:afe

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

6/23/80

EST. 1982 (H-11)

(CONTINUED ON PLAIN PAPER)

MEMORANDUM REPORT

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1977-731-825

of operation utilized by OTPOR in the Los Angeles district.

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The IED utilized in the first bombing at Ante's Restaurant is believed to have consisted of approximately three sticks of commercial dynamite. Possible parts of an alarm clock were found and it may have been the timing mechanism. No exterior container, e.g., a pipe, for this IED was located. The IED was placed in a planter under the front window of the restaurant. This IED caused extensive damage to Ante's Restaurant but only broke the windows of one adjacent business.

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(F) DISPOSITION

Attached for Intelligence Division are the LAPD crime reports describing the two bombings.

Cases are closed in Los Angeles.

Please Call Back serial number

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY - BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS		HEADQUARTERS USE ONLY	
SEP 28 1981 REQUEST FOR TRACING FIREARMS.		Classified to 2-200-1491 per: Davenport 127433 1/23 Sept 17-81	
PAT GENERAL INFORMATION - Completed by Special Agent/Officer			
1. PRIORITY <input type="checkbox"/> URGENT 3. UNIQUE TO	EXPEDITE <input type="checkbox"/> ROUTINE <input type="checkbox"/>	2. REQUEST MADE BY <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PHONE <input type="checkbox"/> MAIL <input type="checkbox"/> VERBAL <input type="checkbox"/> TWX	4. ORI NUMBER OF ORIGINATING AGENCY DC-FBI-WA 00
5. NAME		6. POST OF DUTY	8. POC TELEPHONE NUMBER
A - INITIATING SPECIAL AGENT			
B - OTHER AGENCY REQUESTING TRACE			
FBI Headquarters, Wash. D.C.			
10th & Penn Ave N.W. 20535		11. TELEPHONE NUMBER	324-
1. MANUFACTURER Ingram		2. TYPE MIX	3. MODEL 10
4. CALIBER OR GAGE 9MM Parabellum		5. MAG. OR CY. CAPACITY	6. BARREL LENGTH
7. FINISH		8. SERIAL NUMBER 1491	9. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN US
10. ANY OTHER IDENTIFYING MARKS 2-200-1491			
11. TYPE OF CRIME <input type="checkbox"/> ASSAULT (AOT) <input type="checkbox"/> NARCOTICS (NAB) <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (Specify) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MURDER (MUR) <input type="checkbox"/> ROBBERY (ROB)			
12. HOW WAS FIREARM ACQUIRED <input type="checkbox"/> U.C. PURCHASE (UCP) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SEIZED (SEZ) <input type="checkbox"/> RETAINED (RETI) <input type="checkbox"/> ABANDONED (ABO)			
13. WHERE WAS FIREARM ACQUIRED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UNITED STATES (City and State) <input type="checkbox"/> FOREIGN (City and Country)			
14. THEFT STATUS <input type="checkbox"/> STOLEN (In NCIC) <input type="checkbox"/> STOLEN (Not reported) (SSR) <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (Specify)			
15. WHERE WAS FIREARM ACQUIRED <input type="checkbox"/> GUNS TO PEOPLES (GTP) <input type="checkbox"/> GUNS TO MEXICO (GTM) <input type="checkbox"/> GUN INV (GIV) <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (Specify)			
PART III - FIREARM BACKGROUND			
POSSESSOR OF FIREARM (If Known)			
1. NAME AND ADDRESS ① Firearms International Accokeek, Md.		2. SEX	3. RACE
4. FELONY RECORD <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO		5. DATE OF BIRTH	
PART IV - TRANSFER RECORD OF FIREARM - Completed by Headquarters (Continue on reverse, if necessary)			
A - IMPORTER/WHOLESALE			
1. NAME AND ADDRESS ② Karal Investments		2. TELEPHONE NUMBER	3. DATE 10/18/71

b7C

Karol Investments 71 Lauderdale, FL				4. FFL NUMBER 59 16626		5. INVOICE NUMBER 10/18/71 <i>(R11) V</i>	
B - DEALER				7. TELEPHONE NUMBER		8. DATE	
6. NAME AND ADDRESS Karol Investment shows acquisition of the above serial number from Military Armament Corp. <i>no disposition.</i>				9. FFL NUMBER		10. INVOICE NUMBER	
11. NAME AND ADDRESS Sorry no further trace.				12. TELEPHONE NUMBER		13. DATE	
				14. FFL NUMBER		15. INVOICE NUMBER	
16. SEX	17. RACE	18. HEIGHT	19. WEIGHT	20. DATE OF BIRTH	21. IDENTIFICATION USED		
D - INDIVIDUAL PURCHASER						23. DATE	
22. NAME AND ADDRESS						24. TELEPHONE NUMBER	
						<i>(U)</i>	
						<i>(UWP)</i>	
25. SEX	26. RACE	27. HEIGHT	28. WEIGHT	29. DATE OF BIRTH	30. IDENTIFICATION USED	HEADQUARTERS USE BA 29296 S 146 A 29-81 7.22	
PART V - COMPLETED BY HEADQUARTERS							
1. INFORMATION RETURNED TO REQUESTING AGENCY				2. IN		3. DATE 9.29.81	

b7C

Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation

by John Pryor

NEW YORK - Ten Croatian nationalists were organized in a "nationwide criminal operation" to spread extortion, arson, bombing and murder across the country in the name of independence from Yugoslavia, a federal prosecutor said Thursday in his opening statement at the trial of the 10.

"They called the shots," prosecutor Paul Shechtman said of the defendants in his opening remarks to the jury at the racketeering trial in U.S. District Court in Manhattan. "They recruited others to take the risks."

Four of the defendants, he said, managed the national headquarters in Chicago of a group called OTPOR, which seeks a separate and independent republic of Croatia. The six others ran its field offices in Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Cleveland, and Toronto, the prosecutor said.

In what he described as a "large-scale nationwide criminal operation," Schechtman said the defendants "declared war on almost every moderate Croatian group in the country which wanted independence but not through violence."

From 1975 to 1981, he said, the defendants plotted to bomb, burn, and kill, and actually carried out some of those crimes, to force the moderates to comply with their demands for financial support.

Defense lawyers told the jury of seven women and five men that much of the alleged criminal activities, including 50 acts of extortion, three of arson and two slayings, actually were committed by agents of the Yugoslav secret police.

"They were the victims," the defense said about the defendants who, their lawyers said, fled to this country from Yugoslavia to escape religious and political persecution.

Prosecutor Shechtman said the alleged extortion scheme began with letters sent from West Germany to Croatian nationalists in the United States demanding contributions to the defendants of \$5,000 to \$10,000. Payments, Shechtman said, were to be made to a post office in Asuncion, Paraguay.

"When the payments were slow," he said, "the defendants struck back."

"They murdered Anthony Cikoja outside his home in Scarsdale, N.Y., in September 1978, and Krizan Brkic outside his home in Glendale, Calif., in September 1978," he said. "They bombed the factory owned by Danilo Nikolic in Chicago in October 1978, and bombed the homes and trucks of three moderates in Los Angeles in April and May 1979."

Defendant Mile Markic, 57, of Chicago, Shechtman said, was the leader of the group, the "elder statesman," who used his home to conceal dynamite, plastic explosives and weapons. Ante Ljubas, 37, also of Chicago, was his "field general" and national recruiter.

Schechtman described defendant Drago Sudar, 50, of Etobicoke, Ont., as a "skilled bomb maker" who traveled widely in the United States and Europe to teach his skills. Many of the explosive devices used in the alleged acts came from Toronto, the prosecutor said.

Defendant Vinko Logarusic of Cleveland, Schechtman continued, developed a "neat weapon" - an explosive device concealed between book covers to be sent through the mails. Ranko Primorac of Long Beach, Calif., "sought to bomb and kill Croatians who did not share his political views," the prosecutor alleged.

The indictment also includes allegations that the defendants conspired to set off explosives at the United Nations and Grand Central Terminal in New York. They plotted to murder Yugoslav officials in San Francisco, carried explosives and guns across the country by car and bus, and plotted the murder of a Catholic priest in Milwaukee, the indictment alleged.

If convicted on the charges of violating the Federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) law, each could face up to 20 years in prison. The trial is expected to last at least two months.

Filing Information:

Title: News: Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation

Source: UPI

Date: February 19, 1982

Added: February 12, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/text/odp0007.txt>

10 CROATIANS ON TRIAL ON RACKETEERING CHARGES

by Arnold H. Lubasch

Ten men who advocate Croatian independence from Yugoslavia have been portrayed as "conspirators" by the prosecution and as "patriots" by the defense in a Manhattan trial on charges involving murder, arson, and extortion.

The 10 men, all Croatian exiles, are the defendants in the unusual trial, which opened last week in Federal District Court. Judge Constance Baker Motley told the jury that the trial was likely to take several weeks to complete.

According to the prosecutors, Stuart J. Baskin and Paul L. Shechtman, the defendants were the leaders of a "criminal enterprise" responsible for many violent acts "in the name of Croatian independence."

The basic charge in the indictment is a racketeering count that accuses the 10 defendants of forming a criminal group that participated in a pattern of criminal activities, including murder, arson and extortion. If convicted, each defendant could face up to 20 years in prison on the racketeering charge and a related conspiracy charge.

In the prosecution's opening statement, Mr. Shechtman told the jury that the group had carried out murders, bombings and arson attacks on political opponents in the United States. He said the group's headquarters were in Chicago, with offices in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco and other cities.

The defendants also operated an extortion scheme against Croats in this country, demanding money to finance their cause and attacking those who refused to pay, Mr. Shechtman said. He added that "they declared war on almost every moderate Croatian group."

One defendant, 37-year-old Ante Ljubas of Chicago, was described by the prosecutor as "the field general of this organization."

In opening statements for the defense, a team of lawyers told the jury that the criminal enterprise cited by the prosecution was "a mythical organization."

The lawyers described the defendants as dedicated Croatian nationalists who were the victims of violence by "the Yugoslav secret police."

Information from 'Traitors'

Martin Light, the defense lawyer for Mr. Ljubas, told the jury that the prosecution's case was based on information from "traitors, double-agents and the secret police." The lawyer vehemently denied the charges against Mr. Ljubas, adding that "he is guilty of being anti-Communist and pro-Catholic."

Three other defendants from the Chicago area are Mile Markich, Ivan Misetic and Milan Bagaric. Federal agents have described Mr. Markich as "the de facto leader of Otpor in the United States."

Otpor, also called the Croatian National Resistance, was described as a legal organization with 300 members. When the defendants were indicted last June, Federal agents called them "the hierarchy of a Croatian nationalist organization named Otpor." The organization is not charged with a crime.

Three of the defendants live in California. They are Ranko Primorac of Long Beach, Mile Boban of Hillsborough and Miro Biosic of San Clemente.

The only defendant from the New York area is Andjelko Jakic of Mamaroneck, N.Y., who was accused of running an operation here that plotted murders and received weapons. The other defendants are Vinko Logarusic of Cleveland and Drago Sudar of Toronto.

From 1975 to 1981, according to the indictment, the defendants conspired to commit numerous criminal acts,

including several murders, in various places across the country, including New York City. The victims were described as "persons of Croatian origin."

The defendants can listen to a simultaneous translation of the trial proceedings from English into Serbo-Croatian. Court interpreters provide the translation from a glass-enclosed booth at the front of the courtroom.

Judge Motley is conducting the trial with a jury of five men and seven women.

Filing Information:

Title: 10 Croatians on Trial on Racketeering Charges

Source: US Dept of Homeland Security (Secret Service)

Date: 1982

Added: June 6, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/text/odp0003.txt>

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By ARNOLD H. LUBASCH

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Per
my

OUTGOING MESSAGE FORM

FROM: [illegible]
TO: NEW YORK
FILE: [illegible]
X-REF: I81-57646

DATE: 07-06-82
PRECEDENCE: PRIORITY
CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASS

[.....]

SUBJECT: BOMB INCIDENT

ON 07-04-82 A BOMB EXPLODED AT A CROATIAN TRAVEL AGENCY IN QUEENS, NEW YORK. HOURS BEFORE, A PIPE BOMB WAS DEFUSED AT A YUGOSLAV AIRLINE OFFICE NEAR ST. PATRICKS CATHEDRAL, IN MANHATTAN, NEW YORK. THERE WERE NO INJURIES FROM THE BOMB EXPLOSION, HOWEVER, A CAR WAS WRECKED AND WINDOWS WERE BLOWN OUT.

NO GROUP HAS CLAIMED CREDIT FOR THE INCIDENTS, HOWEVER, FOUR DAYS BEFORE, SIX CROATIAN TERRORISTS WERE SENTENCED TO JAIL TERMS RANGING FROM 40 TO 20 YEARS ON CONSPIRACY AND TERRORIST RELATED ACTIVITY (I81-57646).

THE ABOVE INCIDENT FILE NUMBER HAS BEEN ASSIGNED.

NEW YORK IS REQUESTED TO ESTABLISH APPROPRIATE LIAISON WITH THE FBI AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AND MONITOR ANY INVESTIGATION OF THIS MATTER. IN XXXX YOUR REPORT, ALSO PROVIDE THE INFORMATION OUTLINED IN THE SECRET SERVICE MANUAL, SECTION 462.9-469.9.

A REPORT IS REQUESTED IN 14 DAYS.

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[FOR ADDITIONAL SPACE CONTINUE ON PLAIN BOND PAPER AND ATTACH]

UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE

SSF 1702104

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Appellee,

v.

MILAN BAGARIC, MILE MARKICH, ANTE LJUBAS, VINKO
LOGARUSIC, RANKO PRIMORAC, and DRAGO SUDAR,
Defendants-Appellants

Nos. 82-1247, 82-1249, 82-1251, 82-1253, 82-1255,
82-1257, Nos. 887, 932, 877, 876, 886 -- August
Term, 1982

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SECOND
CIRCUIT

706 F.2d 42; 1983 U.S. App. LEXIS 28806

March 9, 1983, Argued

April 14, 1983, Decided

PRIOR HISTORY: [**1]

Appeal from judgments of the United States District
Court for the Southern District of New York,
Constance Baker Motley, Chief Judge, convicting
defendants, after a jury trial, of violations of
Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act.

DISPOSITION: Affirmed.

COUNSEL: Stuart J. Baskin, Special Assistant United
States Attorney, Southern District of New York, New
York, New York (John S. Martin, Jr., United States
Attorney, Paul L. Shechtman, Roanne L. Mann,
Assistant United States Attorneys), for the United

States of America.

Michael D. Minico, Chicago, Illinois (Barry A. Spevack), for Milan Bagaric,

Jeffrey A. Rabin, Brooklyn, New York, for Mile Markich,

Michael Young, New York, New York, for Ante Ljubas,

Newman & Adler, New York, New York (Roger Bennet Adler), for Vinko Logarusic and Drago Sudar,

Jacob R. Evseroff, Brooklyn, New York, for Ranko Primorac.

JUDGES: Kaufman, Timbers and Kearse, Circuit Judges.

OPINION BY: KAUFMAN

OPINION: [*46] KAUFMAN, Circuit Judge:

Milan Bagaric, Mile Markich, Ante Ljubas, Vinko Logarusic, Ranko Primorac, and Drago Sudar appeal from judgments of conviction in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, after a trial [**2] before Chief Judge Motley and a jury. Appellants urge reversal, relying not only on a series of claimed infirmities of the usual sort, but also upon this court's recent refusal to permit prosecution of a terrorist

organization pursuant to the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, where the Government failed to allege the group or its activities possessed any financial dimension or purpose. See *United States v. Ivic*, 700 F.2d 51 (2d Cir. 1983). We are asked to expand that holding to the facts of this case. We decline to do so, since the overwhelming proof at trial showed that the defendants, acting through their criminal enterprise, perpetrated an extensive international extortion scheme using the United States and foreign mails. In addition, the defendants directed numerous acts of violence against certain supporters of Yugoslavia. Because we also reject appellants' myriad other contentions, we affirm the convictions.

I.

The massive, complex and convoluted record of this thirteen-week trial established that appellants were members of a Croatian terrorist group operating principally in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, with participants in Cleveland, San Francisco, Toronto, South America, and Europe. Acting through their criminal enterprise, they perpetrated an international extortion scheme against "moderate Croatians" and persons they believed to be supporters of the government of Yugoslavia, resorting to multiple acts of violence against those not sufficiently sympathetic to their cause. We chronicle the history of their activities in some detail.

Operating from his home base in Chicago, Ante Ljubas began in late 1974 to recruit and hire persons to commit murders and bombings. In each case, the intended victim was to be an individual

considered unsympathetic to the cause of Croatian independence from Yugoslavia. In time, Ljubas approached a long-time acquaintance, Frank Korenic, inquiring whether Korenic could obtain explosives, and requesting that Korenic introduce Ljubas to one Joe Neary. Neary, a notorious Chicago gangster, was a frequent customer at a restaurant where Korenic's ex-wife was a waitress, and the two men had known one another since 1973. Korenic took Ljubas to Neary's home, where Ljubas was introduced to Neary and another local gangster, Louis Almeida. [*47] Ljubas told these two men he "was working [**4] with other people," and would be willing to pay well for a series of contract killings. He offered \$20,000 for the first murder, and \$10,000 for each of approximately ten additional assassinations. Neary and Almeida agreed to perform the killings. Accordingly, Ljubas gave them a photograph and the address of the first intended victim, John Badovinac. At that time, Badovinac was president of the Croatian Fraternal Union in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, an organization Ljubas regarded as pro-Yugoslavian.

In February, 1975, Neary and Almeida travelled to Pittsburgh, and went to Badovinac's office. Uncertain whether that was the best locale at which to carry out the murder, they drove to Badovinac's home address and "look[ed] the place over[,] trying to figure out how . . . to assassinate him there." Still undecided, they telephoned Badovinac's office, only to discover, from his secretary, that Badovinac was out of town attending a meeting. Neary and Almeida returned to Chicago to tell Ljubas of their frustration. The three men met at a restaurant near Ljubas's home, where Ljubas expressed his unhappiness that Neary and Almeida had not "[gotten] the job done."

In March, Neary [**5] and Almeida set off to Pittsburgh a second time. En route, they were stopped by Ohio police for speeding. A search of their car turned up a .38 Colt firearm with a four-inch barrel, a .380 automatic Barretta, a .380

Walther PPKS with silencer, and a photograph of Badovinac. Shortly after his arrest on firearms charges, Almeida told Illinois state police that Ante Ljubas had approached Neary and Almeida and hired them to murder a man in Pittsburgh.

Undeterred by the intervention of fate which spared Badovinac, Ljubas sought out co-appellant Milan Bagaric, and had Bagaric introduce him to Ante Caran.[FOOTNOTE 1.] Bagaric and Ljubas demonstrated to Caran the nature and seriousness of their endeavor. Bagaric showed him explosives the two men were storing in Bagaric's basement, and Ljubas instructed Caran on techniques of bomb construction. Shortly thereafter, apparently convinced of Caran's bona fides, Ljubas asked Caran if he would be willing to recruit two men to bomb the Pittsburgh home of Milan Vranes, an officer of the Croatian Fraternal Union. Ljubas provided Caran with the address of Vranes's home in Pittsburgh and told Caran to pick up the bomb at Bagaric's apartment. Caran acquired [**6] the services of two friends, Andrija Skrabo and Vjelbo Jaksic. n2 The three men went to Bagaric's home, where they were shown a bomb and timer device built by Bagaric. Skrabo and Jaksic drove to Pittsburgh with the bomb.

-----Footnotes-----

n1 As will be seen, Caran, a key witness for the Government in this case, was a major participant in the affairs of appellants' criminal enterprise. He was convicted in an earlier trial of the principal New York based members of the group, and began cooperating with the United States Attorney's Office and the Joint Terrorism Task Force, which brings together agents and detectives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the New York City Arson Squad. During debriefing by the Government, Caran confessed to the murder of Krizan Brzic in Los Angeles, see infra. Because Caran had not been promised immunity for murder, the United

States Attorney informed California authorities of Caran's admission. In exchange for a promise of nonprosecution by the Los Angeles District Attorney, Caran waived venue and pleaded guilty to an information before Judge Motley charging Caran with having conspired to deprive Brzic of his civil rights, resulting in the latter's death, 18 U.S.C. § 241. At the trial of this case, Caran testified for the Government pursuant to a standard cooperation agreement, and faced a possible maximum sentence of life, id., plus thirty-five years, the maximum aggregate prison term for the violations in the previous trial.

On July 9, 1982, Judge Pollack, before whom the sentencings of Caran were consolidated, sentenced him to fifteen years imprisonment. [**7]

n2 Skrabo and Vjelko Jaksic testified for the Government pursuant to promises of nonprosecution and under orders of use immunity.

-----End Footnotes-----

In Pittsburgh, the two men had difficulty locating Vranes's home. After consulting a local telephone directory, they drove to an address other than that provided by Ljubas. They set the timer on the bomb and left it in a snowbank near the sidewalk of that house, later learning from a radio broadcast [*48] that the bomb had exploded. Soon after, Bagaric informed them they had bombed the wrong house.

This series of misadventures in Pittsburgh seems reminiscent of Inspector Clouseau-style bumbling. Unfortunately, tragedy soon replaced what had appeared to be a comedy of errors. Ljubas and Bagaric, undaunted, continued their private war, taking on new soldiers along the way. Beginning in early 1977, the members of the criminal enterprise began an operation to stockpile dynamite in the United States and to transport it for use in various cities. n3 Ljubas asked Caran to arrange for the use of an automobile "to go to Canada to bring some explosive[s]." Caran [**8] secured the

assistance of Mico Jaksic, brother of Vjelko. n4
Ljubas, Caran, and Mico Jaksic drove to Canada in
Jaksic's car. Their destination was a small rural
town, Elliott Lake, Ontario, site of the huge
Dennison uranium mines, the ex-employer of
appellant Mile Markich.

-----Footnotes-----

n3 Simultaneously, appellants conceived and began
the execution of an extortion scheme, alleged to
have involved "in excess of fifty individual acts
of extortion of victims residing in Manhattan,
Westchester, Queens, the vicinity of Chicago, the
vicinity of Los Angeles and elsewhere, through
letters posted in West Germany, in June, 1978."
Indictment SS 81 Cr. 402 para.5 E., reprinted in
Joint App. at A-57.

n4 Mico Jaksic testified at trial under the same
terms and conditions as Vjelko Jaksic and Andrija
Skrabo, note 2 supra.

-----End Footnotes-----

Upon arrival in Elliott Lake, Ljubas departed alone
in the car. He rejoined Caran and Mico Jaksic
twenty minutes later, with a bag containing
approximately twenty sticks of dynamite which he
showed the two [**9] men. The dynamite was
manufactured by CIL Inc., a Canadian company, bore
the coded manufacturing date D7 (signifying April,
1977 manufacture), and had been shipped in April
and May of 1977 to Dennison Mines. Ljubas, Caran,
and Jaksic then drove to the Toronto area, where
they stopped at the home of Milan Rukavina, a
Croatian acquaintance of Caran. To ensure they
would not be observed, they drove into Rukavina's
garage, where Jaksic packed the dynamite into the
door panels of the car. Blasting caps, also
obtained by Ljubas, were separated from the dynamite and were stored "underneath the dashboard
so they w [*51] fashion that the two naked wire
ends would join as the book was opened, setting off

a powerful explosion designed, in the words of Richard M. Rogers, a special agent examiner in the FBI Explosives Unit, simply "to kill a human being."

On February 19, 1979, two of these book bombs were mailed, from Akron, Ohio, to Joseph Badurina, a Queens, New York journalist, and Father Timothy Majic, a Catholic priest in Milwaukee. Both men were Croatian nationalists, of significant influence in their home communities, who had taken explicit and adamant editorial positions against [**10] the use of violence. Remarkably, Father Majic was being interviewed by an FBI agent on the morning of February 26, when his mail arrived. The agent, seeing the priest about to open the cover of a black book and observing what appeared to be wires inside, seized the book instantly and threw it into a snowbank in the church courtyard. A police officer from the Milwaukee bomb squad separated the blasting cap from the dynamite, losing part of his hand in the process.

One week later, Badurina received a similar package. Aware of the unsuccessful attempt to kill Majic, Badurina alerted the FBI. The New York City bomb squad removed the package and disarmed the book.

On April 4, detectives of the Cleveland Police Department obtained a warrant and searched the residence of appellant Vinko Logarusic. The search turned up a metal toolbox containing more than eight hundred rounds of ammunition and batteries, as well as a hollowed out book containing wires, a battery and a light bulb. This book, described by an FBI expert as the "prototype, or perhaps test book, which was manufactured prior to the other two book bombs," was the same size as the ones mailed to Badurina and Father Majic, [**11] with a depth of exactly one and one-half inches, permitting a stick of dynamite to be placed flat inside. The glue in all three books was of the same chemical

composition, the wire was the same gauge, the wires in all three were twisted into loops and L-shaped hooks, and, finally, all three books employed solder, rather than standard battery connectors, to hook the wire to the power source. Laboratory tests showed the same pair of pliers had been used to cut a wire in the bomb sent to Badurina and the one found in Logarusic's home.

In August, 1979, Caran moved his family to Bridgeport, Connecticut. That autumn, he was approached by Ljubas in the Croatian Center in Manhattan. Ljubas asked whether Caran would be interested in learning to make bombs and teaching others, apparently primarily for use in Europe but in this country as well. Caran assented. Several months later, Caran was telephoned at work by appellant Drago Sudar, who informed Caran he had been sent by Ljubas. After Caran picked up Sudar at the Croatian Center, the two men drove to Fairfield, Connecticut to purchase wires, a clock, a soldering iron, and gloves. From there they went to the apartment of a friend [**12] of Caran's in Bridgeport, where Sudar taught Caran how to put together a time bomb.

Caran's lesson could not be completed, however, because the two men had been unable to purchase blasting caps in Fairfield. Several weeks later, Ljubas, who had come to the East Coast, offered to have blasting caps delivered to Caran (as well as arranging for Caran to be paid \$2,000 to travel to Europe to pass on the skills he had acquired from Sudar). On July 5, 1980, Bagaric's wife delivered to Caran, at the latter's Bridgeport home, two blasting caps.

In September, 1980, Sudar returned to Bridgeport to resume the bomb construction lessons. After detailing his recent trip to California to teach bombmaking to other Croatians (including the brother of Marijan Rudela), Sudar described to Caran "how to make bombs in the drawer, in the

door, in the car, and in the book. In the book . .

. is most dangerous, you got to be very, very careful to make a bomb," Sudar demonstrated to Caran the preparation of time bombs.

On June 25, 1981, Sudar was arrested at his home in Toronto, Canada, on an extradition warrant.

Detectives of the Peel Regional [*52] Police

Department searched his home, discovering [**13]

and seizing a watch, batteries, lightbulbs for

automobile directional signals, tape, and coiled

and color coded wires. One of the nine-volt

batteries seized had its terminals filled with

solder, in a manner similar to that used in the

book bombs from the United Nations, Grand Central

Terminal, and Logarusic's home.

The Indictment, Racketeering Counts and Trial

By indictment S 81 Cr. 402, superseding and

consolidating two earlier instruments and filed on

June 30, 1981, Bagaric, Markich, Ljubas, Logarusic,

Primorac, and Sudar were charged with violations of

the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations

Act ("RICO"). n8 Count One charged conspiracy to

violate the racketeering statute, 18 U.S.C. §§

1961, 1962(d), and Count Two alleged a substantive

violation, id. §§ 1961, 1962(c). n9 On July 8, the

United States Government filed with Canadian

authorities an application for the extradition of

Sudar, and on September 11, a warrant of committal

was entered by a Canadian court, ordering Sudar's

extradition on Count One of S 81 Cr. 402 only. On

July 28, a second superseding indictment, SS 81 Cr.

402, had named all appellants in the same two

counts as S 81 Cr. 402. But, as [**14] Sudar had

been formally extradited on S 81 Cr. 402, he could

not be tried on SS 81 Cr. 402. Accordingly, on

January 21, 1982, the district court ordered

consolidation of the two indictments, Fed. R. Crim.

P. 13; see *United States v. Halper*, 590 F.2d 422,

428-29 (2d Cir. 1978). n10

n8 Also named, and eventually acquitted, were Andjelko Jakic, Ivan Misetic, Miro Biosic, and Mile Boban.

n9 The relevant portions of RICO provide as follows:

§ 1961. Definitions

As used in this chapter --

(1) "Racketeering activity" means (A) any act or threat involving murder, kidnaping, gambling, arson, robbery, bribery, extortion, or dealing in narcotic or other dangerous drugs, which is chargeable under State Law and punishable by imprisonment for more than one year; (B) any act which is indictable under . . . the following provision[] of title 18, United States Code: . . . section 1952 (relating to racketeering) . . .;

(2) "State" means any State of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, any territory or possession of the United States, any political subdivision, or any department, agency, or instrumentality thereof;

(3) "person" includes any individual or entity capable of holding a legal or beneficial interest in property;

(4) "enterprise" includes any individual, partnership, corporation, association, or other legal entity, or any union or group of individuals associated in fact although not a legal entity;

(5) "pattern of racketeering activity" requires at least two acts of racketeering activity, one of which occurred after the effective date of this chapter and the last of which occurred within ten years (excluding any period of imprisonment) after

the commission of a prior act of racketeering activity;

...

§ 1962. Prohibited activities

...

(c) It shall be unlawful for any person employed by or associated with any enterprise engaged in, or the activities of which affect, interstate or foreign commerce, to conduct or participate, directly or indirectly, in the conduct of such enterprise's affairs through a pattern of racketeering activity or collection of unlawful debt.

(d) It shall be unlawful for any person to conspire to violate any of the provisions of subsection[] .

.. (c) of this section.

[**15]

n10 Sudar's claim that Judge Motley erred in consolidating the two indictments is discussed infra.

-----End Footnotes-----

Trial commenced on February 16, 1982, and continued for thirteen weeks. On May 15, after approximately six days of deliberations, the jury returned guilty verdicts on both counts against Ljubas, Markich, Primorac, and Bagaric. Sudar was convicted of the single conspiracy count on which he was tried. Logarusic was convicted of conspiracy and acquitted on the substantive offense. The district court sentenced Ljubas and Primorac to terms of imprisonment of twenty years on each count, to run consecutively. Markich and Bagaric received prison terms of twenty years under Count One and ten years under Count Two, such terms also to be served consecutively. Logarusic and Sudar were both sentenced to terms of imprisonment of twenty years

on [*53] the conspiracy count. All convicted defendants have appealed, raising a multitude of contentions.

II.

The difficult threshold question posed for consideration is whether, in light of our recent decision in *United States v. Ivic*, supra, the conduct [**16] charged in the indictment and proved at trial constituted an offense under RICO. In *Ivic*, a panel of this court concluded that a prosecution may not properly be brought pursuant to § 1962(c) when the Government does not charge that either the enterprise, 18 U.S.C. § 1961(4), or the predicate acts which make up the alleged pattern of racketeering activity, id. § 1961(1), (5), possess some financial purpose. *United States v. Ivic*, supra, 700 F.2d at 64. In this case the charges and proof all relate to a terrorist organization, "motivated" n11 by political as well as economic goals, and claimed to have engaged in economic crimes "to obtain money to further [its] activities," id. 700 F.2d at 61 n.6 (reserving issue of applicability of RICO to such cases). We are called upon to decide whether this case, falling somewhere between the complete absence of financial purpose or activity, on the one hand, and an enterprise engaged solely in siphoning monies from, and infiltrating, legitimate businesses, e.g., *United States v. Scotto*, 641 F.2d 47 (2d Cir. 1980), cert. denied, 452 U.S. 961, 69 L. Ed. 2d 971, 101 S. Ct. 3109 (1981), on the other, is within the purview [**17] of RICO. For several reasons, we conclude it is.

-----Footnotes-----

n11 We purposely highlight our use of the word "motivated." As the text makes clear, we are troubled by the notion, advanced by appellants, that the Government will be required to prove the animating or long-run objective of a RICO enterprise was economic, apparently to the exclusion of other, collateral "motives."

It is clear that § 1962 does not, by its terms, require proof of ultimate improper economic motive, as does, for example, 18 U.S.C. § 1503 ("corrupt" motive to obstruct investigation). We think it simplifies matters to state at the outset our belief that the term "motive" has been used imprecisely throughout these proceedings, as it suggests an inquiry into mens rea. See text infra. The issue is whether an objective assessment of the crimes charged and proved in this case demonstrates an economic dimension sufficient to bring them within the language and intention of § 1962.

-----End Footnotes-----

A.

Relying on isolated language in *Ivic*, appellants argue [**18] the Government is required to prove an ultimate and overriding financial motive to secure a RICO conviction. The *Ivic* court nowhere stated, however, that economic gain must be the sole motive of every RICO enterprise. Such a rule, we believe, would run counter to fundamental principles of criminal law and risk the politicization of criminal trials. We reject appellants' contention.

Although evidence of motives or purposes underlying criminal behavior is normally admissible, provided certain criteria of reliability are met, Fed. R. Evid. 404(b); *United States v. Figueroa*, 618 F.2d 934, 939 (2d Cir. 1980); *United States v. Houlihan*, 332 F.2d 8, 15 (2d Cir.) (financial motive), cert. denied, 379 U.S. 828, 85 S. Ct. 56, 13 L. Ed. 2d 37 (1964), motive itself is not generally an element

of a particular offense. Compare *United States v. Pomponio*, 429 U.S. 10, 11, 50 L. Ed. 2d 12, 97 S. Ct. 22 (1976), with *United States v. Cioffi*, 493 F.2d 1111, 1119 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 419 U.S. 917, 42 L. Ed. 2d 155, 95 S. Ct. 195 (1974). And, when Congress has required proof of motive, it has generally done so for behavior not deemed blameworthy absent the immoral motive, [**19] and not otherwise punishable. So, for example, it may be permissible under various circumstances to communicate with a judge to offer mitigating information relevant to sentence, e.g., *United States v. Fasolino*, 449 F. Supp. 586, 587 (W.D.N.Y.), aff'd, 586 F.2d 939 (2d Cir. 1978), but "an endeavor to exploit" a friendship with the judge may be found to be a "corrupt" motive, 586 F.2d at 941 (18 U.S.C. § 1503).

RICO demands no such inquiry. The offenses it proscribes are, in the main, activities punishable irrespective of motives for performance, and accordingly they are provable by showing mens rea in the typical fashion. Hence, no additional scienter requirement is imposed by the statute. [**54] *United States v. Boylan*, 620 F.2d 359, 361-62 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 449 U.S. 833, 66 L. Ed. 2d 38, 101 S. Ct. 103 (1980). To carry out a deeper inquiry into long-term or ultimate motive would be to require adjudication of a factor traditionally deemed not exculpatory. E.g., *United States v. Starks*, 515 F.2d 112, 124 (3d Cir. 1975) (Hobbs Act applies to extortions committed for religious "purposes"), aff'd sub nom. *Abney v. United States*, 431 U.S. 651, [**20] 52 L. Ed. 2d 651, 97 S. Ct. 2034 (1977); *United States v. Cullen*, 454 F.2d 386, 392 (7th Cir. 1971) (Stevens, J.) ("Appellant's professed unselfish motivation, rather than a justification, actually identifies a form of arrogance which organized society cannot tolerate."). Moreover, such an exercise would embroil courts and jurors in a controversy essentially irrelevant to the purpose of the statute under consideration. Whether appellants

extorted money for the long-term political purpose of effecting the separation of Croatia from Yugoslavia, whether this formed part, but not all, of their "motivation," or whether the freedom of their former province is an issue they care about not at all, the effect of their activities on the national economy is identical. The Ivic court described RICO as a device to prevent (and reverse) "the drain[ing of] billions of dollars from America's economy by unlawful conduct," *United States v. Ivic*, supra, slip op. at 1432. This effect is accomplished whatever considerations compel the creation and execution of an extortion scheme.

RICO's liberal construction provision, Pub. L. No. 91-452, § 904(a), 84 Stat. 922, 947, was deemed irrelevant [**21] in *Ivic*, "since . . . construing RICO to cover terrorist activities . . . would in no way 'effectuate its remedial purposes,'" *id.* 700 F.2d at 65 n.8, where there is no allegation or proof the enterprise's "activities generate monies which can serve as a 'springboard into the sphere of legitimate [business]," " *id.* at 63. In the case before us today, it is clear that, irrespective of the motive which appellants would have us believe spurred them to action, the remedial purposes of RICO are directly implicated. Pursuant to the direction of section 904(a), we decline to add an element of proof which would hamper the effective implementation of the statute.

Further, investigation into motive would serve only to politicize, and otherwise inflame, RICO prosecutions. As discussed in greater detail *infra*, defense counsel sought to inject peripheral political and religious considerations into the trial of this case, implying that appellants' anti-Communism or Catholicism, or their persecution by American and Yugoslavian officials acting in concert, justifiably drove them to commit the acts of extortion and violence charged in the indictment. These suggestions -- which [**22]

ultimately formed no part of the defense case of appellants who testified or presented witnesses -- were, viewed charitably, misguided. They can only have served to patronize the jury and to add a distracting element of emotionalism to the proceedings. n12 An interpretation of RICO [*55] requiring proof of long-term pecuniary objectives which in some sense can be said to supersede accompanying political or religious ones would invite a repetition of this conduct. It would authorize the admission of evidence of political beliefs, racial animosities, and family and blood feuds as justifications for criminal acts. Because we believe Congress, and the traditions of our criminal law, contemplate trials free of consideration of such issues, we reject appellants' argument that economic motive must surmount all others.

-----Footnotes-----

n12 In response to appellants' opening statements, the Government's chief prosecutor drafted, and asked the court to issue, an order which would have precluded reference to (1) religious beliefs and convictions, see Fed. R. Evid. 610; *Virgin Islands v. Petersen*, 553 F.2d 324, 329 (3d Cir. 1977); (2) foreign policy issues; (3) activities of foreign sovereigns not related to specific proof that "a foreign government had some involvement in the performance of an act of racketeering in this country that is charged in [the] indictment, or unless the defense counsel has competent proof that a foreign government has some involvement with one of [the government's] witnesses," Tr. 189; and (4) hearsay newspaper or magazine articles. Judge Motley declined to issue such a "blanket" preclusion order, preferring to rule on the admissibility of individual items of evidence as they were offered. This course was proper. Although much of what appellants' counsel had to say bore no relation to any theory of defense or the crimes charged, there was at least a question whether some

remarks would prove relevant. For example, Ljubas's trial attorney stated:

We will show that Mr. Ljubas did do a lot of traveling, he made a lot of speeches throughout the world on behalf of an independent Croatian [sic] to get away from Communist Yugoslavia. You will hear testimony that there are millions and millions of Croats throughout the world. You will hear testimony that there were over a million that came to this country to escape the Communist regime in Yugoslavia.

Tr. 43.

There will be testimony that Mr. Ljubas did a lot of traveling on behalf of Croatia, to free Croatia from the Communists. The testimony will be that he went to Sweden . . . he wasn't even in Germany, in West Germany in '78, '79, or '80.

Tr. 44.

This could have been intended to indicate Ljubas would present evidence to rebut the Government's theory he travelled, in 1977, to West Germany, where he met with other Croats and devised the extortion scheme. See Tr. 3306-07 (testimony of Government witness Andrija Skrabo). And Ljubas's testimony appears to amount to a denial he was even permitted to enter West Germany in 1977. See Tr. 8014-15 (direct testimony of Ljubas):

Q Did you ever have any problems while traveling in West Germany?

A Only one time I had a problem with the West Germany and the border.

Q When was that, what year?

A 1977.

Q What happened?

A Well, on -- I was in France, in Lourdes, and after I was in Spain and Lourdes, France, so I was stopped on the border. And so they -- they look in the book and they find my name and they said that they going to -- that we stop from the train, in the train station.

* * *

A . . .

After all this . . . they return me back to France and that's it.

But see Tr. 8086-87 (cross-examination of Ljubas):

Q Tell me, sir: When was the first time you visited with Mr. [Stipe] Bilandzic [A Croatian nationalist extradited by the German government to Yugoslavia] in West Germany?

A It could be ten years ago.

Q When was the second time you visited Mr. Bilandzic in West Germany?

A I don't remember.

Q Did you visit him in 1977, Mr. Ljubas?

A Yes, sir.

Q And I think on direct examination you described your trip to Europe when asked about it by [Ljuba's trial counsel]; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And you explained how the West German authorities questioned you late at night one night?

A Yes, sir.

Q Was that on August 24, 1977, Mr. Ljubas?

A Yes, sometime in August, right.

Q Does that date appear to be correct to you, Mr. Ljubas, August 24, 1977?

A Could be correct, yes. Sometime in August.

Q And did you inform the German authorities -- by the way, what town was this, Mr. Ljubas, do you remember?

A Oh, --

Q Was it at the town of Forbach in West Germany?

A No, it was different. It was on French and German border, small town.

----- -End Footnotes- ----- [**23]

B.

Appellants appear to argue also that the enterprise itself, rather than the predicate acts of racketeering, must be shown to yield financial gain. This contention is supported neither by a careful reading to the Ivic opinion nor by reference to the underlying purposes of RICO.

The literal terms of the narrow Ivic holding require no more than an objective appraisal that some economic purpose was to be accomplished by the crime charged: "We hold that when an indictment does not charge that an enterprise or the predicate acts have any financial purpose, it does not state a crime under [RICO]," Id. 700 F.2d at 65 (emphasis

supplied). Additionally, this court has recognized that the nature of the misconduct often provides the best clue toward defining the enterprise. We have upheld application of RICO to situations where the enterprise was, in effect, no more than the sum of the predicate racketeering acts. *United States v. Mazzei*, 700 F.2d 85, 88-89 (2d Cir. 1983); cert. denied, 461 U.S. 945, 103 S. Ct. 2124, 77 L. Ed. 2d 1304 (1981); *United States v. Altese*, 542 F.2d 104, 106 (2d Cir. 1976) (per curiam), [*56] cert. denied, 429 U.S. [**24] 1039, 97 S. Ct. 736, 50 L. Ed. 2d 750 (1977). These decisions reflect the common sense recognition that a group of individuals may join together, and therefore be "associated in fact," § 1961(4), although not a legally cognizable entity in one of the traditional forms, *id.*, solely for the purpose of conducting their activities. That is, it is logical to characterize any associative group in terms of what it does, rather than by abstract analysis of its structure. See also *United States v. Chovanec*, 467 F. Supp. 41, 44-45 (S.D.N.Y. 1979) (enterprise need not be a group having characteristics of "organized crime," since Congress enumerated acts "with no restrictions limiting [RICO] to persons with particular affiliations"); *United States v. Vignola*, 464 F. Supp. 1091, 1095-97 (E.D. Pa.) (same), *aff'd* without opinion, 605 F.2d 1199 (3rd Cir. 1979), cert. denied, 444 U.S. 1072, 100 S. Ct. 1015, 62 L. Ed. 2d 753 (1980); cf. *United States v. Roselli*, 432 F.2d 879, 885-86 (9th Cir. 1970) (rejecting contention that "business enterprise," 18 U.S.C. § 1952, reaches only "business[es] . . . associated with or controlled by a clandestine criminal organization"). [**25]

Moreover, even where the enterprise is one of the legal entities listed in § 1961(4), and proof of that element diverges from the proof of a pattern of racketeering, we think the requisite economic dimension may be demonstrated through the latter. Section 1961(4) appears to contemplate application of RICO to enterprises which, for example, are not

themselves profit-making, or reinvest all their funds. Cf. *United States v. Turkette*, 452 U.S. 576, 580-81, 69 L. Ed. 2d 246, 101 S. Ct. 2524 (1981) (in § 1961(4), use of word "any" in clause dealing with unions and individuals associated in fact signals congressional intent to impose no restriction upon associations embraced by definition; illegitimate associations therefore included); *United States v. Angelilli*, 660 F.2d 23, 30-31 (2d Cir. 1981) (New York City Civil Court held a RICO "enterprise;" use of word "any" indicates intent to make list all-inclusive, and "any being whose existence is recognized by law is within the term 'enterprise '"), cert. denied, 455 U.S. 945, 102 S. Ct. 1442, 71 L. Ed. 2d 657 (1982). The situation reached by § 1962 may thus not always be one in which the enterprise "makes money" for its [**26] members. Yet, even absent a requirement that the enterprise be a profit-making one, the section implements the principal congressional purpose, "the elimination of the infiltration of organized crime and racketeering into legitimate organizations operating in interstate commerce," S. Rep. No. 617, 91st Cong., 1st Sess. 76 (1969), in two significant ways. First, by "striking at the source of the problem," *United States v. Turkette*, supra, 452 U.S. at 593, that is, proscribing the racketeering activities demonstrably capable of providing "a springboard into the sphere of legitimate enterprise[s]," id. at 591, whether "profit-making" or otherwise, Congress sought to make RICO preventive as well as remedial. Second, since non-profit corporations (as well as entirely illegitimate associations of individuals, see id. at 588-93; *United States v. Mazzei*, supra, slip op. at 1577-82) compete within the economy for funds and services, it would have been counter-productive to exempt from the statute those invested in, acquired, or maintained through a pattern of racketeering activity.

Accordingly, the Government may meet its obligation to show "financial purpose" through [**27] either

the enterprise or the predicate acts of racketeering.

We recognize that, read in isolation, language in *Ivic* can be taken to support a requirement that, quite apart from the nature of the predicate acts, the enterprise itself must be "the sort of entity one joins to make money." *United States v. Ivic*, *supra*, at 60. The court noted the usage of "enterprise" in other parts of § 1962, concluded it referred to "the sort of entity in which funds can be invested and a property interest of some sort acquired," *id.*, and applied the same definition to subsection (c). Initially, we note this language is dictum, and differs from the holding of the case, which stated only that because neither the acts charged nor the purpose of the enterprise was economic, the indictment was outside the scope of § 1962(c). More [*57] significantly, the context in which it was employed persuades us the panel had no intention of insisting the necessary showing of economic purpose be confined to the enterprise.

Ivic involved a group of individuals associated in fact. That phrase is defined in the portion of § 1961(4) designed to bring within § 1962 the commission of [**28] criminal acts related, in any one of several ways, 18 U.S.C. § 1962(a), (b), (c), to enterprises with ascertainable associative structures but not one of those enumerated in the other part of § 1961(4). See e.g., *United States v. Huber*, 603 F.2d 387, 394 (2d Cir. 1979) (group of corporations not legally related may be "group of individuals associated in fact;" otherwise "one could simply transfer assets from the corporation whose affairs had been conducted through a pattern of racketeering activity to another corporation whose affairs had up to that point not been so conducted"), cert. denied, 445 U.S. 927, 63 L. Ed. 2d 759, 100 S. Ct. 1312 (1980). If the statute did not include this definition of enterprise, there might occur "the anomolous [sic] result that a large scale underworld operation which engaged

solely in trafficking of heroin would not be subject to RICO's enhanced sanctions, whereas small-time criminals jointly engaged in infrequent sales of contraband drugs and illegal handguns arguably could be prosecuted under RICO." *United States v. Mazzei*, supra, at 89. And, as noted, we have sanctioned RICO prosecutions where the enterprise and the predicate acts [**29] of racketeering, although of course separate and necessary elements of § 1962(c), need not be proved by distinct and independent proof. The Ivic panel's consideration of the meaning of "enterprise" in subsections (a) and (b) therefore amounted to no more than support for its ultimate conclusion that economic purpose must be shown in either the proof of enterprise or the proof of predicate acts. In *Ivic*, the two were functionally equivalent, and "the proof used to establish [them] . . . coalesce[d]," *United States v. Turkette*, supra, 452 U.S. at 583. The problem for the Government was that no proof established (nor did the indictment allege) that the group's "activities [were] designed to obtain, [or] in fact yield[ed], any money whatsoever." *United States v. Ivic*, supra, at 62. n13

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n13 Other factors, relied upon in *Ivic*, comport with this reading. The title of the statute, "Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations," see *United States v. Ivic*, supra, at 52-62, insofar as it "may furnish some aid in showing what was the mind of the legislature," *United States v. Palmer*, 16 U.S. (3 Wheat.) 610, 631, 4 L. Ed. 471 (1818), supports inclusion of terrorist groups which finance their violent activities through extortionate means. "Corrupt" is defined in Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (5th ed. 1977) as "characterized by bribery, the selling of political favors, or other improper conduct." Even more directly on point, a "racketeer" is "one who extorts money or advantages by threats of violence,

by blackmail, or by unlawful interference with business or employment" (emphasis supplied). Precisely these tactics were employed by appellants.

Similarly, the statement of findings which prefaces RICO evinces an intent to put a halt to the "widespread" illicit operation of groups, made more powerful by the sophistication and diversification which accompany organization. Their activities were said to "drain[] billions of dollars from America's economy by unlawful conduct and the illegal use of force, fraud, and corruption." Apart from the reference to "organized crime," an amorphous concept popularly associated with groups different from the one in the instant case, but not meant to limit applicability of the statute to persons within its ranks, see, e.g., *United States v. Vignola*, *supra*, and other cases cited, this description of congressional concern clearly covers the conduct of appellants in this case.

Finally, the contention advanced at oral argument by Ljubas's counsel, that because Congress was primarily concerned with the "infiltration" of legitimate businesses, the Government must prove more than either the potential for such penetration or the diversion of monies from the legitimate sphere, has been rejected by this court, *United States v. Barton*, 647 F.2d 224, 227 (2d Cir.) (struggle between rival illegal underworld factions to gain control of unlawful enterprises), cert. denied, 454 U.S. 857, 70 L. Ed. 2d 152, 102 S. Ct. 307 (1981), and, in a slightly different context, by the Supreme Court, *United States v. Turkette*, *supra*, 452 U.S. at 593 (wholly illegitimate criminal organizations whose "activities . . . give rise to . . . concerns about infiltration" within RICO).

C.

This case fits well within the principles we have enunciated. The core of the [*58] enterprise was the commission of more than fifty acts of the classic economic crime of extortion, and many of the violent crimes perpetrated were in aid of the extortion scheme. They were carried out either to compel payment or in retaliation for refusal to meet appellants' extortionate demands. Indeed, the Assistant United States Attorney said in his opening statement to the jury that appellants sought to extort money from "moderate Croatians [to] help finance [their] criminal enterprise," and emphasized that "this extortion scheme . . . is one of the centerpieces of this criminal case." The first ten Government witnesses were extortion victims or widows of murdered extortion victims and proof of economic crimes continued throughout the lengthy trial.

The indictment and proof in this prosecution were consistent with the language and purposes of RICO. We decline to impose upon the Government an obligation to show pure or ultimate economic motive in any of the various formulations urged by appellants. Although we have previously noted, *United States v. Huber*, supra, 603 F.2d [**31] at 395-96, and we repeat the admonition here, "that the potentially broad reach of RICO poses a danger of abuse [when the statute is] appl[ied] . . . to situations for which it was not primarily intended," our obligation is "to rule on actual, as opposed to hypothetical, applications of the statute," *United States v. Weisman*, 624 F.2d 1118, 1123 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 449 U.S. 871, 66 L. Ed. 2d 91, 101 S. Ct. 209 (1980), and it is clear to us that the present one was appropriate.

III.

Numerous claims unrelated to the Ivic issue have been advanced. We shall first consider those applicable to all appellants.

Prosecutorial Misconduct

Alleging repeated and persistent instances of improper prosecutorial comment, appellants claim they were deprived of a fair trial. They challenge a number of statements as derogatory of defendants or their counsel, as injecting into the trial the prosecutor's personal belief the defendants were lying, or as exceeding the appropriate bounds of cross-examination. Although appellants have fashioned a superficially impressive compilation of alleged misconduct, and although some remarks by the Government were perhaps ill-advised, [**32] n14 when read in the context of the entire record of this thirteen-week trial, *United States v. Socony Vacuum Oil Co.*, 310 U.S. 150, 242, 60 S. Ct. 811, 84 L. Ed. 1129 (1940); *United States v. Bivona*, 487 F.2d 443, 446-47 (2d Cir. 1973); see *United States v. White*, [*59] *supra*, 486 F.2d at 206 (prejudice less likely in "long and hotly contested trial"), the Government's statements did not prejudice appellants' right to a fair trial.

-----Footnotes-----

n14 For example, we have disapproved the use of the terms "preposterous" and "lie" to characterize the testimony of defense witnesses, also used by the Assistant United States Attorney in this case. *United States v. Drummond*, 481 F.2d 62 (2d Cir. 1973). In *Drummond*, however, we were compelled to reverse the conviction only because of the

cumulative effect of a series of flagrant abuses. The prosecutor had been warned by the district judge in the first trial of the same case that his conduct approached impropriety, and he repeatedly vouched for the credibility of the Government's witnesses and indicated his disbelief of defendant's witnesses during cross-examination "with such statements as 'were you lying then or now? ', -- 'Were you lying at that time?' -- 'Was that the truth or is this the truth?' -- 'Have you now changed your story three times? '" id. at 63. The Assistant attempted to inform the jury that mere association with the Government guaranteed the credibility of one of its witnesses, and he misrepresented testimony and evidence adduced at trial (alone creating a presumption of prejudice, id. at 64 (citation omitted)). "The combination of [these factors left] us no other course [but to reverse]." Id.

The conduct of the prosecutor in this case does not begin to approach the egregious behavior we have held sufficient to require reversal, as our discussion in the text makes clear. But, while we recognize the need for language which is "blunt and to the point," *United States v. Gottlieb*, 493 F.2d 987, 994 (2d Cir. 1974), we reiterate our often expressed admonition that prosecutors have an obligation to avoid statements which may have the effect of appealing to the jury's emotions, e.g., *United States v. Marrale*, 695 F.2d 658, 667 (2d Cir. 1982), cert. denied, 460 U.S. 1041, 103 S. Ct. 1434, 75 L. Ed. 2d 793, 51 U.S.L.W. 3685 (1983), and we reject the Government's contention that "there is no meaningful distinction between the word 'lie' [and] its more genteel synonym, 'falsehood,' " *Brief for the United States* at 60 n. *. See *United States v. White*, 486 F.2d 204, 206 n.8 (2d Cir. 1973), cert. denied, 415 U.S. 980, 39 L. Ed. 2d 876, 94 S. Ct. 1569 (1974).

The Assistant's opening remarks to the jury were concise and free of rhetoric. Apart from a single remark that this case "is important . . . because the office [the prosecutors] represent is responsible for enforcing . . . federal laws," into which appellants manage to read an appeal to the jury's patriotism, the prosecutor adhered closely to the facts and indictment. He ended by asking the jury to

approach your responsibilities as jurors in this case in the spirit of the utmost seriousness and fairness.

. . . I urge you to listen carefully as the proof is presented in this case. Again, I remind you to be patient, that only one witness can testify at a time. I am confident that you are going to do that and I am equally confident that you are going to see that the defendants on trial here have a fair trial.

In marked contrast, appellants' counsel began, before a single witness had testified, to interject extraneous and potentially inflammatory considerations into the proceedings. Ljubas's trial attorney, for example, told the jury that Ljubas was the victim of "the Communists and the Secret Police of Yugoslavia, which was trained by the Russian Secret [*34] Police;" "that attempts [on Ljubas's life] were made by the Communist Secret Police known as UDBA, which is the Communist Secret Police of Yugoslavia that has agents throughout this country and in various Yugoslavian embassies throughout this country;" "that [Ljubas] was [in Rome in 1970] as a devout Catholic;" and that "the first Croatian Saint was canonized by the Catholic Church in 1970 and there were many Croatians that went to Rome." The Government's witnesses, yet to testify, were characterized as "traitors, double agents, or Communist Secret Police, trying to infiltrate and destroy people in good standing." This collection of statements reflects the substance of the entire opening, which takes up

only five pages in the transcript.

The second defense counsel, representing Markich, continued this approach. Markich was labelled a victim of the "Yugoslavian Police." Counsel then implied the Government's case served only to advance goals of the Yugoslavian Secret Police force:

. . . You are going to hear how [Markich] is victimized. You are going to hear about the entire story, why he is here.

Now, [Ljubas's trial counsel] has told you about the Secret Police. [**35] That's going to be part of this entire trial. It's going to be part of it from the beginning to the end. You are going to hear it from the government's own witnesses, about the Yugoslavian Police, and what they do and how they do it and how they get their goals, and the object of those individuals who are here or over there are to suppress the people who speak out for freedom. That is the greatest crime of Mr. Markic [sic].

Counsel for Primorac ended his, also brief, opening with the following:

I submit to you that [Primorac] wasn't part of any conspiracy or criminal enterprise of worldwide or local or of any import, but rather that he is himself a victim of political persecution, and unfortunately the evidence will show that the United States Government through the offices of [the two prosecutors] is being used to persecute this man, and this is being done by a foreign country, a communist country, if you will.

Each of the remaining defense attorneys engaged in similar conduct, including references to political or religious persecution in Yugoslavia and the alleged victimization of their clients in this

country. More than oblique hints were given [**36] that the United States Government was acting at the behest of officials in Belgrade:

Somehow [Logarusic] has been put into the [prosecution], either by the government informant or by the government itself or God knows, and somebody said, by the secret police. And if you think that was made up, listen carefully to the evidence in this case, because more things [*60] go on in this heaven and earth than you would suspect, especially in a case that involves foreign countries and American foreign policy and our relationships with European countries and communist countries in 1982, in 1981, in 1980.

Thus, from the first, defense counsel sought to put in question the legitimacy of this prosecution and the Government's reasons for pursuing it, as well as presenting irrelevant and potentially prejudicial political and religious matters. We have repeatedly held that the Government is ordinarily permitted to respond to arguments impugning the integrity of its case, e.g., *United States v. Miller*, 478 F.2d 1315, 1318 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 414 U.S. 851, 38 L. Ed. 2d 100, 94 S. Ct. 144 (1973), and to "reply with rebutting language suitable to the occasion." [**37] *United States v. Praetorius*, 622 F.2d 1054, 1061 (2d Cir. 1979) (citations omitted), cert. denied, 449 U.S. 860, 101 S. Ct. 162, 66 L. Ed. 2d 76 (1980). We thus consider the specific categories of alleged prosecutorial conduct, mentioned above, as having occurred in the unfortunate context of appellants' own making. *United States v. LaSorsa*, 480 F.2d 522, 526 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 414 U.S. 855, 94 S. Ct. 157, 38 L. Ed. 2d 105 (1973). n15

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n15 Defense counsel did not, during the course of trial, waver from a willingness to employ improper tactics. We will not catalogue examples. We confine

ourselves to noting that 1) the Government several times suggested techniques which might prevent the proceedings from degenerating completely, including the proposed protective order, see note 12 supra, and to avoid strident attorney colloquies in front of the jury, a practice of writing out objections for presentation to the judge rather than arguing in open court; and 2) while the Government did not hesitate to use strong language in characterizing the credibility of the testimony presented by the defense, it never resorted to the use of such terms as "dangerous, sick, vicious people," "pathological liar," "garbage," and "raving maniac," to choose several especially colorful examples employed by defense counsel to describe Government witnesses. See *United States v. Fernandez*, 480 F.2d 726, 741-42 n.23 (2d Cir. 1973).

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The instances where the prosecutor is alleged unfairly to have engaged in name-calling or disparagement of defendants all constitute fair comment. For example, references to appellant Ljubas as a "man of peace" or "the Croatian Albert Schweitzer" were direct responses to defense counsel's effort, on direct examination, to portray Ljubas as a religious figure whose sole diversions were participation in the affairs of his church and religious pilgrimages. The Government had a right to rebut this defense tactic, cf. *United States v. Marrale*, supra, 695 F.2d at 667 ("permissible desire to dispute defense histrionics"), and the use of rhetorical devices such as sarcasm was permissible, *United States v. Modica*, 663 F.2d 1173, 1181 (2d Cir. 1981), cert. denied, 456 U.S. 989, 102 S. Ct. 2269, 73 L. Ed. 2d 1284 (1982); *DiCarlo v. United States*, 6 F.2d 364, 369 (2d Cir.) (L. Hand, J.) ("To shear [the prosecutors] of all oratorical emphasis, while leaving wide latitude to the defense, is to load the scales of justice; it is to deny what has always been an accepted incident of jury trials, except in those

jurisdictions where any serious execution of the criminal law has yielded [**39] to a ghostly phantom of the innocent man falsely convicted."), cert. denied, 268 U.S. 706, 45 S. Ct. 640, 69 L. Ed. 1168 (1925). n16

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n16 To the extent the prosecutor on rare occasions expressed his frustration, he was responding to the atmosphere created by appellants. For example, we are directed to an instance when the Assistant referred to cross-examination of a Government witness as "McCarthyism translated to 1980." Appellants neglect to inform us, however, that this outburst occurred only after the witness had been asked, or counsel had tried to ask, whether he was "pro-Russian" or "pro-Communist," whether he had edited a Socialist newspaper, whether he had written a book which had a red cover, whether he had written for a magazine which displayed -- along with pictures of Gerald Ford -- pictures of Lenin and a hammer and sickle, and whether he had written for a publication which used red colors. The Assistant repeatedly objected to this line of questioning. Ultimately, Judge Motley agreed the witness and prosecutor had been provoked by defense counsel, and denied an application for a mistrial based upon the "McCarthyism" comment. We will not overrule this decision, absent a demonstration the district court was not "in a better position than we to evaluate subtle behavioral defense tactics," United States v. Marrale, supra, 695 F.2d at 667.

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[*61] Similarly without merit is the contention the prosecutor relied on the prestige of his office to improperly vouch for the credibility of the Government's case, or attack that of the defense. The long list of examples of alleged misbehavior is not only lifted from the cold record of an eleven-hour summation which comprises over three hundred

transcript pages, see *United States v. White*, supra, 486 F.2d at 206, but it includes only one statement which arguably implied the existence of extraneous proof, or of a requirement that special credence be accorded the office of the United States Attorney, *United States v. Modica*, supra, 663 F.2d at 1179. All other arguments and characterizations were confined to the proof, and were "fairly based on record evidence." *United States v. Canniff*, 521 F.2d 565, 571 (2d Cir. 1975), cert. denied, 423 U.S. 1059, 96 S. Ct. 796, 46 L. Ed. 2d 650 (1976).

The cross-examination techniques employed by the Assistant were also proper. Characterizations of Ljubas as "a man of peace" already have been discussed. And supposed attempts to compel defendants to rebut the veracity of the Government's witnesses in fact amount to no more [**41] than requests that they characterize testimony already in evidence, concerning events in which they were alleged to have participated, as accurate or inaccurate. Indeed, on direct examination, the same or similar questions were asked.

In sum, although we believe the Government would have been better advised to avoid entirely the use of words and phrases such as "lie," "preposterous," "sham," and "insulting to [the jury's] intelligence," but see *United States v. Hysohion*, 439 F.2d 274, 277-79 (2d Cir. 1971), its conduct here was largely responsive to the prosecutor-baiting tactics chosen by appellants, and involved almost exclusively characterizations of record testimony rather than appeals to Government expertise or extrinsic, unutilized evidence. Viewed in context, the Government's remarks constituted fair argument, and if errors were committed, they were neither significant nor did they prejudice appellants. *United States v. Socony Vacuum Oil Co.*, supra, 310 U.S. at 239-40. The jury's discriminating acquittal of four defendants (and

partial acquittal of Logarusic) demonstrates it was able to rely on the evidence adduced. *United States v. White*, supra, 486 F.2d [**42] at 207.

The Indictment

Appellants contend the indictment was defective. They argue the pattern of racketeering failed to particularize the predicate acts in which each defendant was alleged to have been involved. This lack of specificity is claimed to have deprived appellants of notice of the charges against them and thereby to have thwarted effective trial preparation. This argument is without merit. An indictment need only track the language of the statute and, if necessary to apprise the defendant "of the nature of the accusation against him," *Russell v. United States*, 369 U.S. 749, 765, 8 L. Ed. 2d 240, 82 S. Ct. 1038 (1962), state time and place in approximate terms. *United States v. Salazar*, 485 F.2d 1272, 1277 (2d Cir. 1973), cert. denied, 415 U.S. 985, 39 L. Ed. 2d 882, 94 S. Ct. 1579 (1974). The indictment in this case clearly met this requirement. So, for example, subparagraphs 13.B. and C. allege "[the following] acts [or] threats . . . : B. Arson with explosives of the home of Milan Vranes, in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on and [sic] about January 4, 1977. C. Transportation of dynamite from Canada to the vicinity of Chicago, [**43] Illinois, in and [sic] around the spring, 1977." The remaining paragraphs are similarly sufficient. See Joint App. at A-56 to -59.

The claim that preparation for trial could not be undertaken without knowledge of which defendants were to be tied to the individual racketeering acts is more appropriately addressed to a bill of particulars, Fed. R. Crim. P. 7(f); *United States*

v. Murray, 297 F.2d 812, 819 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 369 U.S. 828, 7 L. Ed. 2d 794, 82 S. Ct. 845 (1962), and in any event precisely this information was provided by the Government six [*62] months before trial. A letter was sent listing each of the subparagraphs of paragraph 13 of the indictment and attributing each racketeering act to one or more defendants.

The Jury Charge

Several elements of the jury charge are said to have been in error. First, appellants contend the jury was led to believe that conspiracy to commit the predicate acts constituted conspiracy to violate § 1962(c). We think Chief Judge Motley's instruction on conspiracy to violate RICO, which appears in large part to have followed the Supreme Court's recent elucidation of the statutory elements, see generally [**44] *United States v. Turkette*, supra, 452 U.S. at 578-83, was correct.

The court first charged that "a criminal enterprise as defined in the statute [must have] existed," and that "the defendant you have under consideration [must have been] associated with that enterprise." "Enterprise" was defined in detail. The jury was informed that the enterprise need not have a name, or be a commonly recognized legal entity, but could be a "group of individuals who are associated in fact although not a legal entity. Thus, any group of persons who associate together in order to achieve common illegal purposes can constitute a criminal enterprise under the statute." Compare *id.* at 583 ("The enterprise is an entity, for present purposes a group of persons associated together for a common purpose of engaging in a course of conduct.") And, the court stated that the jury "must find that a group of individuals in fact

associated together for the purposes charged in the indictment -- that is, to carry out a pattern of murders, arsons, extortions, and racketeering travel -- and that the defendant you have under consideration was one such individual who associated himself with that criminal enterprise."
[**45]

Turning to the conspiracy element here under attack, the judge stated that this necessitated the defendant "unlawfully, knowingly and willfully conspired with others to conduct the enterprise's affairs through a pattern of racketeering activity," language derived directly from 18 U.S.C. § 1962(d), and further distinguished from conspiracy merely to commit predicate acts of racketeering by the language which immediately followed: "that is, that the defendant conspired to commit at least two acts or threats . . . in aid of racketeering in the course of the activities of the enterprise." This instruction was well within the meaning of our cases. See *United States v. Scotto*, supra, 641 F.2d at 54 (one conducts activities of enterprise through pattern of racketeering when predicate offenses are simply related to activities of enterprise); *United States v. Weisman*, supra, 624 F.2d at 1122 (pattern of racketeering activity must be done "in the conduct of the affairs of an 'enterprise'"). n17

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n17 Similarly without merit is appellants' related argument. They note the Government charged, as part of the alleged conspiracy, but not in the substantive RICO allegations, acts agreed to in the course of the enterprise's activities but never completed. Based upon this difference, they claim the Government's theory under § 1962(d) was a conspiracy merely to perform the individual acts. But, in charging only completed racketeering acts in the substantive RICO count, the Government was simply following the dictum in *United States v.*

Weisman, *supra*, 624 F.2d at 1123-24, that a § 1962(c) conviction must include proof of consummated acts of racketeering and not conspiracies or attempts, unless conspiracies or attempts to commit the substantive crimes included within § 1961(1)(D).

-----End Footnotes----- [**46]

Appellants also argue the court was obliged to charge the elements of the penal codes of the various states where acts of racketeering occurred, and was not permitted to rely upon generic definitions of murder, arson, and extortion. We disagree. Under RICO, as under the Travel Act, 18 U.S.C. § 1952; see *United States v. Nardello*, 393 U.S. 286, 289-95, 21 L. Ed. 2d 487, 89 S. Ct. 534 (1969), "state offenses are included by generic designation." H.R. Rep. No. 1549, 91st Cong., 2d Sess. (1970), reprinted in 1970 U.S. Code Cong. & Ad. News 4007, 4032. "Courts construing the racketeering statutes have found that the references to state law serve a definitional purpose, to identify generally the kind of activity made illegal by the federal statute." [**63] *United States v. Salinas*, 564 F.2d 688, 690 (5th Cir. 1977), cert. denied, 435 U.S. 951, 98 S. Ct. 1577, 55 L. Ed. 2d 800 (1978); see *United States v. Frumento*, 563 F.2d 1083, 1087 n.8A (3d Cir. 1977) ("Section 1961 requires, in our view, only that the conduct on which the federal charge is based be typical of the serious crime dealt with by the state statute, not that the particular defendant be 'chargeable [**47] under State law,' at the time of the federal indictment.") (emphasis in original), cert. denied, 434 U.S. 1072, 98 S. Ct. 1256, 55 L. Ed. 2d 775 (1978). Absent an allegation that the racketeering act is not prohibited at all under state law, cf. *United States v. Nardello*, *supra*, 393 U.S. at 295, a claim obviously not available to appellants here, accurate generic definitions of the crimes charged were sufficient.

Finally, the court's charges on "pattern of racketeering activity" and the "knowledge" element of conspiracy were detailed and correct. The language for the former came from the statute, and was similar to instructions we have upheld. E.g., *United States v. Scotto*, supra, 641 F.2d at 53-54. As to "knowledge," the charge provided precisely the protection appellants now claim was lacking, since the district court first defined the objective of the "overall" conspiracy, *United States v. Tramunti*, 513 F.2d 1087, 1111-12 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 423 U.S. 832, 46 L. Ed. 2d 50, 96 S. Ct. 54, 96 S. Ct. 55 (1975), and then required the Government to demonstrate "an agreement as to the objective of the conspiracy. This does not mean that the conspirators [**48] must be shown to have agreed on the details of their criminal enterprise, but it does mean that the essential nature of the plan must be shown to have been agreed upon." And, "mere knowledge by a defendant of the conspiracy or any illegal act on the part of an alleged co-conspirator is not sufficient to establish his relationship in the conspiracy. You must find . . . actual knowing participation of [the] defendant [under consideration] in the agreement" See *United States v. Gleason*, 616 F.2d 2, 16-17 (2d Cir. 1979), cert. denied, 444 U.S. 1082, 62 L. Ed. 2d 767, 100 S. Ct. 1037 (1980). n18

-----Footnotes-----

n18 Remaining contentions applicable to more than one appellant merit only brief consideration. The assertion that the Government should not have extradited unindicted co-racketeer Miro Baresic to Sweden rings hollow in light of appellants' failure to show his availability would have assisted the defense. *United States v. Valenzuela-Bernal*, 458 U.S. 858, 102 S. Ct. 3440, 3450, 73 L. Ed. 2d 1193 (1982). Moreover, Baresic's present whereabouts are known and secure (he is serving a life sentence in Sweden for the murder of the Yugoslavian ambassador

to that country), yet appellants have never submitted an affidavit from Baresic setting forth his proposed exculpatory testimony, nor did they move in the district court to take his deposition, Fed. R. Crim. P. 15.

Concerning the claim that the proof at trial demonstrated multiple conspiracies, we have long held that the issue is a "question of fact for a properly instructed jury." *United States v. Alessi*, 638 F.2d 466, 472 (2d Cir. 1980) (collecting cases). Long duration, change in membership, or "a shifting emphasis in its locale of operation," *United States v. Vila*, 599 F.2d 21, 24 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 444 U.S. 837, 62 L. Ed. 2d 48, 100 S. Ct. 73 (1979), do not transform a single conspiracy into several. Here, the jury was correctly instructed, and the evidence amply supported its conclusion that the mailing of a series of identical extortion letters -- followed by reprisals engineered by various of the appellants; the common exchange of weaponry and explosives; the scientific evidence demonstrating most bombs were constructed in the same fashion; the numerous meetings and phone conversations among appellants, and their employment of various other persons to transport weapons and messages from one appellant to another, all taken together, established a common criminal enterprise in which each played a role.

Finally, demonstrably reliable "tool mark" identification testimony, which showed various bombs were constructed using the same implements, was properly admitted, *United States v. Williams*, 583 F.2d 1194, 1198 (2d Cir. 1978), cert. denied, 439 U.S. 1117, 59 L. Ed. 2d 77, 99 S. Ct. 1025 (1979); a chart summarizing telephone calls among the defendants was admissible and clearly caused no prejudice, since included among those named on the chart were several who were acquitted; the district court reasonably exercised its discretion in choosing to reread portions of the charge, rather

than furnishing the jury with written copies of the charge for use during deliberations; and the plain language and different elements of § 1962(c) and § 1962(d), see *Blockburger v. United States*, 284 U.S. 299, 304, 76 L. Ed. 306, 52 S. Ct. 180 (1932), combined with the absence of evidence of a contrary legislative intention, support the imposition of consecutive sentences for violation of both subsections. See *Albernaz v. United States*, 450 U.S. 333, 336-42, 67 L. Ed. 2d 275, 101 S. Ct. 1137 (1981); *United States v. Barton*, supra, 647 F.2d at 234-38 (cumulative sentences proper for RICO conspiracy and general conspiracy, 18 U.S.C. § 371).

----- -End Footnotes- ----- [**49]

[*64] We turn to an examination of the claims raised by individual appellants.

Bagaric

Bagaric advances two contentions. Initially, he challenges the sufficiency of the evidence. Viewing the evidence most favorably to the prosecution, and crediting every inference in its favor as we must at this stage of the case, *United States v. Singh*, 628 F.2d 758, 765-766 (2d Cir.), cert denied, 449 U.S. 1034, 66 L. Ed. 2d 496, 101 S. Ct. 609 (1980), we conclude the evidence elicited from four accomplice witnesses (Caran, Skrabo, Vjelko Jaksic, and Mico Jaksic), see *United States v. Bermudez*, 526 F.2d 89, 99 (2d Cir. 1975), cert. denied, 425 U.S. 970, 96 S. Ct. 2166, 48 L. Ed. 2d 793 (1976), was more than sufficient to support the jury's verdict on both counts.

Bagaric's participation in the enterprise commenced as early as 1975. That year, he showed Caran weapons and explosives he and Ljubas were storing in Bagaric's basement. Caran testified Bagaric concealed the explosives in a mound of coal.

Efforts were made on cross-examination to ridicule this testimony (by, for example, suggesting Bagaric did not heat his home with coal, Caran had not seen a shovel or [**50] furnace, and the pile of coal never became smaller), but a former manager of Bagaric's building testified that in 1977, when he assumed responsibility for the building, he too saw a pile of coal in the corner of the basement. This certainly served to strengthen Caran's credibility.

Further accomplice testimony showed Bagaric was the bomb-maker in two of the bombing incidents charged in the indictment as acts of racketeering. In 1976, Bagaric gave Skrabo and Vjelko Jaksic a time-bomb to carry to Pittsburgh to use at the home of Milan Vranes. In 1977, Bagaric travelled to San Francisco to wire bombs in Mile Boban's home. Later that year, Caran used one of the bombs in his unsuccessful attempt to bomb the Yugoslavian consulate in that city.

This evidence, standing alone, was sufficient to support the jury's guilty verdict. When combined with other testimony implicating Bagaric, along with Baresic and Mico Jaksic, in an aborted attempt on the life of Father Majic; tying him to the transportation of guns and ammunition from California to New York, via Chicago, and to the delivery of blasting caps to Caran; and otherwise demonstrating his allegiance to and knowledge of the operations [**51] of the enterprise, the evidence of Bagaric's guilt was more than ample.

Bagaric's other claim is that the district court erred by admitting evidence of an act not alleged in the indictment as one of the predicate acts of racketeering. Specifically, he objects to the testimony of Mico Jaksic, that Jaksic met with Bagaric and Baresic in 1978, and the latter two men indicated they planned to bomb the church of Father Majic, only to be dissuaded by Jaksic. Bagaric contends this testimony was prejudicial, not significantly probative, and he was denied an

opportunity to rebut it.

It is clear the Government may offer proof of acts not included within the indictment, as long as they are within the scope of the conspiracy. *United States v. Cohen*, 518 F.2d 727, 733 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 423 U.S. 926, 96 S. Ct. 271, 46 L. Ed. 2d 252 (1975). Here, the testimony was properly admitted as proof of Bagaric's membership in the racketeering enterprise, and was clearly relevant to the alleged acts of racketeering. Father Majic was a critic of the extortion scheme and, in 1979, was a target of one of the book bombs, mailed to him at the same church Bagaric and Baresic told Jaksic they [**52] intended to bomb in the summer of 1978. See *United States v. Tramunti*, supra, 513 F.2d at 1118; *United States v. Persico*, 425 F.2d 1375, 1384 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 400 U.S. 869, 91 S. Ct. 102, 27 L. Ed. 2d 108 (1970). [*65] Nor was Bagaric denied an opportunity to rebut this evidence. The proffered testimony of Father Svetozar Kraljevic, to the effect that Bagaric had always expressed love for Father Majic, was Bagaric's "own prior statement [offered] for the truth of the matter asserted, [and therefore] hearsay, and . . . not admissible." *United States v. Marin*, 669 F.2d 73, 84 (2d Cir. 1982).

Markich

As we have discussed, the proof showed that in May, 1977, Caran, Ljubas, and Mico Jaksic travelled to Elliott Lake, Ontario, Canada, and there obtained dynamite from Dennison Mines for later delivery to Markich in Skokie, Illinois. The Government was permitted to introduce documentary evidence showing Markich had lived in Elliott Lake in 1967 and was employed, at that time, by Dennison Mines. Markich objects to the introduction of this evidence on the ground it fell outside the scope of the conspiracy.

This claim is entirely without merit. There [**53]

is no requirement that all the Government's evidence fall within the time period of the indictment, providing it is relevant to the charges. See *United States v. Del Purgatorio*, 411 F.2d 84, 86-87 (2d Cir. 1969). Here, the evidence admitted was plainly relevant to show a relationship between Markich and the source of the dynamite in Elliott Lake, and to corroborate Caran's testimony that Markich received the dynamite after its importation from Canada.

Primorac

Appellant Primorac testified at trial. In the course of direct examination, he stated he had sought and been denied political asylum in the United States. On cross-examination, the prosecutor followed up on this issue, and Primorac admitted he had testified under oath at a deportation proceeding in 1979, at which time he had submitted the political asylum application. Over defense objection, the Government was permitted to inquire whether the Immigration Judge had "found [Primorac's] testimony and evidence . . . not to be credible." (In fact, the Immigration Judge had stated that "his evidence regarding agents of Yugoslav Secret Police lurking around him for the last six years because of his pro-Croatian activities [**54] [was] not credible.") Primorac denied knowledge of the Immigration Judge's findings. He now contends this line of questioning was improper.

Pursuant to Fed. R. Evid. 608(b), the trial judge may permit cross-examination into specific acts of misconduct if "probative of truthfulness or untruthfulness." Although in this case the previous "misconduct" may have involved something less than a judicial finding of perjury, see *Walker v. Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.*, 412 F.2d 60, 63-64 (2d Cir. 1969), it is clear that the prior misconduct

need not have created criminal liability or resulted in a conviction, and in any event we have recently observed that "proof that a judge . . . before whom [the witness] had testified . . . had found that [the witness] had 'guessed under oath' was probative of the weight to be accorded his testimony," *United States v. Terry*, 702 F.2d 299 at 316 (2d Cir. 1983). Accordingly, we reject Primorac's claim.

Logarusic

Logarusic raises a number of claims, beginning with the argument that the evidence was insufficient to establish his participation in the conspiracy. This contention is refuted by the record. The single most damaging evidence [**55] introduced against Logarusic was the hollowed-out book found in the search of his Cleveland home on April 4, 1979. According to expert testimony for the Government, Logarusic's book, which had wires, a battery, and a light bulb inside, was the "prototype or perhaps test book" for the book bombs mailed to Joseph Badurina and Father Timothy Majic. As noted above, the similarities were more than striking. The cavities in all three were of identical size, just large enough to accommodate a stick of dynamite; the glue was the same chemical composition; the wires were the same gauge [*66] and were arranged in the same fashion; and the wires were soldered to the battery rather than fastened with a standard battery connector. This tangible evidence was overwhelming proof of Logarusic's involvement in the crimes.

The Government also offered telephone toll records suggesting Logarusic had communicated with other appellants, and tool mark testimony showing the same pair of pliers had been used to cut a wire in Logarusic's book and to cut a wire in a time-bomb found in a search of the home of Franjo Ivic, one

of the New York-based co-racketeers, convicted in the earlier trial before [**56] Judge Pollack. The jury also had before it Logarusic's explanation for the presence of the hollowed-out book in his home. Appellant claimed it had been left there by a man he had never before seen and has not seen since, and Logarusic did not regard as suspicious the cavity or wiring. The jury had a right to consider the credibility of this story, *United States v. Callabress*, 607 F.2d 559, 565 (2d Cir. 1979), cert. denied, 446 U.S. 940, 64 L. Ed. 2d 794, 100 S. Ct. 2163 (1980), and we consider it hardly surprising it preferred, based on the evidentiary materials just summarized, the tale told by the Government.

Appellant's next argument, obviously critical in light of the significance we have attributed to the items seized in the Cleveland search, is that the trial judge should have suppressed them. With regard to the affidavit submitted in support of the search warrant, which principally detailed facts providing a basis for believing Logarusic had bombed a pro-Yugoslav bookstore, Logarusic states first that it fell short of satisfying the standards of *Aguilar v. Texas*, 378 U.S. 108, 12 L. Ed. 2d 723, 84 S. Ct. 1509 (1964), and *Spinelli v. United States*, 393 U.S. [**57] 410, 21 L. Ed. 2d 637, 89 S. Ct. 584 (1969), which together establish that the "supporting affidavits in an application for a search warrant must attest to the credibility of an informant and reliability of his information." *United States v. Burke*, 517 F.2d 377, 380 n.2 (2d Cir. 1975). Here, both criteria were met. The confidential police informant had provided information in the past that, on at least one occasion, had led to an arrest and indictment, see *United States v. Gazard Colon*, 419 F.2d 120, 122 (2d Cir. 1969) (per curiam), and his reliability was further buttressed by independent corroborative accounts provided the police, and also included in the affidavit. The affidavit also satisfied the credibility prong of the test; it described as the basis for the informant's information his personal

observations of Logarusic's activities at the scene of the bombing. See *United States v. Zucco*, 694 F.2d 44, 47 (2d Cir. 1982).

The affidavit is next challenged on the ground it failed to justify a finding of probable cause. Viewing the affidavit in a common sense fashion, *United States v. Ventresca*, 380 U.S. 102, 108, 13 L. Ed. 2d 684, 85 S. Ct. 741 (1965), and paying [**58] substantial deference to the authorizing and reviewing judge, *United States v. Zucco*, supra, 694 F.2d at 46, 50, we believe the affidavit was sufficient to establish probable cause. It placed Logarusic at the scene of a pre-dawn bombing just before it took place; showed him inspecting the damage shortly after the explosion; demonstrated he had prepared, and placed in the window of the bookstore, a sign expressing contempt for the political and business affiliations of the store's owner with the present government of Yugoslavia; linked Logarusic to a Croatian nationalist group which had engaged in a series of similar terrorist acts against persons sympathetic to the Yugoslav regime; and noted Logarusic was a named suspect in two other bombings. Under the circumstances, we consider it entirely reasonable for the magistrate to have determined the explosives, used at 5:18 A.M., had been brought from Logarusic's home, and therefore that his residence was the likely location at which would be found the traces of bomb-making activity sought. n19 *Haala*, 532 F.2d 1324, 1326-28 (10th Cir. 1976).

-----Footnotes-----

n19 Logarusic's challenge to the scope of the search is clearly without merit, as all the items seized were in plain view. *Harris v. United States*, 390 U.S. 234, 236, 19 L. Ed. 2d 1067, 88 S. Ct. 992 (1968); *United States v. Ochs*, 595 F.2d 1247, 1256 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 444 U.S. 955, 62 L. Ed. 2d 328, 100 S. Ct. 435 (1979). Also without merit is the argument that the nighttime search of

Logarusic's premises requires suppression. Even assuming there was no "reasonable cause" for the nighttime entry, see Fed. R. Crim. P. 41(c)(1), we will not exclude the seized items unless "(1) there was 'prejudice' in the sense that the search might not have occurred or would not have been so abrasive if [nonconstitutional rule 41] had been followed, or (2) there is evidence of intentional and deliberate disregard [of the rule]," *United States v. Burke*, supra, 517 F.2d at 386-87. Here, Logarusic has failed even to allege prejudice or misconduct.

----- -End Footnotes- ----- [**59]

[*67] Appellant challenges several evidentiary rulings of the district court. Initially, he objects to the introduction of a pistol, registered to one Razov, who lived in the same two-family dwelling as Logarusic. The pistol had been discovered in Razov's car. Logarusic argues that the fact that the gun had been purchased by an official of the Paraguayan embassy at the time Baresic was employed there is insufficient to link Logarusic to Baresic. This claim is not insubstantial, as it points up the Government's dependence upon a chain of inferential reasoning perhaps too weak to support a determination of relevancy. See *United States v. Ravich*, 421 F.2d 1196, 1204-05 & n.10 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 400 U.S. 834, 27 L. Ed. 2d 66, 91 S. Ct. 69 (1970). That is, Baresic did not buy the gun, but is tied to its purchase by virtue of his and the buyer's common employer; and Logarusic is not found to have been in possession of the gun, but is instead joined with its owner, Razov, by their common place of residence. These inferred relationships, together, are offered as proof of the association of Logarusic and Baresic. But, while the better course might have been to exclude [**60] the gun as prejudicial, see Fed. R. Evid. 403, we will not overturn the trial judge's decision to admit it absent a clear abuse of discretion, see *United*

States v. Robinson, 560 F.2d 507, 512-16 (2d Cir. 1977) (en banc), cert. denied, 435 U.S. 905, 55 L. Ed. 2d 496, 98 S. Ct. 1451 (1978). In any event, any prejudice to Logarusic was minimal, in light of the virtual arsenal of weapons and ammunition seized from his home during the above described search, the relevancy of which is not challenged, and any error was therefore harmless beyond a reasonable doubt.

Logarusic challenges the admission of additional evidence linking him to Baresic. We refer to a letter discovered during a consent search of Logarusic's home on April 3, 1981, after his arrest. Appellant claims the letter was not properly authenticated. Fed. R. Evid. 901(a). We disagree. The requirement of authentication "is satisfied by evidence sufficient to support a finding that the matter is what its proponent claims," *id.* This finding may be based entirely on circumstantial evidence, including "appearance, contents, substance . . . and other distinctive characteristics" of the writing, *id.* 901(b)(4).

[**61] Here, the letter was addressed to Logarusic and postmarked Asuncion, Paraguay, where Baresic resided. It began with the salutation "Dear Vinko" and ended "your Miro Baresic . . . your Miro Toni." "Toni Saric" was the alias Baresic had used in gaining entry into the United States. The letter referred to "our people in Chicago," where four of the defendants lived, and it asked Logarusic to contact "Crni," which the proof showed was Ljubas's sobriquet among his confederates. It also contained references to "Mercedes," a friend of Logarusic who testified on his behalf and admitted knowing Baresic, and to "the Razov family," Logarusic's landlord. Finally, the letter stated that "the Swedes, Americans, and Yugoslavs are requesting expulsion because I am a terrorist and dangerous," a fact confirmed by testimony that Baresic was a fugitive from Sweden where he was sought for the murder of the Yugoslavian ambassador. In sum, as Chief Judge Motley found, there was ample

demonstration "that the letter was in fact what the Government claimed, i.e., a letter from Miro Baresic to Vinko Logarusic."

Logarusic's remaining contentions can be dealt with briefly. His acquittal on the substantive [**62] RICO count, even assuming it is in some sense "inconsistent" [*68] with conviction on the conspiracy count, a proposition we dispute, does not require the latter be set aside. *E.G., Harris v. Rivera*, 454 U.S. 339, 345-46, 70 L. Ed. 2d 530, 102 S. Ct. 460 (1981); *United States v. Zane*, 495 F.2d 683, 690 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 419 U.S. 895, 42 L. Ed. 2d 139, 95 S. Ct. 174 (1974). Permitting cross-examination of Logarusic's wife concerning her possible antipathy toward the Government, based upon its prosecution of her brother for air piracy, was entirely proper. Mrs. Logarusic was a key witness in her husband's defense, and the potential for bias was self-evident. See *United States v. Harvey*, 547 F.2d 720, 722-23 (2d Cir. 1976). And, the district court informed the jury of the limited nature of the inquiry. See *United States v. DeLillo*, 620 F.2d 939, 947 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 449 U.S. 835, 101 S. Ct. 107, 66 L. Ed. 2d 41 (1980). Finally, Logarusic had no right to production of Mrs. Logarusic's grand jury testimony. See *United States v. Percevault*, 490 F.2d 126, 128-31 & n.4 (2d Cir. 1974); *United States v. Ostrer*, 481 F. Supp. 407, 417 (S.D.N.Y. [**63] 1978).

Sudar

Of Sudar's claims, only four require discussion.

Appellant argues the evidence was insufficient to sustain his conviction on the Count One conspiracy charge, claiming the proof demonstrated only "that he contacted Caron [sic]" and was shown to be, at most, a "'casual facilitator' whose conduct is

ancillary to that of the principles [sic]." He ignores substantial record evidence.

For example, Sudar admitted to Caran that he had previously travelled to a motel in San Diego where he taught bomb-making to Croatians, including the brother of Marijan Rudela, who was proved to have been one of those responsible for the series of extortion-related bombings in the Los Angeles area. Sudar also taught Caran the technique for bomb construction, making two trips to Connecticut in this connection. Independent evidence showed telephone calls which the jury was entitled to conclude were between Sudar and Logarusic, at the time of the mailing of book bombs to Badurina and Majic, to which Logarusic was connected. Moreover, in a search of Sudar's residence, Toronto police discovered various items, including wires, batteries, and a pipe end, which resembled various bomb [**64] paraphernalia linked to the enterprise at trial. An FBI expert witness specifically testified that a nine-volt battery discovered in Sudar's home was soldered in an unusual manner unique to the Croatian bombings proved at trial. This matrix of circumstantial evidence linking Sudar to the enterprise and its activities was sufficient to support the conspiracy conviction.

n20

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n20 Appellant's related argument, that the evidence of his participation was slim enough to require an instruction on what he contends is the "lesser-included" 18 U.S.C. § 371 conspiracy, is misplaced. Section 371 is not a lesser-included offense of § 1962(d). United States v. Barton, supra, 647 F.2d at 236-37.

-----End Footnotes-----

Sudar challenges two aspects of the Government's use of evidence obtained during a Canadian

investigation of his activities. First, he urges that the district court erred in admitting into evidence bomb-making paraphernalia that was found in the search of his residence on June 25, 1981, the day of his arrest. He contends [**65] this evidence was "other crimes evidence," inadmissible pursuant to Fed. R. Evid. 404(b). This contention is wide of the mark.

The seized items are simply not within Rule 404(b), since the possession of batteries, wires, watches and plastic bags, by itself, "[does] not ris[e] . . . to the level of a federal crime." *United States v. Bermudez*, supra, 526 F.2d at 95 n.3. Rather, the search, conducted after the termination of the conspiracy, yielded evidence plainly relevant to prove its existence and appellant's participation. See, e.g., *id.* at 95 (lactose, a set of scales, and other items seized in a post-indictment search); *United States v. Bennett*, 409 F.2d 888, 895-96 (2d Cir.) (same), [*69] cert. denied, 396 U.S. 852, 90 S. Ct. 113, 24 L. Ed. 2d 101 (1969).

Sudar also complains of the introduction of his admission, to Detective Rea of the Peel Regional Police Force, made during the search, that the items were his. Appellant claims the statements were taken in violation of *Miranda v. United States*, 384 U.S. 436, 16 L. Ed. 2d 694, 86 S. Ct. 1602 (1966), and *Massiah v. United States*, 377 U.S. 201, 12 L. Ed. 2d 246, 84 S. Ct. 1199 (1964). Be that [**66] as it may, the fact remains they were taken by a Canadian official, during his lawful pursuit of a separate and valid Canadian investigation into Sudar's activities, and there is no contention advanced that they were obtained either by duress or in violation of Canadian law. Therefore, the exclusionary rule does not apply. *United States v. Busic*, 592 F.2d 13, 23 (2d Cir. 1978); *United States v. Nagelberg*, 434 F.2d 585, 587 n.1 (2d Cir. 1970) (dictum), cert. denied, 401 U.S. 939, 28 L. Ed. 2d 219, 91 S. Ct. 935 (1971). Sudar's reference to close cooperation between

American and Canadian officials is insufficient to upset Chief Judge Motley's finding that Detective Rea conducted the search on his own country's authority and in connection with an ongoing Canadian investigation. We do not decide, therefore, the circumstances under which the relationship between American and foreign authorities might amount to a joint willful attempt to evade the strictures of *Miranda* or *Massiah*, see *United States v. Basic*, *supra*, 592 F.2d at 23 n.7.

Appellant also urges his trial should have been severed from that of his co-defendants. We reject this claim. Virtually by definition, [**67] the pattern of racketeering alleged in this case constituted a "series of acts or transactions" sufficiently intertwined to permit a joint trial of all defendants, see Fed. R. Crim. P. 8(b). *United States v. Weisman*, *supra*, 624 F.2d at 1129. Nor has Sudar made out a showing of substantial prejudice, as he is required to do, to be deserving of a separate trial pursuant to Rule 14. *Id.* at 1129-30; see *United States v. DeSapio*, 435 F.2d 272, 280 (2d Cir. 1970) (defendant must demonstrate more than greater level of involvement and culpability of co-defendants or "a better chance of acquittal"), cert. denied, 402 U.S. 999, 91 S. Ct. 2170, 29 L. Ed. 2d 166. n21

-----Footnotes-----

n21 Along the same lines, Sudar claims he should have been granted a continuance, arguing he could have better prepared his cross-examination and further time would have assisted him in "undoubtedly numerous other ways." This vague allegation is insufficient, See *United States v. Lewis*, 565 F.2d 1248, 1252-53 (2d Cir. 1977), cert. denied, 435 U.S. 973, 56 L. Ed. 2d 66, 98 S. Ct. 1618 (1978), to persuade us the district court abused its discretion in denying the motion for a continuance.

Sudar's other claims may be considered summarily in this footnote. The refusal to charge the jury that it must find the existence of a racketeering enterprise known as the Croatian National Resistance (of which Sudar was not a member) was not error, since the prosecution quite clearly went forward on an enterprise-in-fact theory. Any reference in the first superseding indictment (under which Sudar was extradited, and which was consolidated with the second) to the formal organization was mere surplusage, see *United States v. Cirami*, 510 F.2d 69, 72-73 (2d Cir.), cert. denied, 421 U.S. 964, 44 L. Ed. 2d 451, 95 S. Ct. 1952 (1975).

Sudar's efforts to obtain Detective Rea's internal memoranda of communications among Canadian Police officers -- which dealt not with Sudar's statements at the time of the search of his home, but instead concerned police procedures to be followed in carrying out the search -- were properly rejected by Chief Judge Motley. See *United States v. Cotroni*, 527 F.2d 708, 712 (2d Cir. 1975) (construing Fed. R. Crim. P. 16 (a)(1)(A)), cert. denied, 426 U.S. 906, 48 L. Ed. 2d 830, 96 S. Ct. 2226 (1976).

----- -End Footnotes- ----- [**68]

IV

The judgments of conviction are affirmed.

Date: 4/19/83

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: ID/LFS)

FROM: ADIC, NEW YORK (174A-3129) (P) (JTF-2)

SUBJECT: UNSUB
[censored]
CROATIAN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES
EID (A)
(00:NY)

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of a three page handwritten letter signed by [censored]

[censored]

[censored]

The NYO [New York Office] has recently opened a 174A investigation on [censored] based on information received that [censored] has an action planned and has been making efforts to find people who want to learn how to make bombs.

[censored]

[censored]

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

The ID/LFS is requested to process the enclosed document for latent fingerprints and make a comparison with available prints of [censored].

Filing Information:

Title: FBI File: Croatian Terrorism Investigation

Source: Declassified May 24, 2002.

Date: April 19, 1983

Added: May 18, 2004

Original Placement:

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4-25

FBI

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CLASSIFICATION

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

Date 4/19/83

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 (ATTN: ID/LFS)

30426009

FROM: ADIC, NEW YORK (174A-3129) (P) (JTF-2)

SUBJECT: UNSUB: [REDACTED]

b7C

CROATIAN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

EID (A)
 (OO:NY)

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of a three page handwritten letter signed by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (S)

③ - Bureau (Enc. 1)
 (1 - ID/LFS)

1 - New York
 1 - New York

JC:cmh
 (6)

NOT RECORDED
 183 MAY 6 1983

5-24-83

FBI NEW YORK

EX-1

#937406

Approved

Transmitted

(Number)

(Time)

Per

ORIGINAL FILED IN 174-

INDEX E60

END

Approved

[Handwritten signature]

15/1/70
Transmitted

(Number)

(Time)

Per

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1962 O - 369-895

NY 174A-3129

The NYO has recently opened a 174A investigation on [redacted] based on information received that [redacted] has an action planned and has been making efforts to find people who want to learn how to make bombs.

[redacted]
[redacted] (S)

[redacted] (S)

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

The ID/LFS is requested to process the enclosed document for latent fingerprints and make a comparison with available prints of [redacted]

[redacted] (S)

b1

b7C

[stamp: Received, Teletype Unit, 7 Feb 84]

S E C R E T

CROATIAN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES; IT-YUGOSLAVIA

SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE [censored] ADVISED BY TELETYPE FEBRUARY 7, 1984, AS FOLLOWS:

Sources of the San Francisco Office who have furnished reliable information in the past have advised this date that the West German authorities last week arrested twelve (12) Croatians, according to current rumor. In addition, stories imply that these Croatians were in possession of arms and/or explosives.

Of interest is the fact that sources, who often blame Western governments for complicity with the Yugoslav Intelligence Services (YIS), do not fault German authorities. However, sources do believe that the YIS furnished information which led to arrests, and that this information was withheld until it could be fortuitously timed to coincide with the opening of the Olympics in Sarajevo. Sources therefore believe in Yugoslav complicity and/or "agents provocateur" [sic] in this instance.

As it is also reported that Yugoslav troops and armor are in Sarajevo, sources observe this is a convenient way to justify excessive force in that city and to cause Western governments to blame nationalist movements for this situation.

Filing Information:

Title: FBI File: Rumored Arrests in Germany

Source: FBI file, declassified.

Date: February 7, 1984

Added: May 18, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/text/odp0012.txt>

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~~DE OF OIC~~

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~~FM SAN FRANCISCO~~

RECEIVED

7 Feb 84 12 01 Z

FEDERAL BUREAU
OF INVESTIGATION

(S)

b1

~~TO DIRECTOR, FBI, PRIORITY~~

~~CHICAGO PRIORITY~~

~~CLEVELAND PRIORITY~~

~~DETROIT PRIORITY~~

~~LOS ANGELES PRIORITY~~

~~MILWAUKEE PRIORITY~~

~~SECRET~~

~~GENERAL ATTY GEN DEVENPORT, OLD TERRORISM~~

b1

9 CROATIAN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES; IT-YUGOSLAVIA

SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE

[REDACTED]

ADVISED BY TELETYPE

FEBRUARY 7, 1984, AS FOLLOWS:

THIS COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET" IN ITS ENTIRETY.

SOURCES OF THE SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE WHO HAVE FURNISHED
RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST HAVE ADVISED THIS DATE THAT
THE WEST GERMAN AUTHORITIES LAST WEEK ARRESTED TWELVE (12)
CROATIANS, ACCORDING TO CURRENT RUMOR. IN ADDITION, STORIES (a)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

[REDACTED]


b7C

2 SECRET

Handwritten signature and scribbles at the top of the page.

best copy available

b1

~~SECRET~~  (S) ~~SECRET~~ ~~SECRET~~
IMPLY THAT THESE CREATIONS WERE IN POSSESSION OF ARMS
AND/OR EXPLOSIVES.

OF INTEREST IS THE FACT THAT SOURCES, WHO OFTEN
BLAME WESTERN GOVERNMENTS FOR COMPLICITY WITH THE YUGOSLAV
INTELLIGENCE SERVICES (YIS), DO NOT FAULT GERMAN AUTHORITIES.
HOWEVER, SOURCES DO BELIEVE THAT THE YIS FURNISHED INFOR-
MATION WHICH LED TO ARRESTS, AND THAT THIS INFORMATION WAS
WITHHELD UNTIL IT COULD BE FORTUITOUSLY TIMED TO COINCIDE
WITH THE OPENING OF THE OLYMPICS IN SARAJEVO. SOURCES
THEREFORE BELIEVE IN YUGOSLAV COMPLICITY AND/OR "TACTIC
PROVOCATION" IN THIS INSTANCE.

AS IT IS ALSO REPORTED THAT YUGOSLAV TROOPS AND
ARMOR ARE IN SARAJEVO, SOURCES BELIEVE THIS IS A
CONVENIENT WAY TO JUSTIFY EXCESSIVE FORCE IN THAT CITY
AND TO CAUSE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS TO BLAME NATIONALIST
MOVEMENTS FOR THIS SITUATION.

-3-
~~SECRET~~ 



A Yugoslav terrorist who escaped federal prison by using a stuffed dummy trick was caught sleeping behind a building and captured without a fight Saturday on his second day on the lam, authorities said.

Zvonko Basic, 41, was arrested at 6:32 a.m. by police who responded to a report of a vagrant asleep behind a building in Milford, 40 miles northwest of the federal prison in Otisville, N.Y., where he escaped Thursday.

Basic was serving a life term for hijacking a plane in 1976 and murdering a New York City police officer who died while trying to defuse a bomb planted by Basic and others seeking independence for the province of Croatia in Yugoslavia.

Milford police notified U.S. marshals of Basic's arrest. The muscular convict shaved off his beard but identification "wasn't too difficult" because he has a glass left eye, said Flavio Lorenzoni, chief deputy of the U.S. marshal's office in New York City.

Basic was arraigned Saturday in Scranton and charged with escape. Lorenzoni said Basic would be kept at the Lewisburg federal prison through the weekend, then be returned to New York.

He faces an additional five years in prison for the escape, officials said.

Basic was reported missing Friday from the Otisville Federal Correctional Facility after prison guards found a dummy in inmate's clothing in his bed, prison spokesman Greg Bogdan said.

Basic broke through a plaster-board ceiling in the prison gymnasium Thursday night. He then dug a hole under a fence in the recreation yard and worked his way through security wire and ran into woods next to the prison.

Basic escape was not discovered until Friday because a head count Thursday night turned up nothing unusual.

Bogdan said the dummy apparently had been counted in the inmate's cell. An investigation of the escape, the first ever from the 770-inmate prison, was under way, he said.

Busic was serving a life sentence for a 1976 hijacking by Croatian separatists of a TWA flight en route from LaGuardia Airport to Chicago.

The terrorists demanded that leaflets promoting Croatian independence be distributed. After the demand was met, the five surrendered in Paris. The plane had made stops in Montreal and London but no passengers were injured.

The hijackers also planted a bomb in a locker at Grand Central Terminal in Manhattan. A 26-year-old police officer was killed while trying to defuse the bomb.

Busic was convicted by a state court of kidnapping and murder.

Filing Information:

Title: News Excerpt: Escaped Terrorist Captured

Source: United Press International, April 18, 1987.

Date: April 18, 1987

Added: May 19, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/text/odp0014.txt>

News: Hijacker Recaptured After Prison Escape
Associated Press

MILFORD, Pa., April 18 - A Croatian nationalist convicted in a 1976 transatlantic hijacking was recaptured today as he sat on a porch outside a store a day after he escaped prison, authorities said.

Zvonko Busic was discovered missing Friday when a dummy was found in his cell at the Otisville Correctional Facility in Otisville, N.Y., north of New York City, prison spokesman Greg Bogdan said. A nationwide search was begun.

Milford police found Busic, 41, sitting on the back porch of the Village News Stand about 6:30 a.m. today.

Busic was serving a life sentence for air piracy resulting in a police officer's death. In September 1976, five people hijacked a TWA flight that left New York City for Chicago. The plane, commandeered over Buffalo, went to Montreal and then to Europe, finally landing in Paris, where the five surrendered.

The group demanded that leaflets for Croatian independence be distributed in four countries. The demand was met. No passengers were injured, but Busic and his wife were held responsible for the death of New York City policeman Brian Murray as he tried to diffuse a bomb planted as part of the plot at Grand Central Station.

Filing Information:

Title: News: Hijacker Recaptured After Prison Escape

Source: Washington Post, April 19, 1987.

Date: April 19, 1987

Added: May 19, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/text/odp0013.txt>

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

RA

Hijacker Recaptured After Prison Escape

Associated Press

MILFORD, Pa., April 18—A Croatian nationalist convicted in a 1976 transatlantic hijacking was recaptured today as he sat on a porch outside a store a day after he escaped prison, authorities said.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-10-02 BY 60284UCB/raj/kl

#93706

60 SEP 22 1987

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PG. A12
THE WASHINGTON POST
Washington, D.C.

Date: 4-19-87

Edition: daily b7C

Title: *Croatian terrorist activities.*
Character: *Yugoslavia*

Classification:
Submitting Office: FBIHQ

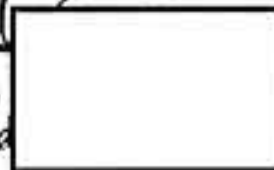
Indexing:

main file

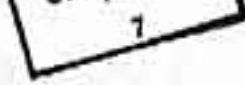
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FOR DC

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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R 161451Z JUN 87
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7207
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMCONSUL GOTEBOG POUCH
UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 04419

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, SW, YO, PTER, PGOV

SUBJECT: SWEDISH DECISION TO RELEASE CONVICTED
YUGOSLAV TERRORIST FROM PRISON

REF: STOCKHOLM 4252

1. THE SWEDISH PRESS HAS REPORTED THAT ON JUNE 15
THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT FORMALLY PROTESTED SWEDEN'S
DECISION TO PAROLE CROATIAN MIRO BAREVIC, WHO IN
1971 MURDERED YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR ROLOVIC IN
STOCKHOLM (REFTEL). YUGOSLAVIA'S AMBASSADOR TO
SWEDEN, MARJAN OSOLNIK, CALLED ON FM STEN ANDERSSON
TO EXPRESS HIS GOVERNMENT'S DISMAY OVER THE
DECISION. AT THE SAME TIME, SWEDEN'S AMBASSADOR IN
BELGRADE, JAN AF SILLEN, WAS REPORTEDLY SUMMONED TO
THE YUGOSLAV MFA TO HEAR YUGOSLAVIA'S COMPLAINTS
ABOUT THE PAROLE. BOTH PROTESTS WERE SAID TO HAVE
BEEN MADE ORALLY.

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 04419 161455Z

2. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, FM ANDERSSON TOLD AMBASSADOR OSOLNIK THAT THE SWEDISH LEGAL SYSTEM "INDEPENDENTLY" MADE ITS RULING IN ACCORDANCE WITH SWEDISH LAWS AND PRINCIPLES, AND THAT THE DECISION IS ONE WHICH THE "GOVERNMENT CANNOT REVIEW." ANDERSSON ADDED THAT SWEDEN SHARES YUGOSLAVIA'S INTEREST IN FIGHTING TERRORISM IN ALL ITS FORMS, AND HE TOLD OSOLNIK THAT THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT IS "VERY ANXIOUS TO STRENGTHEN AND FURTHER DEVELOP GOOD RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA." ANDERSSON REPORTEDLY EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING FOR "THE STRONG SENTIMENTS" WHICH THE MURDER OF THE YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR HAD AROUSED, AND HE EXPRESSED HIS SYMPATHY TO AMBASSADOR ROLOVIK'S [sic] FAMILY.

3. PRESS REPORTS HERE HAVE EMPHASIZED THE NEGATIVE REACTION TO THE SWEDISH DECISION EXPRESSED BY YUGOSLAVIAN MEDIA, AND ALSO FOCUSED ON YUGOSLAVIAN OUTRAGE AT SWEDISH TV FOR ALLOWING BAREVIC TO GO ON THE AIR JUNE 12 TO PRESENT HIS OWN VERSION OF HIS SITUATION ALTOGETHER UNCONTRADICTED. SWEDISH TV, IN AN ATTEMPT TO DEFEND ITSELF FROM CHARGES OF BIAS, HAS CLAIMED THAT IT REQUESTED COMMENTS FROM THE YUGOSLAV EMBASSY AND FROM BELGRADE, BUT HAD RECEIVED NO RESPONSE. NEWELL.

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Original Placement: <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/baresic/text/mb0001.txt>



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TELEGRAM

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AN: D870479-0202

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 04419 161455Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 NODE-00
H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PH-10
PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01
PRS-01 DS-01 DSE-00 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /048 W
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R 161451Z JUN 87
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7207
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMCONSUL GOTEBOG POUCH

UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 04419

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, SW, YO, PTER, PGOV

SUBJECT: SWEDISH DECISION TO RELEASE CONVICTED YUGOSLAV
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REF: STOCKHOLM 4252

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 04419 161455Z

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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R 091533Z DEC 87
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7207
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY OSLO

UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 09310

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, SW, YO, PA

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV TERRORIST BAREVIC DEPORTED TO PARAGUAY

REF: (A) STOCKHOLM 4252, (B) STOCKHOLM 4419 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY AND COMMENT: THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT ON DECEMBER 9 DEPORTED CROATIAN TERRORIST, MIRO BAREVIC, TO PARAGUAY. BAREVIC HAD SPENT NINE YEARS IN SWEDISH PRISONS FOR THE MURDER OF THE YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR TO SWEDEN IN 1971. SWEDISH AUTHORITIES REFUSED TO SEND BAREVIC TO YUGOSLAVIA SINCE SWEDISH LAW PROHIBITS DEPORTATION THAT RISKS A DEATH PENALTY, BUT WERE UNWILLING TO PERMIT HIM TO REMAIN IN SWEDEN. BAREVIC HAD LIVED FROM 1974-79 IN PARAGUAY AFTER HAVING BEEN RELEASED FROM PRISON IN CONNECTION WITH A 1972 PLANE HI-JACKING. YUGOSLAV AUTHORITIES CAN BE EXPECTED TO AGAIN PROTEST BAREVIC'S PAROLE AND THE FACT THAT HE WAS

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 09310 091536Z

NOT RETURNED TO YUGOSLAVIA. THIS DECISION SHIFTS THE BAREVIC PROBLEM ELSEWHERE BUT IS LIKELY TO RAISE CRITICISM FROM SEVERAL QUARTERS ABOUT SWEDISH POLICY IN DEALING WITH TERRORISTS. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

2. THE SWEDISH MEDIA REPORTED DECEMBER 9 THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN A SPECIAL CABINET MEETING ON DECEMBER 8 DECIDED TO DEPORT CROATIAN NATIONALIST, MIRO BAREVIC, TO PARAGUAY TOGETHER WITH HIS WIFE AND TWO SMALL CHILDREN. THE GOS HAD EARLIER DECIDED TO PAROLE BAREVIC ON DECEMBER 10, AFTER HE SERVED HALF OF HIS EIGHTEEN YEAR SENTENCE FOR THE MURDER OF THE YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR IN STOCKHOLM IN 1971. STRICT SECURITY MEASURES WERE EXERCISED IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEPORTATION SINCE AUTHORITIES REPORTEDLY FEARED THAT ATTEMPTS COULD BE MADE TO EITHER KILL BAREVIC, OR "RESCUE" HIM FROM DEPORTATION.

3. THE GOS ISSUED A PRESS RELEASE ON DECEMBER 9 STATING THAT IT IS COMMON PRACTICE IN SWEDEN TO DEPORT FOREIGN CRIMINALS, IN MOST INSTANCES, UPON COMPLETION OF THEIR SENTENCE. HOWEVER, THE GOS HAS BEEN UNUSUALLY TIGHTLIPPED ABOUT THIS DECISION AND HAS AVOIDED DIRECT CONTACT WITH MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES. THE NEWS AGENCY "TT" REPORTS THAT SWEDEN'S CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN URUGUAY, CHRISTER PERSSON, HAS GONE TO ASUNCION, BUT THERE IS NO DIRECT CONFIRMATION THIS IS IN CONNECTION WITH THE BAREVIC CASE.

4. THE DEPORTATION OF BAREVIC MARKS THE END FOR SWEDEN OF A LENGTHY DRAMA. BAREVIC, TOGETHER WITH TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CROATIAN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, USTASJA, FORCED THEIR WAY INTO THE YUGOSLAV EMBASSY IN APRIL 1971

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PAGE 03 STOCKH 09310 091536Z

AND SHOT THE AMBASSADOR. IN THE FALL OF 1972, A SWEDISH PASSENGER PLANE WAS HI-JACKED BY A GROUP OF CROATIANS WHO DEMANDED THE RELEASE OF BAREVIC AND FIVE OTHER CROATIANS FROM SWEDISH PRISONS. THEY WERE RELEASED AND, AFTER A SHORT STAY IN SPAIN, BAREVIC WENT TO PARAGUAY. HE WAS LATER ARRESTED WHILE WORKING AS A BODYGUARD AT THE PARAGUAYAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON. THE U.S. EXTRADITED BAREVIC, AFTER HE WAS CHARGED WITH VIOLATION OF IMMIGRATION LAWS, TO SWEDEN IN 1980, AND HE HAS SINCE BEEN HELD IN SWEDISH PRISONS.

5. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, BAREVIC SOUGHT A PARDON AND STATED THAT HE WANTED TO GET A RESIDENCE PERMIT IN SWEDEN FOR HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY. SWEDISH AUTHORITIES REGULARLY TURNED DOWN HIS REQUESTS. BAREVIC HAS FOR THE LAST MONTHS BEEN KEPT IN AN ISOLATION CELL, REPORTEDLY FOR HIS OWN PROTECTION. SWEDISH AUTHORITIES SAID EARLIER THAT THEY COULD NOT GUARANTEE HIS SAFETY, SUGGESTING THAT YUGOSLAV INTELLIGENCE MIGHT ATTEMPT TO KILL HIM. THE SWEDISH PRESS HAS REPORTED THAT HE IS ONE OF THE TOP NAMES ON A YUGOSLAV "DEATH LIST." YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN HIGHLY CRITICAL OF SWEDEN'S HANDLING OF THE BAREVIC CASE (REF B). FOR THE GOS, THE DEPORTATION OF BAREVIC TO A COUNTRY WILLING TO GRANT HIM ASYLUM SHIFTS THE ONUS FOR THIS PROBLEM ELSEWHERE. NEWELL

Original Placement: <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/barevic/text/mb0002.txt>



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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AN: 0871010-0303

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 09310 091536Z
ACTION EUR-00

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INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DOD-00
H-01 MSC-01 NSCE-00 ARA-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03
TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02
SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 DSE-00 SCT-02 P-02
T-01 /049 W

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R 091533Z DEC 87
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9097
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY OSLO

9302093

TS/FPCKDA Date: 2/25/97
X RELEASE

UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 09310

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PHUN, PTER, SM, YO, PA
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REF: (A) STOCKHOLM 4252, (B) STOCKHOLM 4419 (NOTAL)

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 09310 091536Z

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AND SHOT THE AMBASSADOR. IN THE FALL OF 1972, A SWEDISH PASSENGER PLANE WAS HI-JACKED BY A GROUP OF CROATIANS WHO DEMANDED THE RELEASE OF BAREASIC AND FIVE OTHER CROATIANS FROM SWEDISH PRISONS. THEY WERE RELEASED AND, AFTER A SHORT STAY IN SPAIN, BAREASIC WENT TO PARAGUAY. HE LATER WAS ARRESTED WHILE WORKING AS A BODYGUARD AT THE PARAGUAYAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON. THE U.S. EXTRADITED BAREASIC, AFTER HE WAS CHARGED WITH VIOLATION OF IMMIGRATION LAWS, TO SWEDEN IN 1980, AND HE HAS SINCE BEEN HELD IN SWEDISH PRISONS.

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5. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, BAREVIC SOUGHT A PARDON AND STATED THAT HE WANTED TO GET A RESIDENCE PERMIT IN SWEDEN FOR HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY. SWEDISH AUTHORITIES REGULARLY TURNED DOWN HIS REQUESTS. BAREVIC HAS FOR THE LAST MONTHS BEEN KEPT IN A ISOLATION CELL, REPORTEDLY FOR HIS OWN PROTECTION. SWEDISH AUTHORITIES SAID EARLIER THAT THEY COULD NOT GUARANTEE HIS SAFETY, SUGGESTING THAT YUGOSLAV INTELLIGENCE MIGHT ATTEMPT TO KILL HIM. THE SWEDISH PRESS HAS REPORTED THAT HE IS ONE OF THE TOP NAMES ON A YUGOSLAV "DEATH LIST." YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN HIGHLY CRITICAL OF SWEDEN'S HANDLING OF THE BAREVIC CASE (REF B). FOR THE GOS, THE DEPORTATION OF BAREVIC TO A COUNTRY WILLING TO GRANT HIM ASYLUM SHIFTS THE ONUS FOR THIS PROBLEM ELSEWHERE. NEWELL

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TELEGRAM

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FM AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8909
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USEASUNCION 05130

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PTER, PGOV, SW, YO, PA

SUBJECT: PARAGUAY WELCOMES CROATIAN TERRORIST

REF: STOCKHOLM 9310

1. ALL ASUNCION DAILIES REPORTED THE ARRIVAL FROM SWEDEN ABOARD A SWEDISH AIR FORCE PLANE OF PAROLED CROATIAN TERRORIST/MURDERER MIRO BAREVIC AT STROESSNER INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, THURSDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 10. THE ARRIVAL WAS MARKED BY STRICT SECURITY PRECAUTIONS WHICH PREVENTED THE PRESS FROM INTERVIEWING OR EVEN APPROACHING BAREVIC. AN UNNAMED SWEDISH DIPLOMAT WITH RESIDENCE IN MONTEVIDEO REPORTEDLY OBSERVED THE ARRIVAL AND WILL REMAIN IN ASUNCION UNTIL BAREVIC'S TRAVEL PLANS ARE FINALIZED.

2. A HIGHLY PLACED GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL INDICATED THAT PARAGUAY HAD ACCEPTED BAREVIC AND HIS FAMILY "FOR ABSOLUTELY HUMANITARIAN REASONS". "OUR NATION IS OPEN AND HOSPITABLE AND HE CAN STAY HERE SO LONG AS HE

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OBSERVES THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS." BAREVIC AND HIS FAMILY ARE REPORTEDLY PLANNING TO VISIT IN THE ITAPUA DEPARTMENT, SOUTH OF ASUNCION ALONG PARAGUAY'S SOUTHERN FRONTIER WITH ARGENTINA, BEFORE RETURNING TO RESIDE PERMANENTLY IN ASUNCION.

3. ALL PAPERS CARRIED LIMITED BACKGROUND STORIES ON BAREVIC AND ON THE HISTORY OF THE CROATIAN [sic] CONTROVERSY. "EL DIARIO" INTERVIEWED FORMER PARAGUAYAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S., MARIO LOPEZ ESCOBAR, WHO NOTED THAT BAREVIC, A MARTIAL ARTS EXPERT, WAS EMPLOYED AT THE PARAGUAYAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON AS A SECURITY OFFICER, BECAUSE "HE KNEW MY ANTICOMMUNIST LEANINGS AND HE WAS A FERVENT ANTICOMMUNIST. HE RECEIVED A SALARY THAT WAS COMPLEMENTED BY (DONATIONS FROM) THE CROATIAN COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO." BAREVIC WAS PREVIOUSLY MADE A CAPTAIN IN THE PARAGUAYAN ARMY. AMBASSADOR LOPEZ ALSO STATED, "I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT HE DIDN'T KILL ANY AMBASSADOR."

4. THE PRESS HAS REPORTED THAT BAREVIC ESCAPED SWEDEN, WHERE HE WAS SENTENCED FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF THE YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR, TO SPAIN, FOLLOWING THE HIJACKING BY FELLOW CROATIAN TERRORISTS OF A SWEDISH AIRLINE. THE LOCAL PRESS HAS NOT ADDRESSED THE QUESTION OF WHY PARAGUAY RECEIVED BAREVIC AND HIS COMPANIONS IN 1972. WHETHER THE STORY RELATES TO THEN OR NOW, IT IS SAID THAT STROESSNER APPROVED THEIR ENTRY WHEN TOLD THE FUGITIVES WERE CATHOLICS AND ANTI-COMMUNIST. TAYLOR.

Original Placement: <http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/barevic/text/mb0003.txt>



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FM AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8909
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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Date: 2/17/88

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: CID/[censored])

FROM: ACTING SAC, CHICAGO [censored]

[censored] 00:NEW YORK

CROATIAN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES;
IT-YUGOSLAVIA;
00:BUREAU
[censored]

This communication is classified "SECRET" in its entirety.

Re San Francisco airtel to the Bureau dated 1/4/88.

Enclosed for the Bureau are seven copies of an LHM entitled
[censored] with two copies designated for Legat, London.
Enclosed for receiving offices are two copies of each of the
LHM.

[.....]

The enclosed LHM pertains to a telephone conversation between
VLADO GLAVAS in Chicago and MIRO BARESIC in Paraguay which
was broadcast on GLAVAS' radio program "FREE CROATIA" on
January 23, 1988. The conversation was recorded and
translated by Language Specialist [censored] of [censored]

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU:

The Bureau is requested to disseminate this communication to
Legat, London.

Chicago, Illinois 60640
February 17, 1988

[censored]

On Saturday, January 23, 1988, a previously recorded telephone conversation between VLADO GLAVAS in Chicago and MIRO BAREVIC in Paraguay was broadcast during GLAVAS' weekly radio program, "FREE CROATIA". "FREE CROATIA" is in the Serbo-Croatian language and is broadcast every Saturday between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. on WCEV RADIO, 1450 AM, in Chicago, Illinois.

Before playing the conversation, GLAVOS [sic] apologized for the poor quality of the recording. GLAVAS did not say when the conversation had taken place.

The following is a translation of the latter part of the conversation.

BAREVIC (B): ... the Swedish authorities justified that by claiming that Belgrade sent over its killers to kill me. The killers, DRAGON PEJOVIC (phonetic) and RATKO DJUKIC (phonetic) were supposed to make an attempt on me between August 10-12 --- the day when I was supposed to be free. All those threats and blackmailing by Belgrade, that certain things will come to surface when the Swedish and the Yugoslav governments have been dealing in the last ten years with arms sales and other things --- to be made public. Thus, of course, the Swedes were compelled to give in some way in order to stop terrorism on their territory. Thus, in order to keep order and peace, the Swedes did everything possible to have me disappear from Europe. In this case, to ship me to Paraguay.

GLAVAS (G): Since you mentioned those UDBA's hitmen. Could you tell us where, in which city, were they supposed to carry

out the crime? Was that supposed to take place in front of the jail? Did the Swedes...

B: The Swedish police, their information service, came to me. I can only be thankful to them. They came to me, told me about that and gave me pictures and names of those men. They were supposed to carry out the killing either on Saturday or Sunday - the days that I had free lately in order to visit with my family. Or, if they were unable to do it at that time, then to carry out the attempt the day when I was freed from the jail.

Therefore, I must say that Sweden is different from other European countries. The Swedish police are quite positive. I, in particular, owe them a lot and I am very grateful to them. I am sure there are many Croatians who believe in God and Croatia [bog i hrvati - and Ustase slogan which was replaced, and then replaced in turn, bog i poglavnik, or "God and the Fuerher"], my fellow followers. They can believe that the Swedish police are better and more capable than any other in the world. I must say that they saved my life.

G: When the Swedish police told you or, better to say, when they informed you, that they caught the UDBA-men, did they tell you where they caught them? What task were they performing? Did they arrest them?

B: Yes, PEJOVIC was sentenced to three years while the other guy had a diplomatic passport later and weapons [sic]. They only accused him of carrying weapons illegally. He has been ordered to leave the country until '91, to go to Yugoslavia. However, since he has family in Sweden, he will be able to come back again to Sweden. That means he still has ---

G: MIRO, tell us, how did PARAGUAY accept you? Was it a friendly or a covered-up welcome?

B: Upon a very lengthy flight aboard the Swedish military plane, HERCULES - my feet and hands were cuffed all the time - forty policemen, armed to the teeth, accompanied me. We flew over Spain to Brazil, then to Paraguay. The Swedish diplomats in Paraguay, headed by the Swedish Ambassador there, and some local officers of the Paraguayan authorities

were at the airport to carry out the procedure of my transfer. They simply turned me over to them, as per agreement. There they handed the Swedish passports to me and to my family. The second part of the ceremony, I can say, was very, very nice. The general and his family with other friends welcomed me. The fact alone that the very same day the Paraguayan Minister of Foreign and Internal Services spoke on the radio and TV very highly and positively about me and the Croatian cause, is enough to say that my welcome there was more than friendly.

G: When did you learn by which airplane you were going to travel, where you were headed? Describe to us, how did that whole drama unfold from Sweden all the way to Paraguay?

B: When they led me away from the prison --- There were policemen armed to teeth, just as if they were ready for war. They tied my feet and hands. I was somewhat trembling, felt tense... but I reasoned properly when I saw that there was no other way out... As I told you before, this was not the first time that they were throwing me from one continent to another. I accepted this, how to tell you, as humiliation not only to me but to Croatia also. But that evoked even a greater desire in my heart, more responsibility and love, to continue one day again the struggle for Croatia... Because, as I said before, people without their own homeland are at the mercy of everyone to push them, kill them, persecute... therefore... they simply transferred me to an army base the last night and put me aboard that HERCULES plane. I had no possibility of talking to my wife or my children. The trip lasted 28 hours and it was very strenuous, especially considering the fact the [sic] I was tied all the time - my hands and feet were cuffed. That was over-exaggerated on the part of Sweden.

I can't understand that attitude on the part of the Swedes.

G: The people that accompanied you, were they Swedes only or was that an international group? Were they soldiers or Police personnel? How many of them accompanied you?

B: There were some 30 to 40 persons. Among them was a Croatian, whose name is TOMISLAV PUSIC (phonetic), who was

supervising everything. Among them were also a physician and three nurses whose task was to assist my wife and my children. They were also aboard that military plane, in that "little house", to call it like that, --- Germans call it ---

That TOMISLAV PUSIC (phonetic) is known to Croatians; he is a very honest man who worked as a translator at the court in '71. Yugoslav authorities barred his entry into Yugoslavia. He was very correct to me and I have nothing against him. I think there were people from various offices, not only from the political service. There were military men, men from the secret service... so, they were supervising each other in order so that no issues would come out in the future. But which will not come out... In other words, everything was done under strict control so that no negative things would occur.

G: The escorting people, were they armed?

B: They carried all kinds of weapons. They all were armed to teeth.

G: As far as we known, Paraguay had refused at first to accept you. But, after the visit of the Yugo-ruling gang of RATISLAV (phonetic) DIZDAREVIC and LAZAR MOJSIEV, the decision was changed. Is that a matter of an agreement or of a purely official international talk?

B: Personally, I don't know what to say on that subject... I think that the main role... yes, Yugoslavia was trying to put its finger in, but that was more of an official threat from the Yugoslav Government, but they don't have much influence here. I do, however, believe that in all this the Swedish people and the Swedish Government played the main role, and that there was an agreement between the governments of Sweden and Paraguay - They were the main factors to have the Paraguay government take me and my family. I don't think that Yugoslavia has any influence, at least not in this case. That's as much as I know.

G: As we touched upon those miserable Yugos, tell us: were there any arrests of Croatians in Paraguay during their visit? When? By whom and for how long?

B: Yes, that is true. It's very sad that such things can happen, but one has to take into consideration that Croatians in this country identify themselves just like Swedes or Poles do. A few days ago I talked with the people from the government here and I came to the conclusion that our Croatian people here are nobody, so to speak: They have very little influence and they do not impose themselves. Yugoslavia, however, requested through its diplomatic channels that those Croatians be detained for security reasons. And that was done from April 4 to April 14 - they were all arrested indeed. But they were treated very well. They ate with the Police officers. That's what I was told. Also, a few days ago I visited with BLAGO (or VLADO) MIKULIC and others who confirmed to me what had happened.

G: Do you know how many were arrested?

B: All of them. All, with the exception of wives and there was a "capital" of itself, about which I don't wish to talk.

G: Upon your deportation from Sweden, Swedes wrote negatively about you. What is the reason for that?

B: It's my opinion... and that is entirely normal that Swedes wrote strongly negatively about me in order to cover up all that crime and the criminal attitude toward myself and my family. Because, there has been also a transgression of the Swedish law in order to please Belgrade. Their negative writing about me is damaging to me and to Croatia, but, taking into consideration the situation, we cannot... Nevertheless, we shall find out in the future what was done and how things unfolded. That negative writing of theirs... we can still say that for many years and in the later time a lot was written in a positive way. But, when it concerns government matters, when it concerns the Croatian nation that has no freedom today, it is normal that both, Swedes and Yugoslavia, did everything to minimize the effect. Because, my permanence in Europe and in Sweden would have been a great catastrophe [sic] for Yugoslavia. Thus, obviously, Sweden had to find a way to please Yugoslavia. We can consider that like having lost the war. We Croats can lose the field battle; they can even write negatively about us in their interest to

minimize the criminal effect, like the transgression of the Swedish law in this case. But, even though we may still lose some field battles, I believe that we will win the war.

G: How are you and your family doing there, especially now in that hot weather?

B: My wife and children have difficulty with the heat. The little IVAN VICTOR became ill - has ear (hearing) problems caused by the noise aboard that HERCULES plane and we keep running from one doctor to another and to the hospital. We have no insurance coverage and that is a big problem for us, especially because no one should know us or our address. So far, we have no help from anyone. That does not mean that we are forgotten. I am confident that Croatians will, like they did before, help us. But, what is most important - the morale is high and we believe in a better tomorrow and return to our homeland. That is most important for the time being.

G: What is your message to Croatians?

B: I'll try to be short. To tell you the truth, we all should unite in a strong movement and, with united forces, we should destroy that artificial creation and establish a free state of Croatia in which justice and freedom will reign for all the citizens of Croatia. This is my only message for today. I should also add that we stop with pettiness and that we go on to do the big work, because that is what our homeland is expecting from us. Therefore, I call upon all of my fellow soldiers, I call on all of you to be prepared and responsible and to get on to work with full responsibility and that, once and for all, we destroy that dungeon, that prison that is called Yugoslavia, that is a prison for the Croatian people. Let us establish a free Croatian state, because, without a free Croatia things like this will continue to happen. That is normal. Therefore, let us not allow Croatians to be treated in this way. Let us destroy that artificial creation and let us finally be free forever so that we, too, can live like other cultured people of Europe in our free state of Croatia. That is my message to all of you. To the fighters who are lingering in prison in America, Europe, and our homeland, I tell them to hold strong - every beginning has an end.

G: Thank you, MIRO, for this pleasant conversation. Be greeted together with your wife and little children. Continue to be proud like you have been so far. We wish you every success!

B: Thanks also to all of you and I hope that one day we will see ourselves again in Croatia!

GLAVAS' COMMENT:

MIRO is living in Paraguay presently with his wife SLAVICA, whom he married three years ago. They have two children: VERA VICTORIA and IVAN VICTOR. How he got there is known to all of us. Life in that poor country is hard. With his sacrifice up until now MIRO has deserved that Croatians don't play a deaf ear toward him and his family. I appeal to all of you who call yourselves Croatians to help that great hero. All of you who wish to help, please send your monetary donations to the FREE CROATIA radio program, P.O. Box 14322, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

I repeat the address: Radio Free Croatia for MIRO BAREVIC, P.O. Box 14322, Chicago, Illinois 60614. Or you can send or give it to me personally and we will forward it properly. Those who don't wish to have their name published openly, should notify us in time. Our warm fraternal thanks to all in advance.

Filing Information:

Title: FBI File: An Interview with Miro Baresic

Source: FBI, declassified.

Date: February 17, 1988

Added: May 19, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/baresic/text/mb0005.txt>

THE USTASE CROATIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

When streams of tears soaked the faces of millions of Croatian men and women, and the peace-loving politicians were hiding to save their necks, the voice of Starcevic's follower was heard: a parliament deputy for the city of Zagreb, Dr. Ante Pavelic, who rose in defense of his people, accepted the challenge of the glove thrown in the face of the dictator-king and went on the offensive for Croatian national and state rights. The king stood the Croats on 6 January [1929] before an open tomb, but Dr. Ante Pavelic on 7 January - only a day later - created in Zagreb the Ustase Croatian Liberational Movement. After assigning tasks and giving instructions to his Ustase, he went abroad and proclaimed a war against the mortal enemy.

The life and struggle of the Ustase Poglavnik were extremely difficult. All politicians, both foreign and Croatian, considered him an adventurer, a fanatic, too young, inexperienced, pretentious, and even insane for getting into such an unpromising struggle, facing mortal danger every day rather than sitting in Zagreb as a famous lawyer and deputy, living as many others did at the people's expense. Dr. Ante Pavelic rather embraced his life, like a persecuted wolf. He was sentenced to death three times by Belgrade, and several attempts on his life were prevented only at the last moment. In spite of it all, the Ustase Poglavnik created the Principles of the Ustase, according to which the Croatian liberation struggle would be waged and according to which the Independent State of Croatia must be organized; he looked for patriots and comrades all over Croatia and abroad, sent instructions and orders, created more organizations, published several papers, every now and then leaflets and pamphlets, and thus in both Croatian and foreign languages propagated Starcevic's idea of Croatian State Rights and looked for friends and allies in demolishing Serbian Yugoslavia and establishing the Independent State of Croatia. He put his enemies on notice with the Principles of the Croatian Revolutionary Movement, Article 8 of which reads:

8. The Croatian nation has the right to revive its sovereign authority in its own Croatian State in its entire national and historical area, that is to say to reconstitute a complete, sovereign and independent Croatian state. This reconstitution may be accomplished by any means, including force of arms.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was the result of the great French Revolution a hundred years before [sic], justifies resistance against tyrants in its second article, and all constitutions of freedom-loving nations justify the use of force against every foreign occupation and violent rule as the only way possible for deprived nations to liberate themselves from slavery and achieve their rights.

Therefore, there is no justified criticism of the Ustase Liberation Movement, because it grew out of hearts and wishes of all nationally conscious Croats, and because it performed the most exalted duty: it destroyed the dictator and dictatorship, and with them the foreign occupier that was just about to pronounce a death sentence over the Croatian people. Moreover, the Ustase Liberation Movement also accomplished the greatest achievement in history: it established Independent State of Croatia in the entirety of the Croatian ethnic and historical area, even greater than the kingdom of Tomislav - even greater than the kingdom of Petar IV the Great.

When the Ustase Movement achieved its goal on the legendary date of 10 April 1941, the Croatian people hailed the achievement in a plebiscite, and aligned themselves with the ranks of Ustase fighters with an enthusiasm never seen before, with courage and heroism defending the Independent State of Croatia, thousands dying in the battlefields with the war cry: For Poglavnik and for Home! [Za Poglavnika i za Dom]

Being happy and satisfied with the Ustase's achievements, every conscious Croat invested all his powers in saving the Independent State of Croatia. Four years of daily assaults and the countless numbers of victims, granted by Croats in defense of their self-determination, testify to their

sacrifice.

It is an honor to the Croatian people and their Ustase Liberation Movement that their young State, assaulted by international Marxism, Serbian imperialism, and plutocratic and naive statesmen, resisted millions of assaults and remained the last state in Eastern Europe built upon the principles of the defense of HUMAN RIGHTS.

Knowing what is already written in history, then, criticism of the Croatian Liberation Movement by a Croatian intelligentsia mutilated by Socialism are ridiculous and completely hostile to the Croatian people, not least of all because Socialists or Marxists themselves were the main enemies of Freedom and the Croatian State.

Today, when Croatia is again in a similar situation as it was during dictatorship of King Alexander, it is the most cherished duty of all pro-statehood Croats to align themselves in the ranks of the Croatian Liberation Movement, and united just as we were on the Tenth of April of 1941, destroy the Serbian occupation and restore the Independent State of Croatia in the entire ethnic and historical area of Croats.

To Ustase Poglavnik Dr. Ante Pavelic, as well as to his honorable legion of Ustase heroes and knights, we pay our filial respect and make the promise that we will continue their uncompromising struggle for restoration of FREEDOM AND CROATIAN STATE RIGHTS.

Filing Information:

Title: The Ustase Croatian Liberation Movement

Source: Ustasa Hrvatski Oslobodilacki Pokret, 1 January 1929-1979

Date: 1993

Added: November 26, 2003

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/hop/text/hop0001.txt>

STATEMENT OF THE FIRST CROATIAN VICTIMOLOGY CONGRESS

"the US Government was asked to drop the charges against Zvonko Busic and Ante Ljubas...", excerpt from "Protest Sent to the Hague," Vecernji List, June 23, 1998

The first Croatian Victimology Congress held in Zagreb with over 500 participants and 120 reports and essays concluded that they must pursue, by means of detailed investigations, the truth about victims and the suffering in Croatia. Instead of trying the Genocide against Vukovar, they have decided to administer justice for crimes committed in Jasenovac 50 years ago. At the congress, proof was presented that Jasenovac "was in business" until 1948 as a communist execution location, especially for those from the "ways of the cross".

The congress sent a strong protest to the ICTY for their trials unbecoming of Croats and the severe conditions of the detainees. The US Government was asked to drop the charges against Zvonko Busic and Ante Ljubas, as well as the freeing of Croats being held in Serb jails. The congress passed a special decision which honours the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, for his protection of human life and for the peaceful reintegration of Vukovar and the Croatian Danube Region without a single new victim.

Quoted from "Protest Sent to the Hague," Vecernji List, June 23, 1998. No attribution listed.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ljubas/text/al0002.txt>

MORE ON LOUIS ALMEIDA

Excerpt from the Court of Appeals decision re: State of Illinois vs Harry Aleman, March 21, 2000.

...In the case sub judice, the 23-volume record reflects that on retrial, the State presented evidence from several witnesses regarding [William] Logan [Sr.]'s murder. Logan lived with his sister, Betty Romo, and another sister. On September 27, 1972, Logan left for work at 11 p.m. Shortly after, Romo heard three loud noises or shots. Running outside, she discovered Logan, bleeding from two fatal shotgun wounds. Logan had been divorced from defendant's second cousin, Phyllis Napoles. They were engaged in a custody battle. Previously, he had been arrested for her assault and battery.

Bobby Lowe, Logan's neighbor, testified that on September 27, while walking his dog, he observed a vehicle parked across the street with its engine running and Logan walking to his parked automobile. As Lowe approached Logan to speak with him, the other vehicle pulled up. Lowe heard two loud noises and saw Logan fly backwards. Defendant exited the passenger side of the vehicle, approached Logan with a gun-like object in his hand, which he pointed at the fallen Logan. Lowe stared at defendant for four or five seconds, standing three or four feet away, then turned and ran. While running, he heard another loud noise and heard the vehicle drive away. In 1972, he picked out defendant's photograph and again, in 1976, he identified defendant as Logan's shooter for police. As a result of witnessing the shooting, Lowe was forced to quit his job and was relocated. He received money from the State during both trials. Lowe had incurred many debts, which he paid in part with money received from the State.

Louis Almeida, a career criminal who had grown up in the same neighborhood as defendant, testified for the State. In March of 1975, while driving through Ohio on their way to "kill somebody" for \$10,000 in Pennsylvania, he and Joe Neri were stopped by Ohio police and arrested for possession of weapons and a silencer. Almeida provided police with information about his various criminal activities, including armed robberies, vehicle thefts, and bombings. Later, he reported details of Logan's murder identifying himself as the driver and defendant as the shooter. In exchange, Almeida was given immunity from prosecution for Logan's murder.

According to Almeida, in August of 1972, defendant discussed his plan to kill Logan and gave him two license plate numbers and Logan's home and work addresses, writing

"Death to Billy" on the same piece of paper.

Almeida then trailed Logan to learn his habits and schedule.

On the evening of September 27, 1972, defendant, armed with a shotgun and a .45 caliber handgun, was driven by Almeida to Logan's block, where he parked. Almeida observed a man walking a dog. At 11:15 p.m., he saw Logan. Almeida drove the automobile near Logan. Defendant called to Logan.

Logan walked toward them. Defendant shot him twice with a 12-gauge shotgun. Logan "flew back" and began crawling and yelling for a doctor. Defendant stepped half-way out of the car, but "shut the door on the car and [said], let's go, he's gone"...

Quoted from 1st District Appellate Court, 5th Div. (IL) Decision re: The People of the State of Illinois vs. Harry Aleman, 4/31/00.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/ljubas/text/al0003.txt>

ATTACKS ON THE CROATIAN FRATERNAL UNION

Ustase terrorism against the Croatian Fraternal Union, excerpted from "Unofficial Diplomat,"
Pittsburg Post-Gazette, May 14, 2000

Tito stood up to Stalin, but he gave in to Bernard Luketich.

During one meeting with the Yugoslav premier, Luketich complained that only a dirt road linked his father's old village with the Croatian capital, Zagreb.

"Within a year, they asphalted the road," recalled Luketich, mayor of Cokeburg and president of the Croatian Fraternal Union with 80,000 members in the United States and Canada.

Once, a Croatian immigrant living in Ohio returned to his homeland and was jailed for criticizing Tito's communist regime. At 3 a.m., his frantic wife sought help from Luketich, who picked up the telephone and won the man's release in days...

...Luketich has a photograph of himself with Tito, Tito's wife, Jovanka, and then-CFU President John Badovinac. The 1973 photo was taken at a reception, and Luketich recalled Tito ridiculing the local wine, saying it tasted like vinegar and should be served on lettuce. "He liked to joke around," Luketich said. "I mean, he was down to earth. In fact, you could even criticize and he would listen."

...Their families yoked with Communism, Croatian emigrants disagreed on how to approach Yugoslavia. Some wanted nothing to do with Tito; others, including Luketich and fellow CFU leaders, advocated a policy of engagement at the risk of

their lives.

In 1975, police foiled a plot to assassinate Badovinac. The scheme unraveled after two ex-convicts were stopped for speeding in Ohio. In the car, police found weapons and newspaper clippings with Badovinac's name underlined in red. Police concluded the hit men had been hired by Croatian extremists upset about the CFU's relations with Tito.

Also that year, Badovinac, Luketich and other CFU officials received letters warning they would be killed if they won re-election at the CFU convention.

In June 1977, Badovinac's home was bombed. Two weeks later, Luketich went to the restroom during a Croatian picnic in Milwaukee.

"Are you Luketich?" a voice said. Three men attacked him, using a piece of pipe. Luketich went to a hospital for treatment.

When Luketich took over the CFU in 1978, the group's ties with Tito remained intact.

As a result, Luketich said, he was able to help the jailed Ohio man, and the Tamburitzans made the trips Rukavina called so important to Croatia. He said he also was able to secure visas for outspoken immigrants who wanted to visit relatives in Croatia....

Quoted from "Unofficial diplomat: Cokeburg's Mayor Bernard Luketich..." by Joe Smydo, Pittsburg Post-Gazette, May 14, 2000.

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/text/al0004.txt>

CROATIAN REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERHOOD MAIN REVOLUTIONARY HEADQUARTERS

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CROATIAN REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERHOOD

After the difficult defensive war of liberation that was imposed on the Croatian people by the Greater Serbian occupiers, with pride we can say that Croatia today is a free, independent and democratic state. The centuries-long dream of all Croats, especially Croatian patriots, has been fulfilled by the unselfish sacrifice of the whole Croatian nation, both in the homeland and abroad, regardless of ideology or party affiliation and beliefs.

However, though the entire Croatian national consensus participated in this liberation struggle, we must not and cannot forget those organized factors in emigration, who for decades expressed the desires of the Croatian people for freedom and independence in the countries they settled, and with their devoted patriotic work made a great contribution to the struggle for Croatian freedom. Among the different Croatian organizations, political and cultural, athletic and other types of organizations and associations, the secret CROATIAN REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERHOOD (CRB), was organized as a revolutionary organization in 1961, with one explicit goal: "the uncompromising destruction of Yugoslavia and establishment of the independent, democratic Croatian state."

In that long, painstaking and exhausting activity, the CRB didn't limit itself to activities abroad, but carried the struggle to Croatia itself, firmly believing this was the key to success. That is why out of the series of operations carried out in the homeland, the climax of the military activity of the CRB in history will remain the "Bugojno Rebellion," whether that enterprise is understood, respected or condemned by people today. This operation was planned by the operations section of the CRB under the code name "MF," executed by a unit named "MOUNTAIN FOX," and in planning and execution no other organization participated.

The activity of the CRB shouldn't be reduced to Bugojno.

Revolutionary activists from the CRB lost their lives all over Europe, and also fought in units of the Croatian army during the Homeland War. They fought with honor, devotion and heroism. Some were killed, and some remained handicapped. They never bragged about their CRB membership, living by the principle "actions, not words."

Croatia today is a reality. Croatia is free, democratic and independent. There is a place in it for everyone who wants Croatia as his homeland. Croatia is an internationally-recognized state with internationally-recognized borders guarded by Croatian soldiers. The goal maintained in the Basic Principles of CRB has been achieved, and on that basis, the Main Revolutionary Headquarters makes a

DECISION

disbanding the secret revolutionary organization

CROATIAN REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERHOOD

Explanation:

In the democratic and independent Republic of Croatia, freedom of association by political parties and their competition through free and democratic elections is guaranteed by the constitution. Respect for human rights is also guaranteed by the constitution, as in all other democratic states. Therefore, there is no longer any need nor justification for secret associations and revolutionary organizations in the Homeland and abroad. The goal of the CRB has been achieved, as the goals proclaimed in the Basic Principles of CRB have become a reality. Therefore, we consider it completely justified, desirable and noble to disband the CRB. We inform all members of the following:

1. All CRB members obligated by the oath per the Basic Principles (Article 3) of the Basic Instructions are hereby released of that oath. The law of the Republic of Croatia obligates all citizens to be loyal and to defend the freedom and independence of the Croatian State, so living by the oath of the CRB is therefore unnecessary.
2. All commanders of the CRB are released from duty, and all

materials and documentation belonging to the organization must be sent by the usual channels to the Main Revolutionary Headquarters of the CRB.

3. Most of the archives will be destroyed. Especially documents containing names of members, associates and information about marked enemies working against the idea of an independent state for Croats.

4. Every member, personally and with his own mind, may decide whether or not to declare his CRB membership in public. For every such decision, everyone carries personal responsibility. Even though released of the oath, no member has the right to give away the names of other members and associates he cooperated with, in order to avoid potential arguments and inconveniences.

5. Various activities and enterprises performed within the CRB, and performed by members of the CRB under the clandestine oath, must remain secret.

6. Members of the CRB will be awarded as a souvenir a specially designed badge in honor of the organization's jubilee and the completion of the CRB's mission. Only members will receive a badge.

7. The Information Bureau of the Main Revolutionary Headquarters will continue sending information to and performing services for members until 30 April 1997. On that day, the work of the Information Bureau will cease at the same time the CRB will cease to exist.

Officials from the Main Headquarters and the regional commanders thank all members for many years of devoted and self-sacrificing loyalty in work for the sacred goal: a democratic, independent CROATIAN STATE.

We are grateful for all the help provided to the CRB from many people all over Australia, Europe, Canada and other countries where Croats reside. We especially wish to thank the Croatian Youth-Hope Alliance of Australia because of the willingness of their best associates to give material and moral support, particularly in propaganda, aimed at

attracting as many middle age and young generations of Croats in a modern and radical way toward the struggle for freedom... Their work now focuses on the Homeland, and we wish them much success in their future endeavors.

To our late members, wherever they are buried, and to those who disappeared without leaving a grave - we pay our respect and honor. They distinguished themselves as combatants in the Homeland War, the foundation of our eternal Republic of Croatia.

Our lives for Croatia!

In the name of the Main Rev. Headquarters of the Brotherhood

secretary: Ivan Krsan

Filing Information:

Title: Announcement Dissolving the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood

Source: Hrvatski Vjesnik, September 15, 2000. Translated by Sinisa Djuric.

Date: September 15, 2000

Added: February 19, 2004

Original Placement:

<http://www.pavelicpapers.com/documents/odpor/text/odp0009.txt>

The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement



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The Exiles

A Brief History of the Croatian Liberation Movement

by Cali Ruchala

from Archive: the journal of the pavelic papers

volume 1, issue 1 - january 28, 2004

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PART ONE: THE PAVELIC YEARS

THERE ARE MANY right-wing organizations in the world today, and not a few indulge in their taste for that candy-coated stimulant of the half-educated. I'm speaking, of course, of Holocaust Denial. But there's only one right-wing movement in existence today founded by men that once ran concentration camps.

The **Croatian Liberation Movement** (*Hrvatski Oslobodilacki Pokret*, or HOP), is a direct descendent of the Ustase movement itself. No other right-wing extremist movement in Europe or diaspora today is so closely connected to the killing fields and slaughterhouses of World War II and Hitler's Final Solution. Nor can the godfathers of the American right-wing extremist movement (such as the recently deceased Dr. William L. Pierce, who once worked for the American Nazi Party) be tied so intimately to the mass extermination of minorities which consumed the European continent in World War II.

As a political party, the HOP is, in the opinion of most contemporary chroniclers of Croatian politics, a spent force. The pool of voters which represent the most extremist fringe of the Croatian body politic have decidedly looked beyond the HOP to more charismatic movements on the right, such as **Anto Djapic's** and Mladen Schwartz's bands of black-shirted thugs. Much of the movement's support in the Croatian community abroad was likewise siphoned off by more recent political movements, especially the meteoric rise of the late president Franjo Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ).

The HOP is still a subject of fascination, most notably for the **permutations** it has gone through. What began as a pre-war exile movement responsible for what was considered the "Crime of the Century" - **the murder of King Alexander I of**

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Yugoslavia and French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou in Marseilles, France - emerged as a full-fledged Nazi puppet regime, even if its barbarity and lack of control managed to **alienate most German officials** who came into contact with it. And after the war, the Ustase re-established themselves as one of the most virulent terrorist movements in the Western world.

What separates the Ustase from other Fascist movements which suffocated in the ashes of World War II is the HOP. And what separates the HOP from other contemporary neo-Fascist groups is the fact that their founder and a considerable number of their leading officials served as properly coronated and deputized officials of a Nazi puppet state. The HOP didn't just distribute anti-Semitic and anti-Serbian essays; their leader had signed binding anti-Semitic and anti-Serbian legislation. The HOP didn't just harass Jews and Serbs; their leader organized their mass execution and eventually paid Himmler and Eichmann thirty *reichsmarks* for every Croatian Jew deported to Auschwitz. Thus, the HOP is not just a political party, but a relic of the days when most of Europe languished in the shadow of the swastika.

Among the HOP, at least, there is **no veil of ambiguity** over their past; in fact, the organization, though founded in the 1950s, took the same official name, identity and symbols of the original Ustase movement founded by Ante Pavelic in Vienna in 1929. HOP propagandists are at pains to stress the continuity from that date to the present, including their proud connection to the Independent State of Croatia (NDH).

For the purposes of clarity, however, "HOP" in this essay makes a distinction which technically does not exist and refers strictly to the political movement of that name baptized by the "**HOP Declaration**" published on June 8, 1956.

After the fall of the Independent State of Croatia and Ustase leader Ante Pavelic's **surreptitious flight to Argentina**, the Ustase movement passed through a sort of dark age. A number of front organizations and governments-in-exile rose and fell; new ones were constantly being formed under the Poglavnik's initiative and died with scarcely a mention.

Pavelic had hoped - and had reason to hope - that a confrontation between East and West, the Americans and the Soviets, would provide the Ustase with the space to return to power in a Yugoslavia which would be once again dismembered. From 1945 until 1948, the American and British governments had provided covert support to the **Krizari** ("Crusaders") - former Ustase soldiers as well as new recruits among refugees who mounted raids into Yugoslav territory from Austria. The Krizari "stay-behind" units within Yugoslavia itself were under the operational command of **Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburic**, the designer of the

Jasenovac concentration camp and its first commandant, who had been named commander-in-chief of the Croatian armed forces by Pavelic before he fled from Zagreb in May 1945. One of the Krizari squads was led by Ljubo Milos, another former commandant of **Jasenovac**.

Nearly all of the Krizari insurgents were captured by the Yugoslav army and secret police and their leaders (including Milos) summarily tried and executed. The ease with which the Yugoslav Communist authorities neutralized the Krizari raiders led many to believe that a mole within US intelligence - possibly Kim Philby of the "Cambridge Spy Ring" - tipped off the Soviets, who in turn tipped off the Yugoslavs.

America's relations with Yugoslavia form the ebb and flow of the Ustase's activity in the first decade following the war. The Krizari campaign is thought to have finally died out in 1948 - the same year as the confrontation between Yugoslavia and the USSR, and Yugoslavia's subsequent expulsion from the Communist Bloc of nations and realignment as a "non-aligned" state with fairly strong ties to the West. The year 1956 marks the next milestone in Yugoslavia's relations with the West, as Tito and Khrushchev mended fences. That same year - June 8, 1956 - the HOP was born.

The declarants to the "Founding Declaration of the HOP" identify themselves as "the undersigned, members of the government of the Independent State of Croatia," then identify their chief enemy as "Communism," in the pot-boiled rhetoric typical at the height of the Cold War. The identities of the thirteen co-signers of the HOP Declaration are illuminating: led by the Poglavnik himself, nearly all were wanted by the West as well as Yugoslavia on war crimes charges. Each did future researchers the courtesy of signing alongside their names the position they held in the government of the wartime Independent State of Croatia:

Dr. Ante Pavelic, Poglavnik and Commander-in-Chief of the Croatian Armed Forces

Dr. Dzafer beg-Kulenovic, deputy and President of the NDH

Dr. Vjekoslav Vrancic, Minister of the NDH

Dr. Stjepan Hefer, Minister of the NDH and deputy of the Peasant Party

Dr. Jozo Dumandzic, Minister of the NDH

Ivica Frkovic, Minister of the NDH

Stipe Matijevic, deputy of the Peasant Party,

Doglavnik and State Councillor of the NDH

Dr. Petar grof Pejacevic, Minister of the NDH

Dr. Andrija Ilic, Minister of the NDH

Dr. Oskar Turina, Minister of the NDH

Dr. Ivan Kordic, State Councillor the NDH

Josip Markovic, State Security of the NDH
Ivan Asancaic, Leader of the Croatian Home Guard

In light of the signatories of the Founding Declaration, it's easy to see why the HOP had a leg up on the competition among other neo-Nazi groups: none had quite such an illustrious pool of organizers, thugs and desk-murderers to draw from.

Along with the paper resurrection of the Independent State of Croatia came all of the mothballed trappings of the totalitarian state, including a cult of personality devoted to Ante Pavelic, expressed in "odes" to the *Poglavnik*, flattering portraits on canvas and even on the postage stamps the philatelic Pavelic had printed in his own honour.

From the time the Ustase movement was founded in 1929, however, Pavelic had been forced to confront dissension in the ranks. His experience in Argentina was no different. The greatest threat to his authority came before HOP's official baptism in March 1954, following a highly publicized meeting with a fellow emigre from Yugoslavia in Buenos Aires: former Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Stojadinovic. According to press reports at the time (**picked up by US intelligence via Germany**), Pavelic and Stojadinovic had come to some sort of agreement on the exact division of Yugoslavia after Tito was overthrown, and presumably spoke on how they'd like that to come about.

Following above "interview" [between Pavelic and Stojadinovic] leaflets were disseminated among the Croatian emigrants in Argentina, in which PAVELIC was called a traitor who is planning to "sell out" Croatia in order to realize his personal ambitious plans. The authors of the leaflets are allegedly extreme-nationalist Ustaschi. A split among the Ustaschi is regarded as possible if the "agreements" should come to the knowledge of wider circles. In the case of a split the extreme elements among the Ustaschis are expected to join Max LUBURIC (known in exile as General DRINJANIN), commander of Group V (Europe) of the "Croatian Armed Force in Exile", seat: MADRID. Differences of opinion have allegedly been existing between LUBURIC and PAVELIC for a long time.

The major point of contention between Pavelic and Luburic was that the latter refused to waive claims on what the Ustase had

once considered Croatia's "natural border" at the Drina River (hence Luburic's *nom de guerre*, as well as the title of his own movement's flagship publication, *Drina*). The two never saw eye-to-eye after the Stojadinovic meeting, though there is some doubt whether the opposition was truly as strong as it was later made out to be after both protagonists were dead. Later, members of their **respective organizations** had no trouble collaborating closely with each other from the United States to Germany to Australia despite their founders' antipathy.

Aside from ideological challenges to his leadership, Pavelic also had to balance the supposed "intellectual" wing of the Ustase movement, represented chiefly by former NDH Minister Stjepan Hefer, and the more violent factions of HOP that longed for a complete return to the slash-and-burn terrorist attacks of the 1930s and of the Krizari campaign.

Pavelic's control over the movement seems not to have suffered when he was forced, after a high-profile attempt on his life, to flee Argentina for Spain (coincidentally, the seat of Luburic's **Croatian People's Resistance** movement, or "Odpor"). He succumbed in Madrid on December 28, 1959 to wounds sustained in the assassination attempt in Argentina two years earlier.

His chosen successor was Stjepan Hefer, though the *Poglavnik* had left a number of issues unresolved. No sooner had Hefer assumed control of the HOP than Vjekoslav Vrancic, Pavelic's long-time, loyal personal assistant and occasional minister in the NDH government, declared Hefer's leadership illegitimate and declared that he was the leader of the HOP. The Pavelic era had ended, essentially, with HOP's hopeless fragmentation.

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Appendix: the Index.hr Files

The Exposé of Marko Perkovic-Thompson

by Matija Babic and Nevan Barkovic

translated by Sinisa Djuric

from Archive: the journal of the pavelic papers

volume 1, issue 1 - january 28, 2004

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THOMPSON: PATRIOT OR FASCIST?

The Final Answer Is...

[published December 28, 2003]

Text written by Matija Babic

Thompson's songs listened to by Nevan Barkovic

TO DECLARE THAT the most popular Croatian singer is a devotee of Fascism only because of his darker style of dress and a few Ustase symbols in the audience is, to say the least, exaggerated, and it gives Croatia a bad reputation.

It was exactly because of these kinds of rumors that Thompson's concert in Holland was recently banned, and in the world media Croatia was again associated with terms related to the most shameful days of Croatian history.

Marko Perkovic long ago dissociated himself from Ustasism and exclusively emphasized his patriotism, especially during the last four years.

In a search for the final answer to the question whether Thompson is just a Croatian patriot or a promoter of Ustasism and Fascism, we dug through the archive of Thompson's statements and recordings from his performances at concerts and parties.

After carefully listening many Thompson's songs - we are shocked by the fact that Marko Perkovic is being rebuked because of his black pants and T-shirts and because of the salute "Za Dom - Spremni," while at the same time Thompson keeps performing a song with words that fill us with disgust.

Although an average Internet surfer is probably not aware of this, there are tens (maybe even hundreds, we didn't count) of Internet pages dedicated to the Ustase, the NDH, Ante Pavelic and

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other Ustase "giants."

On many of these sites you can freely download Ustase songs performed by singers like Josko Tomicic and Marko Perkovic-Thompson, but also new ones like "Hey Ivica and Stipan."

Among pearls like "The Ustase Army is Rising" and "We Will Break All Your Fingers" we chose for download one called "Here Comes Dawn, Here Comes Day" performed by Thompson, along with one interesting duet - the above mentioned Josko Tomicic and Thompson song "Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara."

The text of the song we convey in the form Thompson and Tomicic sang it, following the introduction that "This is the song our grandfathers used to sing and were proud of it":

*Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara, that's the house of
Maks' butchers
Through Imotski trucks are rushing, driving the
black shirts of Francetic Jure
In Capljina there was a slaughterhouse, many Serbs
were carried away by the Neretva*

(let me see your arms)

*Hey Neretva flow down the side, carry Serbs to the
blue Adriatic
Who could imagine last year that Christmas would
be celebrated by Partizans
Who said it, may his father screw him, that the
Black Legion is not returning*

(there are two new)

*Our Lady of Sinj if you are capable, take away Stipe
and give us back Franjo
Hey Racan may a dog fuck your mother, and to
those who voted for you
Shiny star above Metkovic, send our regards to
Ante Pavelic*

If you are refusing to believe that the most popular Croatian singer is really singing things like that, download it yourself while such songs are still legal in Croatia.

Unfortunately, you can take your time.

Download MP3: **Thompson - Jasenovac i Gradiska Stara**
<http://www.index.hr/images2/Thompson-Jasenovaci-GradiskaStara.mp3>

Judging by the words of the song (Hey Racan may a dog fuck your mother, and to those who voted for you) it can be concluded that it was created during the last four years, therefore it cannot be attributed to the sins of Perkovic's youth.

For those who don't know history so well, we must mention that Jure Francetic and Maks Luburic, who are glorified by Thompson and Tomicic in their song, were infamous butchers of the Ustase regime responsible for the death of a large number of civilians - Serbs, Jews, Roma, Croats and others, and for the betrayal of Croatia.

The mentioned singers not only don't hide that they know well what kind of butchers they are singing about, on the contrary that is the exact thing they admire the most and make points about their slaughters in rhymes. So already in the first verse they mention the concentration camps Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska as the house of "Maks' butchers."

Thompson and Tomicic then glorify the infamous Black Legion, the "slaughterhouse" in Capljina, and then, in a comical context for them, the Neretva River full of dead Serbs, and conclude the song by mentioning Ante Pavelic.

The theory that Thompson is just a benign patriot whose songs affect the defiance and rebellious spirit of Croatian youth is obviously just a bad excuse for open praising and celebrating the darkest era of Croatian history, which isn't even in accord with the teachings of the Catholic Church, which Thompson constantly alludes to.

His concert in Holland was banned obviously because of justified reasons, as it would be banned in any other normal country.

In Germany and Italy singers who glorify Hitler or Mussolini don't perform anywhere except in underground clubs visited by neo-Nazis.

Even in Republika Srpska, which we like to think is far more backward than our beautiful homeland, performers like Dinara Rock Division ("Ratko sends shells") are marginalized and don't have access to state media.

"I don't know why my name is being connected with Ustase and why that happens. I dissociate myself from that wherever I can. What do I have to do with Ustase and Partizans? Absolutely nothing," Thompson stated recently.

Indeed, if Ante Pavelic, Maks Luburic and Jure Francetic have

nothing to do with Ustase, neither does Thompson.

There are no documented recordings that Bora Djordjevic, whom we remember as a notorious Chetnik because of his statements from the 1990s, has ever stated or sung something as nearly as horrible as Thompson in the mentioned lyrics.

Thompson, it should be obvious to everyone, doesn't just copy their salute and clothing, but openly advocates Ustase and Fascist ideas. That is the fact that shouldn't be camouflaged nor justified.

Thompson will earn 30,000 euros for [his] New Year's gig, which shows that Croatia is the only state in the world in which the best paid and the most popular singer promotes Fascism.

Croatia, as much as we want to believe otherwise, is not a normal country.

Nor it will ever become normal as long as a singer who glorifies Ustase massacres is shown on national television, as long as his CDs are being sold by the largest domestic record company, as long as he performs in the largest stadiums, as long as he is being invited to city celebrations, as long as the majority of media qualify him at best as a controversial singer (Margaret Thatcher and her fans could also be controversial, while Pavelic and Luburic, whom Thompson glorifies, just like for instance Arkan and Milosevic, are war criminals and nothing else), as long as those whom he alludes to do not dissociate from him - war veterans, the Church and the political right, and as long as the public perceives him as a patriot.

With these sorts of patriots, Croatia doesn't need enemies.

Until the moment this changes Croatia will justifiably be observed as a small dark Balkan state, the only one in the world in which half a century after the Holocaust, Fascism is still a popular and a state supported phenomenon.

* * * * *

"JASENOVAC" AND "HERE COMES DAWN" WERE SUNG BY THOMPSON AND SUPPORTING VOCALIST TIHO ORLIC IN CONCERT IN OSIJEK IN 2002

[published January 3, 2004]

By Matija Babic and Nevan Barkovic

IF IT WAS at any moment controversial whether "Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara" is performed by Thompson or by someone with an amazingly similar voice, now it is no longer controversial, because index.hr has come into the possession of audio recording of one of

concerts on which Thompson sung "Jasenovac."

After index.hr published the recording of the scandalous song "Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara" in which Thompson explicitly glorifies Ustase crimes, the Croatian public remained in disgust.

After the publication of the text we received numerous emails in which visitors, wishing to remain anonymous, mentioned that they were present at a performance of the same song by Thompson in Oscar Disco in Offenbach near Frankfurt [Germany] in 2001, at a concert in Cleveland, a concert on the occasion of Kupres Days of Mowing, etc.

Thompson didn't even try to justify himself for the words of a song for which there is no justification, but he stated for *Novi list* how he does not remember ever singing that, and though it is completely clear that it is his voice on the recording, Thompson added that "you can do anything on a computer."

Entries from 2002 in the guest book of Thompson's official web pages show that "Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara" were obviously well known hits among Thompson's fans long before we published our article on index.hr.

In the archive of older posts in the forum of Black Legion (<http://www.crnalegija.com>) we found the song "Jasenovac" which is mentioned there very often, performed by Marko Perkovic-Thompson, which most of the forum participants had, as they said themselves, thanks to the recording of the concert in Osijek 2002.

But we were corrected on Black Legion that the song "Jasenovac" was not performed by Thompson and Tomicic, as we published in our first article, who died on 9 December 2000, but by Thompson and his supporting vocalist Tiho Orlic.

Thompson held several concerts in Osijek in 2002, and the comments it seems are about a concert from July held in the old Osijek cinema in the lower city, so called "MC Slavia."

On the web pages of Black Legion we saw a whole line of "interesting" posts and attitudes. Among the participants of this pro-Ustase forum, Thompson is the most popular Croatian star. However, a certain Walter objects to him: "Thompson says he is not an Ustase and a Nazi. And it is obvious he is pro-Ustase, just like us, but doesn't want to admit it."

Thompson is also criticized on the forum because of the fact that at some of his concerts it is forbidden to take photographs, and there are also comments that "the best Thompson concerts are in Herzegovina, because he can sing whatever he wants there,"

while in Croatia - "because of Racan and Mesic" - he cannot.

After that we found a link to an ftp server of one of the members of the Black Legion forum (<ftp://cromp3:ndh@turboero.dyn.ee/>, at the moment of the publication of this article it was active) and where in a huge archive of songs there is also a recording of the entire Thompson's concert in Osijek.

Besides "Jasenovac," Thompson sang at the Osijek concert the no-less-horrible "Here Comes Dawn, Here Comes Day," in which he glorifies the Ustase and the Poglavnik.

*Here comes dawn, here comes day, here come Jure
and Boban*

- Jure calls, Boban shouts, here I am Poglavnik!

*On the top of Mount Trebevic, in the camp of
Francetic.*

- In the camp Jure sits and speaks to his army,

Jure calls, Boban shouts, hey knight Francetic.

*- Your brigade guards Lika, pearl of our country, our
pride,*

*Here comes dawn, here comes day, here comes a
brigade from Imotski.*

- Hey, Ustashe my dear brothers, the Drina is deep.

*We should go over the Drina and burn Serbia
When he was crossing the Drina, he was shot in a
leg.*

*But he doesn't scream like a woman, he shouts FOR
HOME READY!*

*- FOR HOME READY! For freedom, of Croatian, his
people.*

FOR HOME READY! mighty bird, Dr. Ante Pavelic!

As much as Thompson tries not to remember the concert held less than a year and a half ago, just as many are trying not to recognize his voice in the song "Jasenovac," the fact is that the above mentioned song was sung exactly by Marko Perkovic-Thompson - at his own concert, with his own supporting vocalist.

As there were thousands of people at the concert, probably many of them will be able to testify to what's written above, if they can get the courage. The question remains why journalists, who most

likely were present at the concert, did not say a thing about this before.

* * * * *

THOMPSON: I'VE BEEN SINGING "JASENOVAC," SO WHAT?

[published January 8, 2004]

By Matija Babic and Nevan Barkovic

AFTER INDEX.HR published a recording from the concert in July 2002 in Osijek, which proves that Thompson with his supporting vocalist has been singing "Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara," Thompson abandoned his original story according to which "he does not remember" that he's been singing about slaughterhouses and butcheries, and the theory that the recording published by index.hr was probably created on a computer.

Thompson now remembered without any problems, and on his official website <http://www.thompson.hr> published a statement in which he admits that he's been singing the infamous song "everywhere in Croatian squares and in halls," but he doesn't even think of apologizing.

Thompson emphasizes in his statement that he's been singing "Jasenovac" and similar songs during the war, but also after 2000, when "power was taken over by the Communists."

"Then we were again saying to the vampire-like Communists, with that and similar songs, that we are not afraid of them and that we will resist them and protect our values at any cost." The values Thompson alludes to, we remind you, are "slaughterhouses" and "butcheries" of the notorious Ustase murderers Jure Francetic and Maks Luburic.

"Never again will Communists and Chetniks tell us what we can and cannot sing in our homeland," Thompson concludes.

Now, Thompson says, there is no more need for that because "we again have Croatian authorities." Therefore, "Jasenovac" is put on a waiting list until the next return of the left wing parties to power.

The statement (we convey it in its entirety):

"Dear friends!

"First of all, I would like to emphasize to you that my official website is the only true source of information about me and my

opinion and you can find this in articles edited by the administrator.

"We are witnesses of yet another insane campaign, which, because of their election defeat, hysterical Communists and their collaborators are starting against me.

"This time they have discovered warm water; They have 'discovered' that I've been singing songs like 'Here Comes Dawn...', 'Jasenovac...' and similar.

"I am not the author of these songs, but I have been singing them, which is well known to all of us, during a certain period everywhere in Croatian squares and in halls without hiding, therefore this makes their sensational discovery ridiculous to say the least.

"And this is when and why I've been singing them. These songs I've been singing with hundreds of thousands of Croats during the Patriotic War when Chetnik aggression endangered the very existence of the Croatian state and the people, when thousands of Croatian young men died defending our values and lives from Chetnik knives.

"These songs we have been singing in spite to the enemy, expressing our rebellious spirit and determination to stand up to those beasts and to finally defeat them, and these songs caused fear among them.

"After the 3rd of January 2000 when Croatia stumbled and power was taken over by the Communists, there were unbelievable derogations, insults, humiliations and persecutions of Croatian defenders, generals, intellectuals and prominent public personalities and everything sacred to the Croatian people. All over Croatia 'Over forests and hills' [a Partizan song] was being sung, the Croatian army had been declared an aggressor, warrants were issued, bounties were offered for their betrayal... Then we were again saying to the vampire-like Communists, with that and similar songs, that we are not afraid of them and that we will resist them and protect our values at any cost.

"And today, when they are finally on their knees, they are trying with these sorts of low blows and by declaring me a Fascist, Nazi and similar, to cause as much harm as possible to me and to the entire homeland.

"Dear friends, do not pay attention to them, they are a matter of the past and never again will Communists and Chetniks tell us what we can and cannot sing in our homeland.

"Dear friends, we should turn to the future. Thank God, now again we have Croatian authorities and we have no more need to express our dissatisfaction in this or similar ways, but we need to spend all our energy by contributing to the common welfare and progress of our nation and our state."

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The Thompson Files

Top Croatian Pop Star Accused of Promoting Neo-Fascism

by Cali Ruchala

from *Archive: the journal of the pavelic papers*

volume 1, issue 1 - january 28, 2004

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HE EMERGES ON a smoke-filled stage while thousands of adoring fans thrust their arms forward and upward in a familiar, stiff-arm salute. The black-clad figure returns the gesture, then begins his nightly seance of showering rhetorical bouquets of praise on the graves of the diligent workers of the concentration camps.

Is this a scene from Nuremburg? Not quite. It's a nearly routine occurrence at rock concerts by Croatia's "best paid and most popular singer," Marko Perkovic-Thompson.

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A pop star that sings a hymn to the dead bodies of Serbs flowing down a river may leave music aficionados accustomed to the candy-coated lyrics of Christina Aguilera a bit perplexed. It was concern for the neo-Nazi pageantry of Thompson's concerts as well as the rowdy behavior of his fans that led the Dutch authorities in Rotterdam to ban his shows in late 2003. And on November 26, 2003, a leader of the small Jewish community in Zagreb, Dr. Ognjen Kraus, called for concerts which feature Ustase and neo-Nazi imagery - a staple of Thompson's testosterone-driven road show - to be banned. Thompson was already well-known among Zagreb's Jews for telling the press that the Jewish people were responsible for the murder of Jesus Christ.

Thompson - accustomed to being treated to gentle rebukes and a sense of bewildered amusement by Croatia's mainstream media - responded with wide-eyed naiveté to the controversy surrounding him. "I don't know why my name is being connected with the Ustase," he said disingenuously. "I dissociate myself from that wherever I can."

However, in a series of sensational articles published in December 2003 and January 2004 by the Croatian internet portal [index.hr](#), authors Matija Babic and Neven Barkovic put Thompson's Ustase revival songs [under the microscope](#). Before listening to several

of Thompson's songs, they innocently posed the question, often asked, as to whether Thompson was a benign patriot or the leading propagandist of neo-Fascism in Croatia today.

Their verdict: "Croatia is the only state in the world in which the best paid and the most popular singer promotes Fascism." [English translations of the index.hr exposé of Marko Perkovic-Thompson are included in the **appendix** of this issue of *Archive*.]

To buttress their claim, Babic and Barkovic transcribed the lyrics to one of Thompson's especially repugnant pop gems, "Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara" - so named after the **concentration camps** of the same names run by the Ustase:

*Jasenovac and Gradiska Stara, that's the house of
Maks' butchers
Through Imotski trucks are rushing, driving the
black shirts of Francetic Jure
In Capljina there was a slaughterhouse, many Serbs
were carried away by the Neretva
(let me see your arms)
Hey Neretva flow down the side, carry Serbs to the
blue Adriatic
Who could imagine last year that Christmas would
be celebrated by Partizans
Who said it, may his father screw him, that the
Black Legion is not returning
(there are two new)
Our Lady of Sinj if you are capable, take away Stipe
and give us back Franjo
Hey Racan may a dog fuck your mother, and to
those who voted for you
Shiny star above Metkovic, send our regards to
Ante Pavelic*

Subtle material. "For the ones who don't know history so well," Babic and Barkovic explain, "we must mention that Jure Francetic and **Maks Luburic**, who are glorified by Thompson and [*his collaborator*] Tomicic in their song, were infamous butchers of the Ustase regime responsible for the death of a large number of civilians - Serbs, Jews, Roma, Croats and others, and for the betrayal of Croatia."

Thompson and his collaborators, Babic and Barkovic continue, "not only don't hide that they know well what kind of butchers they are singing about, on the contrary that is the exact thing they admire the most and make points about their slaughters in rhymes... Thompson and Tomicic then glorify the infamous Black

Legion, the 'slaughterhouse' in Capljina, and then, in a comical context for them, the Neretva River full of dead Serbs."

The authors conclude that the concert in Rotterdam was banned for "justified reasons, as it would be in any other normal country. In Germany and Italy singers who glorify Hitler or Mussolini don't perform anywhere except in underground clubs visited by neo-Nazis." Thompson doesn't just dress and put forward an image of "Ustase chic," but "openly advocates Ustase and Fascist ideas. That is the fact that shouldn't be camouflaged nor justified."

Thompson responded to the article by telling a journalist from *Novi list* that he didn't remember singing a song called "Jasenovac," and that the whole thing was an elaborate operation by unnamed conspirators to frame him. "You can do anything on a computer," he stated.

But a **second article** published by index.hr on January 3, 2004 punctured his pathetic defense of the indefensible. Scores of readers and posts on message boards testified to hearing Thompson sing his ballad to the worst mass-murderers in Croatian history in person. Babic and Barkovic also discovered a complete audio archive on the internet of a Thompson concert in Osijek in 2002. Aside from "Jasenovac," Thompson was heard belting out another marvelous evocation of the two leaders of the Ustase's "Black Legion," titled "Here Comes Dawn, Here Comes Day."

An unrelated sea change occurred in Croatian discourse, however, when the Croatian Democratic Union party (HDZ) of Franjo Tudjman was brought back into office. The party has ostensibly reformed itself as a "modern Christian conservative party," according to commentators. But they apparently forgot to inform Thompson, who heralded the return of the HDZ as a signal to come out from hiding.

In a statement published on his website after the second index.hr article, Thompson abandoned his amnesia defense and now proudly proclaims that he has repeatedly, joyously, unambiguously sang of the Ustase concentration camps "everywhere in Croatian squares and in halls." With the re-emergence of the HDZ, Thompson stated, "we again have Croatian authorities." And so praising the duty-bound deeds of executioners at concentration camps was something to hold your head high about. This was, in the "newthink" language of contemporary neo-Fascism as well as Thompson, "protect[ing] our values at any cost."

"The values Thompson alludes to," Babic and Barkovic **remind us**, "are of the 'slaughterhouses' and 'butcheries' of the notorious Ustase murderers Jure Francetic and Maks Luburic."

Thompson does have a point, however. He's been befouling the air of the Balkans with these odes to mass murderers for a long time. More than a year ago, *Vecernje Novosti* published a condemnation of Thompson's neo-Fascist pageantry. Their reporter, Zeljko Vukovic, described a Thompson concert in September 2002, with "content which would, if Ante Pavelic had been physically resurrected on that night in Split, make him enthusiastically crow how lucky a nation must be with such fine youth." Among the 40,000 fans in attendance were "world class sportsmen... the political elite of the right, the governor of the region," etc.

It is, however, of little consequence as to who first noted it and when. The fact is, Thompson has been revealed for what he is: a black-shirted eyesore. Following the revelations on index.hr, Croatian President Stjepan Mesic and prominent Jewish publisher Slavko Goldstein condemned Thompson on television. A **online petition** was initiated to request that the Croatian authorities ban his performances. Though on-line petitions are of dubious validity, it's worth noting that most of the signatories have names of Croatian origin.

Most importantly, countries which issue Thompson a visa to perform - particularly those countries with prohibitions against the display of Fascism's "unhappy symbols" - now do so knowingly.

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Collective Amnesia

A Nazi Plans to Visit Yad Vashem, Has No Intention of Apologizing

by Sinisa Djuric

from *Archive: the journal of the pavelic papers*

volume 1, issue 1 - january 28, 2004

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ON SUNDAY, 21 December 2003, the guest of the TV show *Sundays at 2* on Croatian national television was the leader of Croatian Party of Rights (HSP), Anto Djapic. The occasion for the show was the strong showing of HSP in the Croatian parliamentary elections.

During the show Djapic made several statements that caused a series of reactions among politicians in Croatia. However, what passed completely unnoticed was the intention he expressed to visit Israel and Yad Vashem while there. The highly professional host of the show, Aleksandar Stankovic, then asked Djapic the logical question: "Will you apologize to the Jews?" Djapic paused for a couple of seconds and replied that he has nothing to apologize about because according to the new policy of HSP, his party "has nothing to do with the **Ustase** nor **Ante Pavelic**."

Djapic pointed out that he is going to Israel to consult and exchange experiences with "similar parties" there and the only reason he wants to visit Yad Vashem is because he would like to build a similar, Croatian memorial center.

Despite the massive response to other statements Djapic made on the same show, there was not a single reaction to his intention to desecrate the memorial of Jewish Holocaust victims with his presence there, not even from the Jewish municipality of Zagreb who certainly know what kind of a man Djapic is and what kind of a party HSP is.

It is unknown which Israeli political party invited Djapic to Israel, but one thing is certain - Djapic is an Ustase and a Nazi, and his visit to Israel and especially Yad Vashem would be an enormous insult to the victims of Holocaust and to all the people of Israel.

Djapic and the HSP recently overhauled their public image and



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behavior. They announced that they are a "modern European neo-conservative political party" which does not have anything to do with Ustase, Nazis and Fascists. However, only one completely unfamiliar with the Croatian public scene could believe such a qualification.

A wolf will change its appearance, but never its character (conveniently, the emblem of HSP is decorated by a wolf). The true character of Djapic and HSP is well known even on the international level. Perhaps one of the best examples of that could be **the article by Chris Hedges in the New York Times from April 12, 1997:**

The old fascist marching songs were sung, a moment of silence was observed for all who died defending the fatherland, and the gathering on Thursday was reminded that it was the 57th anniversary of the founding of Croatia's Nazi-allied wartime government. Then came the most chilling words of the afternoon.

"For Home!" shouted Anto Djapic, surrounded by bodyguards in black suits and crew cuts.

"Ready!" responded the crowd of 500 supporters, their arms rising in a stiff Nazi salute.

The call and response - the Croatian equivalent of "Sieg!" "Heil!" - was the wartime greeting used by supporters of the fascist Independent State of Croatia that governed the country for most the Second World War and murdered hundreds of thousands of Jews, Serbs and Croatian resistance fighters.

It's as clear as day. However, Djapic has a good excuse for his eclectic performances. For instance, he claims that the stiff-arm salute with the shout "Za Dom - Spremnii" is an old Croatian salute and has nothing to do with Fascism or Nazism. Perhaps the people who invited him to Israel would be pleased to see him salute the Holocaust victims at the Yad Vashem memorial with this "old Croatian salute."

Tired of these sorts of "insinuations" Djapic stated at an HSP press conference in February 1998: "Who can tell me in Croatia how to hold my arm and what to do with my

arms!? I have the right to show how high corn will grow in Slavonija when HSP comes to power!" For a Nazi he's quite a comedian.

The article also shows how much Djapic and HSP "have nothing to do with the Ustase," as he is placed on the celebration of the anniversary of the Ustase state. The fact that Ante Pavelic used to be the leader of HSP also has nothing to do with the modern HSP and Djapic.

Djapic also doesn't bother hiding that he is a regular visitor of mass memorial ceremonies commemorating Pavelic's death at the Church of Wounded Jesus in the main Ilica Street in Zagreb. He was also present in June 2000 on a ceremony in Slunj when a monument was erected for Jure Francetic, the commander of the infamous Black Legion responsible for the murder of many Jews.

As Djapic says that his party has nothing to do with the Ustase, what does he think about the Ustase movement? In 1996 Djapic stated for *Globus* magazine that "The only guilt of the Ustase movement is that it failed." He also has a nice opinion about the treatment of Jews by the Ustase regime. He stated at a HSP rally in Varazdin in November 1999 that "The property of Croatian Jews during NDH was not confiscated, but given to others to use." "Given to others to use," obviously, until the Jews murdered by Ustase are resurrected from the dead.

There are many examples of this kind with Djapic and members of HSP marching with Ustase Nazi songs, salutes, uniforms and insignia in many places in Croatia so there cannot be any doubt that the new fur of the HSP wolf as "neo-conservatives" is just a convenient euphemism for this neo-Nazi party. But the question remains: will Israeli Jews buy this story and allow this man to mock their victims, or they will do something about it?

Djapic and HSP are only the tip of the iceberg of a really diabolical effort directed at the Jews. The **Croatian Liberation Movement**, the Ustase umbrella terrorist organization and a political party allied with HSP, is also attempting to change their image in a similar fashion. They have removed all anti-Semitic content from **their website** blaming the Jews for world domination and conspiracies, Communism, for the crimes of Communists, abortions, just as all practical Nazis do. Now they compare Croatia to Israel, and present themselves as friends of Jews. Moreover, Pavelic's granddaughters, activists of HOP, proudly declare themselves as "Croatian Jews" as the climax of the mockery of Jews and their victims.

The school of revisionist history is working in the same direction as the mentioned political parties. Dr. Petar Vucic published a

book called *Jews and Croats*, in which he claims that the Ustase were not Nazis, and therefore they have nothing to apologize about to the Jews. According to Vucic, the Ustase were actually philosemitic.

Similarly, Ms. Ljubica Stefan claims that Ustase were not Nazis and that there was never such a political party in Croatia, even though apart from all other evidence, even the **Principles of the Ustase Movement** show that they were indeed Nazis. Ms. Stefan was awarded a title of the righteous by Yad Vashem on the recommendation of the same two people who are trying to award **Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac** with the same title - Dr. Primorac and Dr. Shomrony.

Stefan presents herself as a great friend of Jews in her texts translated in English. In the complex of Yad Vashem there is a library that collects anti-Semitic texts, masterpieces of hatred and manipulation like *Mein Kampf* and *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. If the people in charge of that library had bothered to just look at some of the texts of Ljubica Stefan in the anti-Semitic paper *Hrvatsko Slovo* that are not translated in English, they would have found themselves in an absurd situation of collecting anti-Semitic texts of the person they awarded with the title of the Righteous Among the Nations.

Even jailed war criminal Dinko Sakic, one of the former **commandants of the Jasenovac concentration camp** who personally executed Jews, is involved in this scheme. He recently published in Croatia the book *With the Poglavnik in the Alps* in which he claims that **the Ratline** was organized by the Jews, and not by the Vatican and U.S. and British intelligence services!

All these Nazis need is a good PR firm to sell this story to the Jews, as it wouldn't be the first time they did something like that. Hopefully, Israeli Jews will not fall to this kind of a story and will react to the ultimate insult that is being prepared by Anto Djapic.

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Introduction

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp: the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators, Zagreb 1946



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THE THIRD LARGEST CONCENTRATION camp in World War II, the Jasenovac concentration camp, is also the least known about in the world, and for most of the people in western countries unknown. A suppressed chapter of history indeed. For over fifty years there were only a handful of references for Jasenovac in Western museums and books about the Holocaust and all attempts to introduce this unprecedented torture place to wider number of people have been welcomed by a barrage of denial, deception, deliberate distortion of facts and arbitrary interpretation of parts of documents. Such behavior of revisionist historians has been successful primarily because of the lack of documents and literature about Jasenovac in English. The only way to prevent misinterpretation is to present the available documents in complete form with as faithful a translation as possible.

Certainly one of the most important of such documents is the report of the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators from 1946. The systematic approach, with field research combined with many consistent testimonies of witnesses of three different nationalities (Croats, Jews and Serbs), along with forensic expert opinion provide a comprehensive insight into the most brutal of all Nazi death camps.

Regarding the veracity of the document: The only direct criticism of this document came from mathematician Josip Pecaric, who questioned the number of victims estimated in this document. However, the list of 19,000 victims he mentioned for the Jasenovac-Stara Gradiska camps was found in 1998 and starts with the letter P, and it only lists victims from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. For whole exterminated families, and in the case of the Roma for the whole nation there was no possibility of listing all victims by name on a census.

Others, like Franjo Tudjman, often used parts of this document to support their claims that the most victims in Jasenovac died of diseases, exhaustion and malnutrition, while at the same time claiming that the



Ustase killed only 3,000 to 4,000 people for disobedience. The number could be near the truth if Tadjman was referring to the first five months. However, by paraphrasing parts of this document that speak of the first five months and extending them to the entire four years of Jasenovac's existence, Tadjman deliberately manipulates facts which anyone can see by comparing his writings with this report.

By such an interpretation, Tadjman concluded that it is a lie that Jasenovac was a death camp, that there were no daily massacres there, and that *"The truth is that the camp was organized as a 'labor camp' with many field and factory units. To the camp individually and mostly in small groups of tens or one hundred persons, tens of thousands of unfortunate persons were brought, but also released and shipped to labor camps in Germany."* Readers will be able to see for themselves how and where Ustase pranksters "shipped" prisoners who signed up for labor in Germany or in other camps. And how prisoners were "released" is the best illustrated in the case of a Slovenian Catholic priest on the occasion of the visit of the "international commission."

In his attempts to minimize the number of victims in Jasenovac Tadjman also resorted to fabrications of monstrous proportions. Such was his intention to bury Pavelic together with other Ustase in Jasenovac among the bones of their victims. To that purpose he invented "the historical truth" that from 1945 to 1947, the Communists "kept Jasenovac open" to kill captured Ustase there. Naturally, as he was the only one to claim that, he did not offer a single piece of evidence to support that claim, not even a single testimony. As it can be read in the state commission report, it is mentioned a number of times that in 1945 and 1946 there was nothing in the place of the Jasenovac camp but piles of ruins.

Tadjman's books, from *War Against War* (early 1960s), which contributed to his prison sentence for reviving Fascism and national intolerance, to *Wastelands of Historical Reality* written to minimize Holocaust and mock innocent victims, could hardly be described as the books of an objective historian. During his official visit to Buenos Aires, Tadjman paid a visit to one of the former commandants of the Jasenovac camp, Dinko Sakic, and paid a tribute to him for everything he did. An historian presenting himself as objective, trying to establish the "historical truth" about a concentration camp, honors a commandant of that concentration camp, and yet there are still people who insist on the reliability and objectivity of his work.

Using a demographic statistical method, engineer Vladimir Zerjavic "calculated" that the number of Jasenovac victims totals about 77,000. Later he raised that number another 10% (85,000), as he put it because it is more humane to put a higher number than calculated, though he said he is sure that this is the final number. Anyone familiar with statistics knows that using various assumptions and estimates in establishing a growth rate can lead to very serious mistakes. Based on the assumption that from 1931 onwards the population growth rate was decreasing, Zerjavic reduced the overall number of victims of World War

II in Yugoslavia a whole 700,000 people! Even if the growth rate Zerjavic "calculated" was right, it wouldn't be possible to apply that formula on all populations in a multinational country like Yugoslavia, as Zerjavic did. A growth rate would need to be established for all separate populations, as Slovenians, Croats, Muslims, Serbs or Albanians had (and still have) very different growth rates.

For instance, if one would apply a growth rate of Yugoslavia on Kosovo Albanians, a much lower number of Albanians would be determined than the actual number, as Kosovo Albanians have the highest growth rate in Europe. Similarly, if one would apply a Yugoslav growth rate on Slovenians, a much higher number of Slovenians would be determined than there actually are, as they have a negative population growth rate. In the same way, the growth rate of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina was always a lot higher than the growth rate of Serbs in Serbia, and at that time it was nearly as high as the growth rate of Kosovo Albanians, which can be seen in the fact that in 31 years from 1879 to 1910 the number of Bosnian Serbs nearly doubled. In the same period the growth rate of Bosnian Serbs was significantly higher even than the growth rate of Bosnian Muslims. Zerjavic's estimates and assumptions span from 1931 to 1948, but estimating a decreased growth rate on the Yugoslav level, he cannot estimate that for Serbs in Bosnia nor Croatia.

While Zerjavic's "calculations" can be debated at great length, other examples can easily show the mockery his calculations really are. Zerjavic "calculated" the number of Jews killed in Jasenovac to 13,000, while Yad Vashem sent a list of 25,000 names to Tudjman. By his demographic statistical method, Zerjavic managed to erase 12,000 human lives.

The number of Roma victims especially doesn't fit in Zerjavic's account. While he calculated that 10,000 Roma were killed in Jasenovac, he admitted that only in Croatia there were 14,000 Roma registered in 1931. However, in this Jasenovac report, it is mentioned in several places, quite specifically, that all Roma from the territory of the Independent State of Croatia were gathered and killed in Jasenovac, numbering about 40,000 (which includes the territory of modern Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Srem, and even Backa and Banat, under Hungarian and German control). To support his claim, Zerjavic mentioned that in 1931 only one Roma was registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which to a person unfamiliar with Bosnian history would imply that there were no Roma in Bosnia ever. The truth is that Roma represented an integral part of Bosnia for several centuries and there were many more Roma in Bosnia than in Croatia. The fact that only one was registered in 1931 can only mean that nobody bothered to register them. But, even if we would assume that Zerjavic is right and that there were no Roma in Bosnia, his calculation is still incorrect because if all Roma weren't killed in Jasenovac, that would mean that according to Zerjavic's calculations, 4,000 of them survived.

The 1948 census in Yugoslavia is very revealing in this regard. Namely,

in that year there were 72,651 Roma in the whole of Yugoslavia. Out of that number, 98.57% of Roma lived in Serbia (52,115) and Macedonia (19,500), and the remaining just over 1% lived in Montenegro and about 200 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The 1948 census proves that all 40,000 Roma from NDH were indeed exterminated in Jasenovac, and that Zerjavic's "calculations" are false and a mockery of victims.

Of course, when faced with facts like these, revisionist historians like Pecaric and Zerjavic - instead of dealing with these facts and history - start with politics and go on at length about the crimes of the Communists towards captured Ustase, and often respond with primitive insults for anyone daring to present facts. Thus renowned Nazi hunters like Simon Wiesenthal and Efraim Zuroff are being called "**Zionist Chetniks,**" "**enemy rabid hyenas with bloody foam on their mouths,**" or even **accused of being fond of Fascists.**

The attacks and speculations in various places about The Pavelic Papers website, coming as they do between death threats, can only be understood as disbelief, that they are demanding more proof. Not wanting to disappoint them we can only promise more documents like this one - much, much more to come...

Sinisa Djuric November 30, 2003

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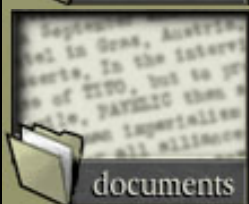
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Section A: Jasenovac: An Ustase and German Instrucment for the Destruction of Our Peoples

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp: the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators, Zagreb 1946

BEFORE THE WAR, NEAR the confluence of the Una and Sava Rivers there was a large and prosperous town named Jasenovac. Its population was predominantly Serbian. The town was situated on the Zagreb-Belgrade railway, and hosted several prosperous industries; for example, the "Brick Factory," and a small factory that made iron goods, the "Chain Factory."

On the eastern side of the Jasenovac plain, the Strug and Lonja Rivers flow into the Sava, and the entire area is exposed to persistent seasonal floods.

The leaders of the Ustase organization knew before entering Yugoslavia that they had no support among the people, and could only preserve their power through the use of terror. They arrived after Yugoslavia's collapse, following behind Fascist tanks. Even before the war, they were trained in various Italian terrorist camps paid for by Fascist money. From the first days of the occupation, under the protection of German and Italian troops and with their active aid, they performed arrests and mass and individual executions of Serbs, Jews and progressive Croats according to a pre-conceived plan.

By applying the racist theory of the purity of race and nation in Croatia, they were prepared to exterminate all Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, as well as all Croats who in any way expressed an anti-Fascist disposition. Thus, in a short period of time, all of Croatia's prisons were full.

The Ustase also founded camps in other places - for instance, in Djakovo, Sisak, Stara Gradiska, Lepoglava, Lobar and so on - but these camps were much smaller. Jasenovac became the largest and most extensive concentration camp in the whole of the so-called Independent State of Croatia.



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The Ustase killed the entire population of the town, or deported them, and stationed in the town itself a permanent Ustase garrison.

The first inmates, consisting mostly of Serbs and Jews, were transported to the village of Krapje, twelve kilometers west of Jasenovac, and ordered to construct a camp which became officially known as "Jasenovac Camp No. I."

As the number of prisoners continued to swell, a second camp was founded between Jasenovac and Krapje which became officially known as "Camp No. II."

Inmates had to build both these camps alone and in great haste, constructing barracks and dikes which were constantly overwhelmed by floods. The Ustase finally realized that both locations were unsuitable for camps, so they liquidated them and founded alongside the "Brick Factory" in Jasenovac a new camp, which became officially known as "Camp No. III."

In the town of Jasenovac itself, they turned the leather factory into "Camp No. IV." The camp in Stara Gradiska, not far from Jasenovac, is sometimes mentioned in Ustase reports as "Camp No. V."

Together, these camps could receive up to 7,000 prisoners, but there were never more than 3,000 to 4,000 men on labor detail, not even when Camp No. III housed a variety of workshops.

On 25 November 1941, the so-called Poglavnik of the NDH issued a "legal decree," No. CDXXIX-2101-Z-1941, signed by his "Minister" of Justice and Religion, Dr. Mirko Puk.

This "legal decree" speaks of the deportation of disloyal and dangerous people to compulsory detention in labor and concentration camps. The main articles of the decree read:

§ 1.

Disloyal individuals who present a danger to public order and safety, or who could endanger the peace and tranquility of the Croatian people or the accomplishments of the liberation struggle of the Croatian Ustase Movement, may be remanded to compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps. The Ustase Secret Service is hereby authorized to establish these camps in various places.

§ 2.

The duration of detention in concentration and labor camps shall not be of a term shorter than three months

nor longer than three years.

§ 3.

The right to remand individuals to compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps, the right to determine the duration of detention and the degree of caution and surveillance, is bestowed to the Ustase Police Service as a branch of the Ustase Secret Service.

All administrative and autonomous districts, as institutions of the Ustase Movement, are obligated to report to the Ustase Police Service via district administration all persons mentioned under Article 1 of this legal decree.

For the decisions of the Ustase Police Service regarding deportation and compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps there is no legal remedy, nor recourse to district courts.

§ 6.

The Ustase supervising commander will regulate the organization, labor and degree of caution and surveillance in concentration and labor camps, and the treatment of persons deported to these camps.

Thus began the horrifying régime of the "Ustase Security Service" and its commandant, which murdered hundreds of thousands of patriots and sent their families into mourning.

For an inmate to be sent to Jasenovac meant submitting to the mercy and cruelty of his Ustase tormentors; it meant martyrdom. The dark history of the Jasenovac camp reveals that the Ustase sent all elements that were to be liquidated there; those who were deemed disloyal to the régime "for racial, religious, national or political reasons."

Today, we can determine that the Ustase sorted prisoners into two categories.

The first category comprised all inmates who were sentenced to detention for a duration of less than three years. It was the intention of the Ustase to exhaust these prisoners by labor to their physical limits, and then remove them to make room for new prisoners.

Only a few prisoners were released after they endured their sentence, and many of them later died from the consequences of their experiences in the camp.

The second category comprises inmates who were sentenced to

detention for the maximum duration of three years. Prisoners sentenced by the Ustase Police Service for a duration of three years were, as a rule, liquidated immediately upon their arrival.

Both categories have in common the fact that the prisoners were sent to the camp on basis of individual "sentences" handed down by the Ustase Police Service.

We will see, however, that over the course of four years, the Ustase dispatched large groups of men, women and children to Jasenovac, and either took them inside the camp and liquidated them there, or liquidated them outside of the camp itself.

This included large groups of Serbs from various towns and villages, groups of Jews from various towns or districts, whole camps sent to Jasenovac for liquidation, all Gypsies from the territory of the NDH, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

The Ustase, quite simply, brought these unfortunate people to Jasenovac to herd them *en masse* into the slaughterhouse.

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Section B: A High Wall Separated Jasenovac From the Rest of the World

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp: the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators, Zagreb 1946

Camp No. III

As mentioned in the introduction, by the end of 1941 the Ustase began to build the true Jasenovac camp in the area of the "Brick Factory" and officially named it "Camp No. III."

Camps No. I and No. II are described in Section D below. Both these camps existed for only a few months, while Camp No. III remained in operation for nearly four years.

The various workshops and barracks for inmates were encircled by a wall three meters high, so the whole of Camp No. III looked in the Spring of 1945 as it does in the outline attached to this document.

The camp itself was located directly to the east of the town of Jasenovac. The main entrance to the camp was on the western side, on the road which follows the Sava River from Jasenovac to the village Kosutarica and further on to Stara Gradiska. Made from light wood, the entrance gates were built inside the high wall. The wall went first to the north in a length of 420 meters, then in parallel with the railroad to the east in a length of 1350 meters. It continued southward at a 90 degree angle to the Sava for 1300 meters, cutting through the road to Kosutarica. That is where the "Eastern Gate" was located.

The last part of the wall, up against the banks of the Sava in the western direction, was 290 meters long.

The southern border of the camp was created by the Sava River, as a natural obstacle to prevent prisoners from escaping.

The whole of Camp No. III occupied an area of one and a half square kilometers.



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At the main (western) gate, sentry boxes were constructed along with the administration building, where prisoners who arrived in the camp were registered and lined up. The building also held a twenty-four meter high watchtower. These buildings were blown-up by the Ustase when they left Jasenovac; today there are only piles of rubble.

North of this building was the refinery, also destroyed, while the petrol tanks located both above and below the earth remained undamaged.

About 150 meters from the wall are the remains of a building that was 150 meters long and 8 meters wide and was pointed in a north-south direction. This was the main warehouse, originally used to store manufactured goods. The Ustase used the warehouse in the Winter of 1944/45 as a room where they herded masses of victims. They were stripped naked in harsh weather, had their hands tied behind their backs, and were bound together in pairs with wire. Then they were taken to the so-called "Granik."

The Granik was a device by which cargoes from boats and rafts had been lifted and unloaded. It was where goods were loaded to be transported out of Jasenovac.

On the Granik, the Ustase killed their victims by blows to the head from a mace or sledgehammer. Then their stomachs were cut open, iron ballasts were hung from their hands, and their bodies were thrown into the Sava.

East of the main warehouse was a large empty lot, filled with scrap iron used as material for the "Chain Factory."

Parallel to the main warehouse was a building housing additional locksmith and tinsmith workshops.

Twenty paces to the east was a whole line of buildings pointed in north-south direction.

The building endmost to the south was the infamous "Bell Warehouse." The Bell Warehouse was two meters long by three meters wide, originally used by the Ustase to store ruined bells from Orthodox churches. Later the bells were taken away, and coal tailings were stored in their place. The Bell Warehouse was later transformed into a torture chamber, housing prisoners who were sentenced to die of starvation. The warehouse had only a single door, made of glass, and no windows.

North of the Bell Warehouse was the "Package Warehouse," where guards censored letters and packages received by "obedient prisoners."

The third in the line of buildings was the "Camp Administration" building and the "Labor Section."

Further to the north was the "Chain Factory," a large industrial building where various iron products were manufactured, such as chains and wires. There was also a blacksmith's workshop, a machine factory, a tool factory, a foundry, a rifle factory and car mechanic.

From the sketch of the camp, we can see that at a distance of seven meters, parallel with the Chain Factory, was a circular furnace used for baking bricks for the "Brick Factory," and behind it a warehouse used for drying them.

In early 1942, near the Brick Factory, the Ustase constructed a special furnace for the incineration of people - the so called "Picilli Furnace" - which they razed after three months in operation.

Also near the Brick Factory on the sketch we see a long, roofed depot without inner walls. Part of the railroad tracks passed through the depot from the Jasenovac train station, and inmates referred to it as the "Tunnel." Prisoners who were brought to Jasenovac in 1941 and 1942 had to wait here for days or weeks in all sorts of weather until they were assigned a place in the barracks, or until they were taken to be liquidated.

In the sketch we can see further to the east another line of buildings, positioned in a north-south direction.

The endmost building to the south was located at the crossroads of an automobile and a pedestrian road. Inside was a sentry box, a dining room for Ustase officers, a kitchen and a barber. To the north was the Ustase Officer's Quarters and the offices of the camp commandant and unit commanders, as well as a technician's office.

North of this building was the Ustase kitchen, and the dining room reserved for Ustase who had been sent to Jasenovac for punishment.

Near the automobile road to Kosutarica was the "Sawmill" and "Power Plant." It was thirty-five meters high, twenty meters long and had a chimney fifty-two meters high.

The whole area behind the Sawmill was littered with construction materials, except for the northern part where a quarry was being dug out, since the dirt had been found to be very good for bricks.

Further north we can see a line of buildings where there was an economy, and next to it a belt factory, stables, blacksmiths workshops. Beside them was the so-called "Lake" in the rough shape of a mushroom, over which a wooden bridge had been built on the endmost southern part. Southeast of the Lake were stables, kitchens, dairies, butcheries and the women's camp.

North of the Lake was the "Cemetery," and near it a whole line of

barracks, twenty-four meters long by six meters wide. In the first barrack was a hospital, a clinic in the second, and in next six were inmates' quarters, and then the main and secondary kitchens.

The Ustase burned down all these buildings, dug the corpses out of their graves and burned them to mislay evidence of their crimes.

All of the buildings mentioned were enclosed by a fence. On the other side of the fence, in the direction of the southeast, was the "Pantry," butcheries and pigstys, and further the "Ustase Workshops" and "Quarters" and the women's camp with a kitchen.

Around these buildings was another fence, connected to the first near the barracks, where the quarters of the male prisoners were located. On the other side of these fences in the northeastern corner was "Camp III-C."

Camp No. IV

Camp No. IV was located in the town of Jasenovac itself, on Dimitrijeva Street.

The Ustase encircled several industrial buildings where leather was manufactured and dried with rows of barbed wire. The entire complex - the warehouses, workshops, rooms where a dynamo and steam engine were installed, pools for soaking leather, quicklime pits, buildings with offices and quarters of employees - formed a single, enclosed camp where the technical staff was imprisoned.

This entire, small colony was referred to as the "Tannery." Inmates of the Tannery received better food, and the Ustase treated them better than the prisoners from Camp No. III, because it was important that the army receive well-manufactured leather.

Before their escape, the Ustase blew up and burned down all facilities and buildings in the camp, along with almost all of the houses in Jasenovac itself, so that this once beautiful and prosperous town now looks like the location where the most intensive fighting took place.

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Section C: The Systematic Destruction of Inmates

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp: the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators, Zagreb 1946

Before we move on to describing the mass atrocities committed against the inmates, we will describe along general lines the system and methods that Ustase applied in the camp. We will describe the life of the prisoners, the type of work they had to do, and all which they had to suffer.

I. Arrival and Pillage

For four years, transports of prisoners arrived in Jasenovac - some in railroad cars, some in trucks, and some by foot. Every week, groups - sometimes smaller and sometimes larger - stopped in front of the building of the Camp Administration, where Ustase guards who followed the transports delivered them to the commandants of the camp or their deputies.

Even while in transit to the camp, prisoners were subject to hunger and abused by different methods of torture.

Witness Kustorin Marijan briefly describes his trip from Stara Gradiska to Jasenovac:

On 23 September 1944 I was relocated from Stara Gradiska camp to Jasenovac with a group of 700 people. For nearly the whole trip, some thirty-eight kilometers, we had to run. Anyone that stopped or staggered was killed on the spot. The road followed alongside the Sava, so many exhausted comrades jumped into the river in desperation, to end their suffering.

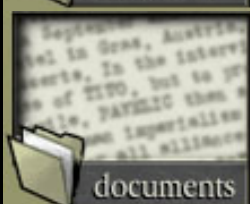


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Luburic, Milos or Matijevic, the chief commandants and killers in the camp, rarely allowed other high Ustase officers to receive transports of prisoners. They personally performed the inspection of newly-arrived victims, sorting them into groups: Serbs with Serbs, Jews with Jews, and Croats with Croats.

Luburic gave a "speech" to every group, full of insults and the most primitive curses, during which a whip or a truncheon was used to beat the prisoners across their backs or heads. Then they would move on to be robbed. The Ustase took away the belongings of every prisoner, such as a watch, pocket knife, wallet with money, jewelry, books, etc. Every prisoner had to make a statement that he had handed over all of his money, all things of value and letters, and that he didn't hide or conceal anything.

For even the slightest violation of this rule, no matter whether it was accidental or intentional, the Ustase would punish the "guilty" with an instant death sentence. Witness Steiner Hinko state in his testimony:

I came to the camp on 18 September 1941 with an old man named Poljokan. After he gave them some of his trinkets and said that he didn't have anything else, the Ustase discovered that he had sewn some money into his coat. Ljubo Milos stepped forward in front of all of us and stabbed him in the chest twice with a big knife. The old man collapsed.

Witness Fabijanec Josip: "When a group of 120 prisoners arrived, the Ustase immediately shot thirteen comrades."

After the prisoners gave away everything they carried with them, and after signing a statement that they didn't hide anything, they were obligatorily stripped naked. The Ustase seized the better suits, underwear and footwear and gave them old rags, and some were only left with their underwear. Witnesses were interviewed about these circumstances.

Witness Aleksic Arsa: "When they herded us into Jasenovac, they immediately stripped us naked, taking away our shoes. Instead of our fine clothing they gave us rags. They didn't give us shoes even though it was the middle of winter."

Witness Berger Egon: "The Ustase took everything from me and only left

me the underwear I was wearing. The whole time they were beating us."

Witness Lapcevic Stojan: "I was transported to Jasenovac on 12 November 1942. I arrived in a group of nine people. First they smacked us until we were bloody, then stripped us naked. The better clothing they took for themselves and gave us the worst."

After this procedure, prisoners were sent in groups to the barracks they were assigned to. When there was not enough room for everyone in the barracks, the remaining prisoners spent the night in other places in the camp.

Prisoners who were brought to Jasenovac by the Ustase for the sole purpose of being liquidated were kept naked and barefoot for hours and hours, and sometimes even for several days, either in the building of the "Main Warehouse," or in the "Tunnel," or out in the open. Then they would take them to the Granik or to Gradina, the village on the Bosnian side of the Sava, and execute them there.

Until the Summer of 1942, prisoners were not allowed to receive packages and letters, so Ustase opened all packages that were sent to Jasenovac and split the contents among themselves.

As of Summer 1942, prisoners who were - by the Ustase's evaluation - obedient and diligent were allowed to write home on postcards. They were permitted only to let their families know they were alive. However, on several occasions, the camp's administration punished the entire population by forbidding them to send or receive mail home.

During the arrival of prisoners to the camp, the Ustase slapped them or beat them with truncheons and rifle butts. Many were shot or slaughtered immediately. In the execution of these crimes several Ustase stood out: Luburic Maks, Milos Ljubo, Matkovic Ivica, Filipovic Miroslav, Picilli Hinko, Maricic Jerko, Jusic Mujo, Matkovic Ljubo, Kordic Tihomir, Djulkic Alaga, Gasparovic Dragan, Matijevic Matija and Skocibusic.

The State Commission established the legitimacy of these crimes from interviews with the following witnesses: Pesko Djuro, Zouhar Stjepan, Richter Rudolf, Slovenec Rudolf, Fabijanec Josip, Steiner Hinko, Stazic Josip, Blumschein Zlatko, Schwarzenberg Adolf and Berger Egon, all from Zagreb; Ilic Branko from Zivinice; Duvnjak Mato from Kustosija; Finzi Jakob from Sarajevo; Matas Pavle from Trstenik; Breyer Otto from Bjelovar; Aleksic Arsa from Donji Bogicevac; and Lapcevic Stojan and Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija.

II. Food and Accommodations

Food for the inmates in Jasenovac was poor and insufficient. Prisoners received meals two or three times a day. In the morning they would receive warm water with corn flour mixed in. At noon they would receive cabbage, bean or potato soup, in which there were a few vegetables, a potato or a bean, and in the evening they would receive similar fare. The inmates called the soup "hominy."

Prisoners were given bread very irregularly. Often, they didn't receive bread for several months. The bread they were served was black, with an admixture of bran, and never in a quantity exceeding one eighth of a kilogram per day.

The food the Ustase gave to prisoners contained no fats at all, and very little salt.

The goal of the Ustase was to weaken the health of prisoners with such poor and insufficient food, making them incapable of physical strain and susceptible to illness. This was the practical consequence of such poor nutrition. With the squalor in the camp, every summer brought new epidemics of dysentery, typhus and other diseases of the digestive organs, which in just a single month in 1942 took the lives of 1,800 prisoners.

Nearly every prisoner became ill on account of poor nutrition, so we could quote many witnesses who described these horrible circumstances in the camps.

As an example, we will only mention the testimony of witness Breyer Otto, who stated the following:

Food in the camp was worse than miserable. For breakfast we would usually get this so-called soup. In fact, it was hot muddy water. For lunch we would have beans or potato soup, in which there were few beans or one potato. Supper was the same as lunch. Twelve people would share one kilogram of bread.

During my captivity in Jasenovac I often saw railroad cars full of food and packages for prisoners sent by businessmen or the Jewish religious communities in Osijek and Zagreb. Prisoners would only get beans and potatoes, while everything else - rice, coffee, sugar, canned goods, et cetera - the Ustase would take for themselves.

Similar testimony was given by witness Lapcevic Stojan, who stressed that on that kind of food he was forced to work for ten hours every day.

Living quarters for the prisoners were as unbearable as the food was miserable.

Until barracks were built, prisoners slept in the "Tunnel," in the brick warehouses, the attics of workshops and warehouses or under the open sky.

After the barracks had been erected, the prisoners slept inside of them. Every barrack was a huge wooden room, twenty-four meters long by six meters wide.

A corridor ran through the middle of the barracks. To the left and right were the bunks. Up to six prisoners could sleep in each bunk. When a new group of victims would arrive, and there was no more space left in the bunks, the Ustase would stack the prisoners so they had to lie on top of one another. When even in that way everything was full, others would sleep outside in various parts of the camp.

Sleeping was difficult, and the prisoners covered themselves with blankets. When the prisoners would arrive in the camp, the Ustase would take away the better blankets that prisoners brought themselves, and would later give them old blankets of poor quality. All the bunks were so riddled with parasites - bedbugs, lice and fleas - that the cleaning performed by prisoners was rendered useless.

Since inmates were allowed to wash their dirty clothes only once a month, it is obvious that unsanitary conditions prevailed. Throughout the Winter, epidemics of disease would ravage the camp, especially typhus. Few prisoners who contracted the disease survived. The prisoners' clothing was of very poor quality. Rooms where they had to sleep were cold and dirty.

The doctors and pharmacists who nursed the inmates were prisoners themselves, so they devotedly strived to help their unfortunate comrades. As their resources were very primitive, they couldn't help them much, and were unable to perform any significant surgical procedures.

Thus, every severely ill patient was sentenced to die, and if dying was too slow, Ustase would burst in at night, drive the patients out of their beds and herd them to Gradina or the Granik for liquidation.

All witnesses interviewed by this Commission consistently described the miserable hygienic conditions in which the inmates had to survive. The veracity of the above description was determined particularly by the statements of these witnesses: Breyer Otto from Bjelovar, Kovacevic Vojislav, Trbojevic Nemanja, Dominec Ivan, Stazic Josip, Srica Dragan, Steiner Hinko, Skrgatic Dragutin, Orlic Sime, Danon Jakob and Hersak Josip, all from Zagreb.

III. Prison Labor

As mentioned in the introduction, in 1941 the Jasenovac camp at first consisted of Camp No. I near Krapje and Camp No. II near the Strug, while the real Jasenovac, Camp No. III, was built at the end of Autumn, 1941.

To the first two camps, the Ustase imprisoned Jews arrested in Zagreb, Osijek, Sarajevo and other larger cities, but also Serbs and Croats arrested in various parts of the NDH. There were many intellectuals among them. The Ustase treated the intellectuals with particular cruelty, taking away their clothes and footwear. The food they were given, as mentioned, was especially miserable, though the Ustase still forced them to work for long periods at the most difficult physical labor.

The inmates were forced to build barracks and dikes intended to protect the camp from the floods of the Strug and the Sava. While they were working, the Ustase beat them with truncheons and rifle butts, forced them to dig faster and run at all times. If the individual collapsed from exhaustion, he would be finished off on the spot.

Prisoner Danon Jakob describes the forced labor in Camps No. I and II:

Every time we went to work, about thirty Ustase guards would turn their rifle butts on anyone who would fall exhausted from faint or old age. We always had to go to work running. On labor detail there even worse sentences than getting beaten by rifle butts. Those who would stop, who couldn't run, were murdered. The Ustase guards were shooting at us prisoners shouting, 'Faster, faster!' They wounded many.

If any prisoner would try to rest and stop even for a second, an Ustase bullet would kill him. I remember hearing Ljubo Milos tell the Ustase guards that they shouldn't shoot, because every single Ustase had a knife, so they should slit the throat of any prisoner who didn't want to work.

Of the several thousand prisoners from Camps No. I and II sent to Camp No. III, only several hundred arrived.

The labor of the prisoners in Camp No. III was divided into interior labor

inside the camp and exterior labor around the perimeter.

Interior labor in the camp was performed in the workshops: the Chain Factory, the Brick Factory, the Bakery, the Power Plant, the Sawmill, the Economy, et cetera.

Prisoners had to work at least ten hours a day without rest, because the merchandise they manufactured was necessary for the occupying armies and the Ustase. They also loaded and unloaded railroad cars, trucks and boats on the Sava. There was no rest, not even on Sundays and holidays (in 1943, Sunday rest was permitted for diligent workers). Ustase supervisors patrolled the workshops on the watch for anyone resting, staying too long in the bathroom or working too slowly.

When an Ustase would surmise that a prisoner was "sabotaging" work, he would beat up or kill the prisoner on the spot.

Doctors would often prescribe rest for the ill, old and infirm prisoners, but the Ustase, especially Picilli Hinko, didn't care much for those instructions and relished beating those poor people and forcing them back to work.

Exterior prison labor consisted of building fences made out of barbed wire, small and large dikes, a large wall that lasted until the end of 1942, constructing bunkers and defensive positions in the area around the camp, cutting trees and chopping wood, working in fields and in "Economy" or in neighboring Jablanac. Ustase guards escorted the prisoners to the work sites and forced them with rifle butts, knives or guns to work faster. Many thousands of prisoners were killed during exterior labor, so it often happened that whole groups or parts of groups didn't return to the camp. Ustase guards simply stated that they had tried to run, so they had to kill them.

Attitude Towards and Treatment of Prisoners by the Ustase: The Position of Prisoners in General

If they didn't sense it earlier, every prisoner upon arrival at the camp would understand that a horrible and certain death awaited him. The only uncertainty was how long his suffering would last.

For those who didn't bear witness to these atrocities - the torture that the inmates were subjected to - it seems unbelievable, impossible that there could exist men who would with such an excess of sadism, with such an excess of perversion, invent and perform such cruel methods and means of torture.

Only the Fascist mentality could create the inhuman monsters who committed these atrocities. Brutality was the only thing that could satisfy

their criminal mentality, from the Poglavnik down to the last butcher.

Every Ustase, from Luburic down to the lowliest guard, was almighty and all-powerful to the prisoner. He held the power of life and death. At any time, day or night, during work or rest, any Ustase could kill any prisoner and not be held responsible for it by anyone, and wasn't even required to register the fact.

The following episode is based on the testimony of witness Danon Jakob.

On 23 December 1941, Milos Ljubo, one of the worst Ustase murderers, ordered that all prisoners assemble for muster. He pointed out that one of the inmates tried to kill an Ustase guard. He didn't mention the name of the prisoner, nor of the Ustase he tried to kill.

Milos Ljubo then separated twenty-five prisoners from the line, grabbed a rifle and shot them all. Then he called for Dr. Gusti Leindorfer to make sure they were all dead, then called for the undertakers to take away their corpses.

Then he added, joking, "Oh, I forgot to ask for their names."

Even the briefest rest during forced labor, the unsanctioned gathering of prisoners, rummaging through kitchens for food, an appeal from a prisoner to be spared from labor because of illness or exhaustion, et cetera, represented the worst offense to camp discipline. The Ustase punished such offenses brutally. They would beat the victims with clubs, stakes, whips, or rifle butts; kicked them or stabbed them with bayonets; and quite often would use revolvers or knives and kill them straight away. Sometimes an Ustase would permit a prisoner to do something or take something forbidden. Repercussions were immediate: another Ustase would punish the offender in the most inhuman manner.

Public punishments were often held for petty, trivial or invented offenses, or for no offense at all.

Witness Breyer Otto described the following scene:

Beatings took place when Ljubo Milos or Matijevic were walking through the camp. They would approach a prisoner and without any reason just pick him out and take him to the prison near the Administration building. In the evening all prisoners would be gathered into lines and then the chosen ones - usually two or three comrades - were singled out in front of everyone. Ljubo or Matijevic said that the prisoners had been selected because they didn't want to work and that they would be punished by twenty-five lashes from a whip across their naked

backside. A chair was brought, the punished would have to remove his pants and underwear, and lie over the chair. And then one Ustase would hit him twenty-five times as hard as he could with a whip which had a wire inside. It would break the prisoner's skin, blood would flow so much that he wouldn't be able to walk at all for several days.

And then it would be the turn for the second prisoner, the third and so on. They went to supper when they finished with the last. Ustase walking between camp prisoners after labor, whenever they would want, without anyone's orders and without any reason, on a whim, would grab a prisoner and beat him up. I watched once when they beat my friend with a stake and stomped his body until he died.

Other Ustase shot at us with guns. Just from shootings, several people were killed every day.

Aside from these 'performances' for public punishments, there were also 'performances for the reduction of the overall number of prisoners in the camp.' There were also performances for signing up of all those who wanted to go to work in Germany, or who wanted to go to any other camp or hospital for 'treatment.'

Witness Riboli Josip in his statement adds:

Whenever the camp was full, the Ustase would decide to liquidate a certain number of prisoners. All prisoners had to line up in the evening or at night. Once, when Maricic was walking between groups of prisoners, he shoved his lamp in my face and asked where we were from. If Maricic didn't get the necessary number of victims from parts of the country he didn't like, then he would pick the people he personally disliked.

This sort of examination would last for several hours. Maricic would walk around with his escort and returned several times to the same group, sadistically enjoying holding the inmates in suspense, hoping the dice didn't fall on them.

The other public performances - for signing up to go to work in Germany or to a hospital, or any other camp - the Ustase considered a "prank," laughing at the thought of people voluntarily signing up for death.

Witness Breyer Otto described the fate of prisoners who signed up to go to the Djakovo camp:

I was there when the Ustase loaded prisoners into trucks, then ordered them to sit or kneel. Then they covered them with big awnings, and after that five or six Ustase climbed on and started jumping on the prisoners, kicking them and beating them with rifle butts. That sort of kicking and killing Ustase called 'recovery in Djakovo'

Ustase would often come at night to the barracks and beat up prisoners, just for fun. Witness Kuhada Nikola stated:

I worked in the concentration camp in the 'Sawmill' as a carpenter. I was also beaten during that period. We all had to get up at night and run in circles by the door of the barrack, where lines of Ustase would beat us with their rifle butts without mercy.

Witness Duzemlic Milan stated:

Upon my arrival at the camp on Christmas of 1943, I was thrown into solitary confinement, where I spent twenty-two days. The Ustase burned my feet, shoved needles under my nails, beat me with a cord wrapped in rubber, they put a board on my chest and stomped on it. They stabbed me, I have visible scars from it on both of my arms. During the entire time I heard screaming and moaning from the other rooms, and I later found out they tortured prisoner Djogas Josip by tying his arms and legs, curling him up into a ball and rolling him over a board of nails. Sertic Djuro, the Ustase cut pieces of flesh from his thighs and salted his wounds.

I remember seeing another incident involving several other prisoners. In December 1944, Luburic, Matkovic, Ljubo Milos, Stojcic and Kordic amused themselves by knocking down a 19-year old girl, Loncarevic Marica from Plesma. She was nude on the ground, they spread her

legs and then crucified her on a table and burned her genitals with cigarettes, they shook off the ashes from their cigarettes.

Once, during the liquidation of children in the camp, an Ustase threw a one-year old child in air, and the other Ustase caught the child on a bayonet.

I also saw Ustase Sergeant Bracic Nikola kill prisoner Sulekic Ivan from Kozarica and drink his blood.

There are numerous ways of torture, it's impossible to describe every way the Ustase killed prisoners. They tortured Partizan Tomsic Valent in December 1944 by cutting his testicles off, from which he died.

The Ustase murdered whole groups of prisoners who were sent to Jasenovac by liquidation on the Granik or near the villages of Gradina and Ustica, which lie on the Bosnian side of the Sava River opposite the Granik. Witness Zivkovic Jovan described mass liquidations on the Granik:

Sometimes it lasted all night. Victims would wait in the Main Warehouse or in some other building or out in the open. Before leaving, the Ustase would strip them naked. Then they would tie their hands behind their backs with a wire. Tied like that, they'd herd them one by one to the Granik. A victim would be forced to his knees, and an Ustase would tie a heavy iron weight in the shape of a ring on the victim's arms. After that they would hit the victim with a mallet, a sledgehammer or with the dull side of an axe on the head. They would often cut their stomachs open with a butcher's knife and dump them into the Sava.

Liquidations in Gradina and Ustica were at first performed by Ustase alone, but after 1942 they also used Gypsies. Prisoners would first have to dig long and deep pits. The Ustase would strip them naked, kick the gold fillings out of their heads, and then the victim would have to jump into a pit, where an Ustase or a Gypsy would wait, and hit the victim on the head with a sledgehammer or cut the victim's throat with a knife. Witness Berger Egon described these liquidations:

I worked in Jasenovac as an undertaker starting in December of 1941 and I know that I with other comrades buried about 200 to 300 victims daily. Killings were performed in the following way: pits were three to eight square meters in size. While we were digging graves, Ustase headed by Lieutenant Mujica performed killings of victims that were tied up with wire. The Ustase killed victims by hitting them on their temporal bone. They also killed them by an axe blow across the neck, or by putting wooden stakes into victim's mouths. A stake would be placed into the victim's mouth vertically, and then an Ustase would hit it with an axe and the stake would surface at the top of the head.

Sometimes they asked victims if they had any relatives, and when they established that they did, they would force them to kill each other. There were situations when a brother killed his brother, a father his son, a daughter her mother, and so on. Ustase often cut reins from the backs of many victims. I was there when Mujica cut reins from the back of one victim and then drove the victim around pulling at them. Younger Ustase cut victims' noses and ears off and told each other that they killed Partizans in combat and cut off their ears and noses. The noses and ears they put in handkerchiefs and kept in their pockets.

They would look over every victim, and when they saw that a victim had gold fillings in his teeth, they would pry them out with their knives.

The same Berger Egon was lying in a hospital in February of 1942 because he was stabbed five times with a bayonet by an Ustase because he didn't dig graves fast enough.

Witness Finzi Jakob stated the following:

I worked as an undertaker in the camp graveyard only for ten days. During that period of time I buried corpses without heads, without arms, with crushed skulls, with missing fingers and toes, with nails driven into their chest, with missing sexual organs, mutilated corpses black and blue from beatings. During those ten days we buried about 3,000 corpses. Among them I recognized the corpses of five undertakers finished off by the Ustase.

Witness Kosina Franjo stated in his testimony:

On a Sunday just before Christmas of 1944, I saw at 11 o'clock about forty naked women and children herded out of the camp to the Granik, where Luburic cut their throats and Prpic cut open their bellies and dumped them into the Sava. On another occasion, I saw thirty-five prisoners hanged and one woman among them who had four little children in the camp. During her hanging her children cried for her and grabbed onto her skirt, but Picilli kicked this six-year old girl so hard that his boot cracked her skull.

We have already mentioned that the Ustase killed prisoners on labor. Related to that we add the statement of witness Katalinic Andrija:

As a barber I often went to the place where the 'New Dike' was being built, and I saw Ustase hitting workers on the dike with knotty truncheons. The ones they finished off they threw into the dike. I heard one Ustase guard, an older man named Jozo, bragging in front of everyone what a real pleasure it is when he slaughters Partizan children and how every evening he slaughters ten to twenty children just for fun.

Camp commandants often ordered executions of groups of prisoners because of a "severe misdemeanor" that happened in the camp. Executions were performed in public in the presence of all inmates. Witness Riboli described one scene:

Majstorovic, Polic and Maricic competed over which of them was a better butcher. Victims had to kneel in front of them until they were touching their foreheads to the ground, and the executioners would fire their revolvers at the backs of their heads. If death wasn't instant, one of them would grab a knife and slit the victim's throat. On one occasion, Ustase Sergeant Major Matijevic licked warm blood off a knife. That was so repulsive, that prisoners either turned their heads away or looked down, not wanting to watch this.

There was also a gallows in the camp, where some prisoners were hanged, their bodies remaining there for several days as a "serious warning" to other prisoners. There was also a crematorium in the camp, designed by Picilli. Ustase incinerated men, women and children here, but we will speak in more details about this so-called Picilli Furnace in Section D.

Witnesses claim that there was a machine in Jasenovac by which the Ustase crushed people, and also a "saw" which was used to saw people alive. The sick and sadistic behavior of the Ustase guards, especially when they were drunk, is illustrated by witness Sulina Mato:

I found out from older prisoners, eyewitnesses, how Ustase had cut open the stomach of a pregnant woman and took out her child, and then cut open the belly of another, non-pregnant woman, and stuck the child into her stomach.

I remember myself an Ustase, Horvat Mate, who would always, when he was drunk, look for a victim and to try a new, original way of torturing them, one never applied in practice before.

I saw with my own two eyes when the Ustase placed one prisoner on an anvil and beat him with hammers, as if they were forging on him, until he succumbed.

This chapter would not be complete if we didn't mention one of the worst methods of torturing and killing prisoners. That was torture and death by starvation.

Later we will describe how the Ustase liquidated the entire population of Camp III-C by subjecting prisoners to death by starvation. We will mention here the "Bell Warehouse," a special torture chamber set aside explicitly for that purpose. It was a small barrack without windows, with a glass door, so that from outside it was possible to view everything. The Ustase locked victims inside, keeping them there without food and water for several weeks. Their suffering was awful, and from the barrack desperate screams resounded: "Take us away! Kill us!" The Ustase, especially Matkovic Ivica, reveled in the suffering of their victims, passing in front of the Bell Warehouse and laughing.

As the Bell Warehouse was a small building, not more than thirty

prisoners could be locked in at one time. As new victims arrived, the previous inmates had to make room for them. The Ustase would take the previous group to the Granik and execute them there. Even torture by starvation and the knowledge they would kill them later still didn't satisfy these Ustase's sadism, so they beat and stabbed them with knives before taking them out to their execution.

Witness Devcic Natko relates his observations of the inmates that the Ustase took out alive from the Bell Warehouse:

All of them were to be shot now, after they had spent some time in the torture chamber called the Bell Warehouse. Most of them came out completely black and blue from beating, ears ripped off or cut off and bloody. I remember the names of Dr. Juraj Bocak and Dr. Ozren Novosel, both of them doctors, who were tortured in the Bell Warehouse.

Based on the testimony of many witnesses, of whom only few were quoted here, the State Commission has established the manner in which the Ustase tortured and executed the camp prisoners. When the moment of liberation finally arrived, the Ustase feared that the truth would be revealed. To cover up their numerous atrocities they began in April of 1945 to dig through graveyards in haste, digging out corpses and skeletons of victims and burning them at the stake. For days and weeks the stakes burned, and when their work was finally over, the Ustase killed the inmates who performed the work, and then embraced each other while drinking.

The Main Ustase Criminals

The *Poglavnik* entrusted supreme control over all of Jasenovac's camps to Luburic Maks. In all of his duties, Luburic was responsible only to him.

Before the war, Luburic was a common criminal and had been sentenced to prison for a variety of criminal offenses. From the original police reports found in the files of the Zagreb police, we can see that Luburic, by the sentence of 7 September 1929 No. 104.761, was punished with two days in prison for roaming the streets, and by the sentence of the District Court in Mostar of 5 December 1931 No. Kzp. 719/31, with five months hard labor for the embezzlement of 8,305 dinars belonging to the public stock exchange in Mostar. He was arrested again for a second act of embezzlement.

His real name isn't "Maks," the nickname he was given by his Ustase colleagues, but Vjekoslav. Luburic was a common rambler, despising all honest labor. When Pavelic left the country, he went after him and refined his brutality in various Ustase camps in Hungary and Italy.

Pavelic so highly appreciated these Ustase abilities that he eventually named him an Ustase general.

This monster, of an almost dwarf-like height and a face bearing strong traces of infantilism and the characteristics of a criminal, represented the supreme and only authority in the camps.

Luburic came to Jasenovac two or three times per month. He stayed only a few days at a time, but even during that short period he committed so many atrocities that the prisoners were terrified when they would hear that he had "stopped by" Jasenovac.

Knowing when new transports of prisoners arrived at Jasenovac, he wanted to hear why individual prisoners had been sentenced. He only heard and understood what his hatred, his base passions, and his most bestial instincts dictated.

His first "reports" were terrible, characterized by his ranting and curses, and followed up by fists, rifle butts, bullets from his revolver and his knife across their throats. He constantly patrolled the camp, looking to discover any violation of "camp discipline," to catch a prisoner slackening from weakness, old age or illness, to catch a hungry prisoner rummaging through the trash for food or not greeting him with a proper Ustase salute. His eyes would glisten, and a revolver or a knife would go into action.

On 9 October 1942, Luburic arranged for a ceremony in Jasenovac and distributed gold and silver medals to his subordinates, sent to them by Pavelic as a reward for "merit."

At the banquet, Luburic, as drunk as the rest, held a speech and according to the testimony of one witness stated, *"And thus in one year here in Jasenovac we have slaughtered more people than the Ottoman Empire was able to do during the entire stay of the Turks in Europe."*

Luburic's first deputy was Matkovic Ivica. Matkovic was a common killer, who executed prisoners by his own hand just like Luburic. He was also a pronounced sadist who enjoyed prolonging suffering for as long as possible. The true measure of the man can be seen in the fact that he enjoyed mocking his helpless victims.

Matkovic ordered that all camp prisoners must line up to witness mass executions, singled out victims in order to reduce the overall camp population, et cetera.

Matkovic arranged a great three-day slaughter of Serbs on Catholic Christmas in 1941, and ordered the liquidation of Camp No. III-C by exposing prisoners in the harsh winter to death by starvation.

Third in rank in the camp was Milos Ljubo of Herzegovina. Milos Ljubo was a extremely sanguine fanatic and sadist. While Matkovic Ivica was a refined killer, Milos Ljubo was a brutal butcher.

Witness Flumiani Milan stated about him:

As soon as we arrived, the seventeen of us, to Jasenovac, Ustase beat us with rifle butts and took us to the Brick Factory, where Milos Ljubo had already lined up two groups, while we arrived as a special third group.

Maricic asked Ljubo Milos, 'Who should I aim at first?' And Milos replied, 'Where there's more of them,' and both of them pointed automatic rifles at the forty men from the first two groups and shot them all.

After that he asked the first man from our group why he came here, and when that man replied that he is guilty for being born a Serb, he shot him at the spot.

Then he picked out Laufer, a lawyer from Zagreb, and asked him what he was, and when he replied, he called out him like this - 'I like lawyers very much, come closer' - and killed him right away.

Then he found out that a third man was a doctor from Zagreb, and he ordered him to examine the first two men and to establish whether they were dead.

When the doctor confirmed that they were, he turned to the fourth man and when he found out that he too was a doctor, he 'forgave' the whole group.

Ljubo Milos would often go into one his fits, riding a horse across the camp and shooting at groups of prisoners who didn't manage to hide themselves.

He kept a room in the camp administration building that he arranged as a sort of a "clinic."

He would wear a long white doctor's gown and send an Ustase guard to the Jewish barrack with the message that every Jew who was ill could

come in for a doctor's examination.

When a victim would come to his "clinic," Milos would place him against the wall and with a quick swipe from his knife would cut the victim's throat, ribs and stomach. He called that an "operation," the "ritual slaughter of Jews," and as witness Riboli stated, he was very proud of it.

But even Milos was surpassed in sadism by Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, commandant of Camp No. III, but also for a time commandant of the camp in Stara Gradiska.

Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav is a friar, a Franciscan. In the beginning of 1942, he was sent to the prison on Savska Cesta in Zagreb. After Easter of 1942 he was sent for punishment to Jasenovac. There he first became a "Free Prisoner," and when Ustase commanders noticed that this friar had abilities the Ustase coveted, they accepted him into their ranks and appointed him as an officer among the supervising staff. Thus did Filipovic-Majstorovic by the end of 1942 become an Ustase officer and commandant of Camp No. III.

Witness Krkac Tomo described Majstorovic in his statement with these words:

Very often during my imprisonment in Jasenovac I saw Majstorovic shoot prisoners during so-called 'public performances.' Majstorovic kept this short rubber hose, which he sometimes held over his victims wounds, saying, 'I want to get drunk on Communist (or Jewish) blood.'

I saw when Majstorovic and Stojcic amused themselves by killing three Gypsies, ordering the first Gypsy to kill the second Gypsy with a sledgehammer, the third to kill the first, and then they liquidated the last.

Many other witnesses also stated that they saw Filipovic killing prisoners by his own hand.

The State Commission, through a magistrate of its investigative division, interrogated Filipovic after the liberation of the country when he finally fell into the hands of justice. The main parts of his statement appear in Section D.

The commander of the labor service in Jasenovac was an engineer, Hinko Dominik Picilli. He was the absolute master of camp's "labor power." Picilli exploited prisoners ruthlessly, forcing them to work beyond their limits. He inspected prisoners in workshops and at

worksites, wherever they worked, and with an iron-wire whip, which he always carried, he beat the workers ruthlessly over their heads and across their torso, arms and legs.

Picilli especially persecuted infirm prisoners prescribed rest by doctors, entering the barracks where they were and forcing them back to work with his whip. He studied blueprints of German "crematoriums" and built a furnace near the "Brick Factory" where men, women and children were incinerated for three months. We will speak of this furnace in more detail in Section D.

Other members of the Ustase headquarters in Jasenovac were Brkljacic, Polic, Maricic and a few other commanders. It has been established that they all executed prisoners personally; we will emphasize specific atrocities below.

Informers and "Free Prisoners"

These terms sometimes appear in this document, so to avoid confusion we will clarify what is meant by "Informers" and "Free Prisoners."

Informers were made up of various Ustase members found guilty of some disciplinary lapse or serious criminal offense, and who had been sent to Jasenovac for punishment. It should be made clear that by "criminal offense," only a mutual offense between Ustase is implied, as the worst atrocities committed against the enemies of Fascism didn't meet with any disciplinary or criminal responsibility.

The Ustase administration housed these convicts in a separate building, gave them good food - the same food the Ustase guards received - and obligated them to supervise camp prisoners while they were working or asleep. These "Informers" - as camp inmates called them - could move about freely and walk about outside the camp. They hovered around the camp prisoners, carrying sticks or bats and beating prisoners to force them to work.

They were very cruel towards inmates; often they beat prisoners to death. Witness Devcic Natko describes them:

Officer Civindini had a prison and a torture chamber in Jasenovac, and his aide was a police agent named Kovacevic. Aside from him he had an entire squadron of informers and thugs, all convicts, imprisoned police agents and Ustase, whom we called the 'Agency.' I know they tortured and killed many prisoners in the most savage ways. I once heard the screaming and wailing of one

prisoner named Deutch. They burned him with a red hot iron and tortured him until he went insane, and then they slaughtered him.

The Informers criticized the Ustase out loud in front of prisoners and tried to lure them into saying something careless. When the victim would fall for it, they would rush to denounce him.

"Free Prisoners" were prisoners who stood out by their obedience to Ustase supervisors, to the extent that they entrusted them with supervision over other inmates. Free Prisoners had better accommodations and better food, they could send and receive packages and letters from home, and they could move about freely throughout the camp.

How Many Victims Died in Jasenovac?

During their hurried escape from Jasenovac at the end of April of 1945, the Ustase burned or destroyed all material which could be used as the basis of a statistical analysis to determine how many victims died in Jasenovac.

Thus all registries, directories, ledgers, economy books, and all official documents and orders which could have related certain information about the camp were destroyed, even though record keeping was - according to statements of witnesses - erroneous, sloppy and unsystematic.

Therefore, it isn't possible to answer the question of precisely how many victims died in Jasenovac. Few prisoners who spent some time in the camp were released, and less than a hundred managed to break out of the camp in the final moments.

It was pointed out earlier that the Ustase sent prisoners to Jasenovac for labor, but it has also been stated that many transports of men, women and children arrived at Jasenovac only to be taken inside and liquidated by the Ustase, or killed nearby without being seeing the inside of the camp at all.

The most intense years of the Ustase terror and mass crimes were 1941 and 1942. The whole of 1943 and half of 1944 were marked by relative moderation, which means that mass executions of inmates were not performed as often and in such a scale as they had before. From August of 1944 until April of 1945, large transports began to arrive and liquidations were repeated again en masse.

Prisoners who were in the camp in the first or fourth year mention very high numbers of victims, while the statements of those who were imprisoned in the third year of the Ustase terror in Jasenovac give a much smaller number of victims.

We will mention below some fifty mass crimes carried out by the Ustase in Jasenovac, and if we add the number of prisoners who were killed individually to the number of victims killed in mass executions, we arrive at the figure of approximately 500,000 to 600,000.

As we have pointed out, it will never be possible to determine the exact number of victims swallowed up by Jasenovac. However, based on the research conducted by this State Commission, we can conclude that the above figure approaches reality.

Not one criminal in history managed to slaughter one tenth of a nation, the way Pavelic did his own people. And yet he had the nerve to declare in public that "Jasenovac is not a resting place, but it is not a torture place either."

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

Section D: Specific Mass Atrocities

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp: the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators, Zagreb 1946



Documents: [Jasenovac](#)

Timeline: [The Independent State of Croatia](#)

Memoirs: [Two Bullets for Pavelic](#)

WE WILL NOW DESCRIBE atrocities committed en masse which the State Commission has established based on the interviews and consistent testimony of many witnesses. We will list these crimes in chronological order from the middle of 1941 to the end of April 1945.

However, these represent only a fraction of the crimes which were actually committed.

The Ustase committed most mass crimes in Jasenovac at night, and secretly, so in most cases, surviving witnesses do not have direct knowledge of the number of victims nor of the exact time and means of execution.

In addition, the number of those who survived imprisonment is so small that we do not have direct evidence for most of the atrocities performed in Jasenovac.

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I. The Liquidation of Camps No. I and II

As mentioned in the introduction, the first Jasenovac camp was located twelve kilometers away from the town of Jasenovac, near the village Krapje. After several weeks, Camp No. II was founded on the Strug River, near the road leading to Jasenovac in the direction of Novska. The Ustase brought the initial prisoners to two large fields and ordered them to encircle the area with barbed wire and construct sentry boxes. Prisoners then had to build barracks, kitchens and other auxiliary rooms for their living quarters and construct dikes around both camps, as both the Strug and the Sava often flooded the entire area around Jasenovac.

In the Summer and Autumn of 1941, the Ustase brought thousands of Serbs, Jews and Croats to the camps. These were workers, peasants, journalists, lawyers, engineers, industrialists, merchants and clerks.



Inmates were forced to work without respite from morning until dark, in water up to their knees, pulling up dirt with their hands and sometimes shovels to drag to the dike. The Ustase treated them brutally, beating and kicking anyone who would stumble or faint. Often they would simply shoot him or slit his throat and throw his body into the dike.

They carried out punishments using what they referred to as the "Wire." Witness Breyer describes it:

For any sort of 'offense' - for instance, if an inmate would dare ask for more food, or to spare the old and ill inmates - he would be placed in a cage the Ustase called the 'Wire.' It was a square five meters long, five meters wide, and one meter high, fenced from the sides and from above with barbed wire, open from beneath. It was located in a swamp. The Ustase would throw in a prisoner and keep him there for several days and nights, in all kinds of weather, without food or drink.

As prisoners were barefoot and could only crouch inside of the Wire, their legs were submerged beneath the water. Many acquired respiratory infections or other severe illnesses. Dr. Oton Gavranic from Zagreb, among others, was martyred inside the Wire.

As the food was miserable in both camps, and labor exhausting, prisoners died in great numbers every day.

In November 1941, autumnal rains flooded the entire area into a great lake. Provisional dikes faltered, and the Ustase feared that the floodwater would carry away their sentry boxes. They decided to liquidate both camps, disassemble the barracks and order the prisoners to move to the area around the "Brick Factory" near Jasenovac, to build a new camp there.

Around 15 November, Luburic ordered that all prisoners who were physically unable to move to the new camp were to be executed. On that occasion, 600 to 700 prisoners were murdered.

The same day, Luburic ordered another eighty-five prisoners to be killed, because they had dared to appeal to him to improve the quality of the food received by the inmates.

Milos Ljubo and other Ustase at the same time slaughtered about fifty Jews in Camp No. II, to sow fear in those who "don't want to work fast."

After these executions, only about 700 prisoners remained, who through rain and mud had to carry blocks, battens, tools and other materials to Jasenovac itself. By the time the move to the new camp was complete, it was established that only 250 prisoners remained alive. They became the first prisoners of Camp No. III.

The State Commission has established that in the first five months in Camps No. I and II, about 8,000 prisoners died from illness or exhaustion, or by Ustase knives and rifles.

These facts were established based on the testimony of witnesses Filipcic Ivan from Zagreb, Auferber Mijo from Osijek, Breyer Otto from Bjelovar, Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo, Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Ilic Branko from Zivinice and Slovenec Rudolf from Zagreb.

II. Mass Executions on Catholic Christmas, 1941

The first 250 prisoners were housed in the open sheds of the "Brick Factory." By segregating Serbs, Jews and Croats, the Ustase thus created Sections 3A, 3B and 3D.

New transports of prisoners arrived daily. As there wasn't enough space for such a large number of people, new prisoners had to sleep in the attics of the Brick Factory and the Chain Factory or under the open sky.

Kvaternik Eugen and Luburic Maks planned to gradually build various industrial workshops and barracks for prison labor in Camp No. III. They calculated that they would have to make room for 3,500 to 4,000 prisoners, who would represent Jasenovac's "permanent labor force."

They ordered that the camp be encircled by barbed wire with a broad wall, three meters high, to prevent prisoners from escaping. Thus was the camp separated from the rest of the world. A railroad passed nearby, and behind it the main road, so travelers might be able see everything that went on inside the camp. That was to be prevented. The Ustase took pains to evacuate the population of Jasenovac and the nearby villages, to isolate the camp totally from the outside world.

In 1942 the Ustase ordered the construction of new industrial buildings and living quarters, turning Camp No. III into a small industrial base important for supplying their army with various materials.

Mass atrocities had already begun in the Autumn of 1941. On Catholic Christmas Eve, 24 December 1941, the Ustase herded about 500 Serbian peasants from around Jasenovac into the camp. Ljubo Milos, Matkovic Ivica and Matijevic Josko planned to kill the whole group of innocents and in that way "celebrate" the Christmas holiday.

Witness Milisa Djordje described the atrocity in his statement:

A day before Christmas in 1941, I saw a group of about 500 prisoners taken to a field. They were first forced to dig a deep pit. After that, the Ustase hit them one by one over the head with sledgehammers, threw them into the pit, filled it back up and threw quicklime over it. This happened several hundred meters away from me and the other prisoners, so I couldn't tell who exactly was doing the killing. I know that this was a group of Serbs. At that time the commandant of Jasenovac was Ljubo Milos.

The next day - on Christmas itself - another group of fifty Serbs arrived in Jasenovac. This group too was slaughtered by Milos Ljubo and Matijevic Joso, which is described by witness Danon Jakob:

Matijevic Joso pushed the prisoners towards Ljubo Milos with a bayonet. Their hands were tied behind their backs. Each and every one of them Milos stabbed with a strong swing of a large butcher knife and slit their throats.

III. Mass Executions in the Winter of 1941/42: Executions of III and Starved Prisoners

Throughout the entire period from 1941 until the end of February 1942, the Ustase brought large numbers of men and women from Srem, Slavonia and Bosnia for liquidation in Jasenovac. They were mainly Serbs, but there were also Jews and some Croats.

Inmates Steiner Hinko and Berger Egon gave consistent testimony that the Ustase brought these groups, numbering sometimes a hundred and sometimes as many as 3,000 victims, to a large field near Velika Kosutarica and killed them there.

The victims were killed from axe blows or sledgehammers to the head. Throughout the winter, eighty prisoners from the camp were obligated to work, to dig pits and bury corpses. These executions were organized by Milos Ljubo, Polic Marinko, Pudic Dragutin, Kojic Ante, Sudar Joco, Maricic Jerko, Modric Ante, Gasparovic Dragan, Music Mujo and one Covicic.

The witnesses mentioned above claim that about 50,000 people were

killed in Kosutarica that winter. The undertakers in the camp told other prisoners how many victims they buried each day. Of the eighty undertakers, only witness Berger Egon survived.

These innocent victims were arrested and herded into Jasenovac for the specific purpose of liquidation. Their arrest and execution wasn't preceded by any sort of legal procedure, not from the Ustase, nor the police, nor the judicial authorities.

The Winter of 1941-1942 was exceptionally harsh. Due to poor nutrition and clothing and shoddy and cold barracks, a large number of prisoners became ill, mostly the elderly. As the elderly didn't represent a part of the labor force, the Ustase decided to liquidate them. Witness Steiner Hinko stated:

In January of 1942 in the so-called hospital there were about 300 sick prisoners. As prisoners then had to sleep even in the attics or out in the open, and the winter was harsh, many of them died from disease. So the hospital was always full of sick prisoners.

Ljubo Milos, Matkovic Ivica and Matijevic Joso roused all patients from their beds one night, put them on sleighs and took them to the fields, where they finished them off with sledgehammers and knives.

The same sort of liquidation also occurred later. The statement of witness Steiner is corroborated by witnesses Setinc Marijan and Kamhi Sabetaj.

As a constant hunger overwhelmed the inmates, in the absence of their guards they searched for leftovers around the camp, especially around the kitchen and the dump.

Five prisoners tried one day in February of 1942 to root out several raw potatoes that were buried near a repository.

Ustase guards spotted them and took them to commander Matkovic Ivica, who decided to mete out their punishment immediately. Witnesses Steiner Hinko and Danon Jakob described their punishment:

Matkovic ordered all prisoners to line up in groups for the public punishment of these five men. Even though it was extremely cold, all five of them had to strip naked. The

Ustase tied their hands behind their backs and hanged them by their arms. They were hanged in this position for an hour, shivering from the cold. Their bodies turned blue. After an hour, Matkovic had them untied and shot all five of them in the back of their heads. He held a speech for the prisoners, in which he threatened an even harsher punishment if such a 'crime' happened again.

IV. The Arrival of the So-Called International Commission and Executions of Prisoners in Preparation of Its Arrival

By the beginning of 1942, the whole civilized world knew the sort of crimes the Ustase had committed in Jasenovac. Something had to be done to hide the truth.

To that end, the Ustase brought to Jasenovac an "international commission" consisting of a German, an Italian and an Hungarian, while its other members were all Ustase. This was in fact an international Fascist commission.

Luburic was notified of when the commission was due to arrive, so he had built in haste seemingly decent central kitchens and two solid barracks for prisoners' quarters. Even bunks were built for people to sleep on.

Food for the prisoners also improved somewhat.

Witness Steiner Hinko stated that prisoners had to work fast; some carried bricks and building material, while others worked on the construction. Every ten paces an Ustase stood, beating prisoners and forcing them to work faster. During construction, seventy-two prisoners were beaten to death.

Witnesses Breyer, Danon, Riboli and Steiner described how every prisoner was given a rag on which a high number was written. The rag was to be sewn on their sleeves. The Ustase intended to trick the members of the commission by showing the number of prisoners in the camp in the register. By assigning such high numbers, they intended to give the commission the impression that each registered prisoner was indeed alive.

Prisoners were made to reply to every question of the commission by answering, "I am prisoner number so-and-so."

Several similar commissions visited in 1942. In November, when Aleksandar Seitz, an Ustase member of a commission, asked a Slovenian Catholic priest who he was, the prisoner replied as he was told: "I am prisoner number X."

When asked his profession, he replied in the same way. And when questioned why he was in the camp, Seitz heard again the same answer: "I am prisoner number X."

The Ustase "minister" thought it too stupid to hear such a reply repeated to different questions. He demanded the prisoner answer with a human voice and speech.

The priest finally gave in, and stated that he was a Slovene, that he was a vicar in a Croatian parish on the border, and that he didn't know why he was in the camp.

Luburic couldn't let such a severe "violation of camp discipline" go unpunished. The next day, the old priest was summoned to his office. He was told that he could go home, and was even given some sort of a release certificate. He was happy, he packed his rags and said goodbye to the other prisoners. Guards escorted him out. Shortly thereafter, his possessions were returned, giving silent testimony to the other prisoners, his comrades, of his death.

V. Two New Ustase Atrocities

Prisoner Zouhar Stjepan described two crimes the Ustase committed in the beginning of January 1942:

On 6 January 1942 Matkovic Ivica, Milos Ljubo and Jusic Mujo ordered all prisoners to gather in a 'public performance' to hear some important announcements. When the prisoners mustered, these criminals held speeches during which they yelled, cursed and insulted the inmates, saying they were saboteurs and slackers, and that they would need to apply Ustase methods to bring them back to their senses.

The real reason - or, to be correct, the motive - for the raving of these criminals and for what would soon happen wasn't known, but everyone concluded that Matkovic, Milos and Jusic weren't happy with the prisoners' work.

They then picked out 50 prisoners, took them to a barrack, and finished them off with shovels. About ten Ustase helped them.

On 1 February 1942, again, all inmates had to line up. The camp gate opened, and Lieutenant Jusic Mujo rode in on a

horse, and after him a group of Serbs from Mlaka near Glina entered, about 500 of them. All of them were bound with wire. Two by two, they were chained together. A larger group of Ustase followed them. Jusic had captured these innocent Serbian peasants from Mlaka and brought them to Jasenovac, to slaughter them all in front of the other prisoners.

When Jusic came to where the prisoners stood, he turned around to face the Ustase and shouted: 'Here comes the Red Army, finish them off!'

A terrible scene, a shudder of horror went through the ones who had to watch that, a company of Ustase charging at the victims with their knives drawn. The slaughter began, slitting throats, until the entire road turned into a pile of corpses with streams of warm blood flowing from it.

The inmates were ordered to dig out pits and bury the corpses.

VI. Incineration of Inmates

The Ustase recognized that their methods of execution were slow and overly complicated. A lot of time was lost digging pits and burying corpses, which also left evidence behind.

Following the example of their Nazi masters, the Ustase too decided to build crematoriums in Jasenovac where they would incinerate their victims.

The work concerning construction of the crematoriums was entrusted to engineer Picilli, supervisor of the labor service in the camp. They built two crematoriums, two furnaces - one near the "Brick Factory," and the other in Gradina.

Picilli gathered together the material and masons he needed, and the furnace near the "Brick Factory" was finished in short period of time. The prisoners called it the "Picilli Furnace."

When the construction of the furnace was over, Picilli had all the masons who worked on its construction executed.

Witnesses Duzemlic Milan, Breyer Otto and Berger Egon testified that the first victims were sent into the furnace in February 1942. It remained in operation until May of the same year - approximately three months - when the Ustase had it demolished for reasons unknown. Not a trace of

it was left.

At first, the Ustase incinerated women and children brought from the camp in Stara Gradiska as well as from other camps. During its three months of operation, trucks full of victims arrived in front of the "Brick Warehouse." The Ustase unloaded their victims there, and then took them one by one to a room near the crematorium, where they would strip victims naked, stun them with a blow to the head and throw them into the furnace.

Clothes, shoes and other items were collected, sorted, and carried off to a warehouse. Prisoner Berger Egon described in more detail the execution itself:

For some time I eavesdropped from a workshop that was near the crematorium, hearing what went on in there. I would hear wailing, crying and screaming, and then a dull sound as if an iron door had been shut. After that there was silence. A flame would appear from the chimney. Then the screaming and wailing of a new victim could be heard.

The Ustase also incinerated prisoners from the camp itself - mostly old, infirm and ill men. Their numbers weren't large, but according to witness statements, about 5,000 women and children were brought from the camp in Stara Gradiska, and an additional 10,000 from other camps and places.

At the end of May, the Ustase demolished the furnace near the Brick Factory. For the furnace built in Gradina, there is no information that it ever went into operation.

All witnesses interviewed by this commission believed that the Ustase first stunned victims by blows to their heads, and then threw them into fire unconscious. Only witness Balija Branko claimed that he heard Ustase discussing throwing conscious people into the furnace.

With Picilli, the incineration was overseen by Luburic Maks, Milos Ljubo, Matkovic Ivica, Zrnusic Ante and Mandic Ante.

The State Commission gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes by interviewing many witnesses. Particularly comprehensive testimony was given by Kovacevic Vojislav, Hebner Marijan, Hersak Josip, Berger Otto, Danon Jakob, Slovenec Rudolf, Balija Branko and Breyer Otto.

VII. Mass Liquidations in 1942

From March 1942 until the end of the year, Camp No. III was constantly full of men, women and children brought there by the Ustase in large groups to be liquidated.

To begin with, the Ustase gathered all Gypsy men and women from across the so-called Independent State of Croatia, numbering about 40,000 people, and transported them to Jasenovac.

All Gypsies were gathered in the field located between the "old wire" (see outline) and the great wall in the northeastern part of the camp. The area was enclosed by a special wire and guarded by several sentries. The Ustase named it "Camp No. III-C," because at first only Gypsies lived there, in their tents or out in the open, hungry and barefoot, in the heat of the sun and without shelter during storms. Their food was even worse than that received by the other inmates, and the Ustase beat and whipped them with particular delight and forced them to beat and kill one another.

At night they took them in groups to Gradina, forced them to dig their own graves, and then finished them off with sledgehammers or hammers. Thus, the Ustase liquidated within a few months every Gypsy man and woman, young and old alike. Only a few Gypsies saved themselves, primarily those who stood out by diligent work building the dike and the wall around the camp. The Ustase spared them, and took them to the villages of Gradina and Ustice, where they assigned them work as undertakers and executioners.

This group of Gypsies survived for a long time. They lived in village houses, received good food, and drank to excess. It is significant that none of them tried to flee. Their duty was to dig graves in Gradina for the victims who now arrived in Jasenovac for the sole purpose of being liquidated, to execute victims with sledgehammers or hammers and to bury them afterward. Although they fulfilled their duty as slaves, in the end they, too, learned how little the Ustase's promises were worth. In early 1945, the Ustase killed them all, in order to eliminate all witnesses to their crimes.

When the Gypsies from Camp III-C vanished, the Ustase sent large numbers of Serbs, Jews and Croats there to be liquidated.

Prisoners often saw large groups of men and women departing from Camp III-C, numbering 500 to 800 people. Witnesses specifically mentioned groups sent to their death in Gradina on 17 August 1942, 29 August 1942 and 18 October 1942.

The State Commission has gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes based upon statements given by witnesses Peska Duro, Hersak Josip,

Slovenec Rudolf, Fabijanec Josip, Pejnovic Djuro, Tot Ljudevit, all from Zagreb; Ilic Branko from Zivinice; Setinc Marijan from Dolenjska Jasenica and Breyer Otto from Bjelovar.

VIII. Mass Liquidations Outside the Camp

In the previous chapter, we spoke of the liquidations of victims inside Jasenovac.

However, during the entire year of 1942 large numbers of men, women and children arrived by railroad, trucks or on foot. These captives weren't taken inside the Jasenovac camp at all, but immediately dispatched over the Sava and liquidated in Gradina and Ustice and other locations. Witnesses Hersak Josip, Slovenec Rudolf, Bednjanec Slavko, and Danon Jakob, all from Zagreb; Matas Pavao from Trstenik; Breyer Otto from Bjelovar and Tot Ljudevit from Garesnica testified about the following mass crimes during 1942:

- a.) that, on an undetermined date, the Ustase killed a large group of approximately 8,000 peasants from Slavonia in Gradina;
- b.) that shortly after, they killed a group of approximately 7,000 people captured from villages around Mount Kozara;
- c.) that shortly after, they killed a large group that arrived at the Jasenovac railroad station in fifty-six railroad cars, packed with living skeletons;
- d.) that they killed in Gradina a large group of Jewish women and children who had arrived from the women's camp in Djakovo.

Witnesses state that the Gypsies in Gradina were so exhausted from digging graves day and night that they grabbed truncheons and forced the victims to dig long and deep graves for themselves. The Gypsies competed with the Ustase over who could more quickly and with better skill slit the throats of their victims, or beat them with sledgehammers to the head.

When the pits were covered, both the Ustase and the participating Gypsies drank until they were unconscious.

IX. Maiming and Killing of Two Groups in January and March 1942

Witness Blumschein Zlatko gave the following statement:

Around 20 January 1942, the Ustase gathered around 200 Serbian peasants from different Slavonian towns, and beat them inside of the camp itself with blunt objects for a whole hour. Peasants wailed, curling up in pain. Many died. The Ustase then brought several carts, threw both the dead and the living together, and took them to the graveyards outside of the camp.

The bodies were dumped from the cart and the Ustase stomped on them with their boots. When they finished the last of them off, they removed the victims' shoes and clothes, and threw the corpses into a large pit.

I know that this slaughter was organized by Milos Ljubo himself, and was aided by Matijevic Joso and Sabljic Ilija.

Witness Finzi Jakob described a mass atrocity committed in March of 1942:

In the first half of March 1942, some Ustase, whose identity I could not determine, killed some 3,000 prisoners in Jasenovac. It was also impossible to determine whether this slaughter was performed for the purpose of reducing of overall number of prisoners in the camp, or for the purpose of inducing terror.

The slaughter lasted for ten days. They smashed the heads of their victims with blunt objects. They beat them with stakes and iron rods to such extent that their bodies were black and totally mutilated. They drove nails into their bodies, dismembered them, et cetera. For ten days about fifty undertakers had to bury corpses in the graveyards outside the camp, which is where these mass atrocities occurred.

X. Mass Slaughter of Jews

In early Winter 1942, more transports were scheduled to arrive in Jasenovac. As the camp was already crowded with inmates, the Ustase decided to reduce their number and liquidate some of them, first of all the Jews.

For three nights, Ustase supervisors walked through the barracks, singling out old, ill and infirm Jews. On 17, 18, and 19, November 1942, they collected 800 Jews from the labor service of Jasenovac. First they kept them in a concentration room, and then one night took them by boat over the Sava River to Gradina, where they had to dig their own graves. The Gypsies slaughtered them and buried them.

The State Commission has gathered evidence this crime based on the statement of witness Breyer Otto from Bjelovar.

XI. "Three Year Prisoners" Subjected to Torture and Execution

In the introduction, we stated that the Ustase intended to sentence every disloyal subject to a concentration camp, and that the term of imprisonment varied from three months to three years.

Prisoners noticed that the Ustase commandants, when receiving new prisoners, treated some more strictly than others, and separated them immediately from the other inmates.

At first, the prisoners didn't know what criteria the Ustase used to separate certain persons and why those singled out were never taken inside the camp. They eventually discovered that those singled out were "Three Year Prisoners" - that is, individuals sentenced by Ustase police to a term of three years in prison.

In June of 1942, a large transport arrived in Jasenovac with only "three-year-prisoners," approximately 300 in number.

Witnesses Habijanec Josip and Danon Jakob stated that they watched as Maricic Jerko ordered that the prisoners be taken immediately to Gradina, where the Gypsies killed them. From that time on, the inmates understood that the Ustase would kill all "Three Year Prisoners" outright upon their arrival at the camp, as confirmed by the aforementioned witnesses.

XII. The Liquidation of Camp No. III-C

From the attached outline, one can ascertain that between the so-called

"old wire" and the great wall in the northeastern part of the camp was a large field. In the Spring of 1942, the Ustase built a common camp under the open sky, enclosed it by barbed wire and interned approximately 40,000 Gypsies there.

The Gypsies were killed in a matter of a few weeks. As the number of Gypsies gradually declined, other prisoners were brought in, so Camp III-C became a concentration camp of numerous men, women and children who waited here during 1942 for their turn to go to their death.

By the end of November 1942 only about 160 prisoners, mostly intellectuals, remained in Camp III-C.

The commandant of the camp, Matkovic Ivica, decided to execute them in the most macabre way imaginable: to deprive them of all food and water and see how long they could survive. To that end, he reinforced the guard around the camp and strengthened the wire. Guards were ordered to shoot any prisoner attempting to escape, and to kill any prisoner who tried to sneak food into the camp.

He ordered the construction of a large sign outside the camp which read "typhus." This was to intimidate the other prisoners, but also was a warning to the Ustase themselves from approaching too close to the barbed wire.

Weak and infirm prisoners succumbed only after a few days, but about forty managed to survive even after a few weeks. Out of despair, they ate every blade of grass in the camp. Driven mad by hunger they even started eating human flesh. Witness Kuhada Nikola stated the following:

Toward the end of 1942, I was disinfecting the bunks in a barrack, four meters away from Camp III-C. I was in the attic of the building and out of curiosity I lifted a couple of tiles on the roof. I saw what the inmates in Camp III-C were doing. Nobody was allowed to enter anymore - a board had been erected with a sign on it reading 'typhus.'

I saw how some prisoners ripped flesh from the corpses of their dead comrades and ate it raw. For 17 days they didn't receive any food.

Some witnesses observed the camp at night from a distance. Witnesses Breyer and Riboli stated that they observed prisoners in Camp III-C baking the flesh of their dead comrades and eating it. The flames illuminated the whole camp.

When one prisoner reported to Matkovic Ivica what he saw in the Camp III-C, Matkovic started to laugh and told him, "You are an intelligent man, and should know that a corpse is poisonous, from which death comes quickly. Let them bake and eat, the sooner they will all drop dead. It seems this has been going on too long already."

But the prisoners still wouldn't die. They tried to squeeze through the wire and jump into the Sava. Ustase guards saw them and reported it to Matkovic, who made the decision to load the remaining thirty-five prisoners from Camp III-C into carts by night and move them across the Sava to Gradina, to a house inside the village.

The Ustase imprisoned several other inmates in the same house. They had previously been incarcerated in the "Bell Warehouse," where they had been tortured by starvation.

The thirty-five prisoners from Camp III-C were brought to the house, stripped naked and barricaded behind boarded-up windows and doors. After a few days they passed away from exposure and starvation.

The location of Camp III-C was plowed over to erase every trace of the camp where several hundreds of thousands of men, women and children waited for days and weeks, in the heat of the sun and in the snow, hungry, naked and barefoot, for the moment of a death in which they saw their salvation, to be relieved from the horror and despair which they had to experience every day.

The State Commission has gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes based on the statements of Srica Dragan, Danon Jakob, Riboli Josip, Breyer Otto and Kuhada Nikola, who named Matkovic Ivica, Sliskovic Ivan, Maricic Jerko and Polic Marinko as the Ustase who exhibited the most extreme cruelty during the execution of this crime.

XIII. Redoubled Brutality Against the Jews

Prisoner Richter Rudolf from Zagreb stated:

On one night in December 1942, the Ustase entered the barracks and grabbed the Jews from their bunks. They threw them out of the barracks and beat them with bats and kicked them, fracturing their legs and ribs. Many Jews were beaten to death, and many died later that night.

Later we found out that the reason for all of it was because guards found the corpse of an Ustase guard in the camp, and two Jewish prisoners had escaped from the

camp. The Ustase suspected the Jews had killed the guard.

XIV. The Slaughter of Children

Throughout 1942, Camp III-C was swarming with children brought to Jasenovac together with their parents.

During liquidations, many children lost track of their parents, and other prisoners took them in. Many prisoners thus hid the orphans whose mothers and fathers had been killed, sharing their meals and depriving themselves of food to their benefit. Inmates permitted to receive packages with food from home gave all of it to the children.

Near the end of the Summer of 1942, Luburic noticed the children in the attics of workshops and in the barracks, and he ordered the Ustase to search the whole camp.

Thus it was discovered that there were over four hundred boys and girls in the camp, ranging from four to fourteen years of age. Luburic consulted with his officers and - to the inmates' surprise - had the children registered and placed in special rooms. He identified several male and female teachers among the inmates, and ordered them to teach the children to read, write and sing.

This little "kindergarten" became the sole joy of the inmates in the camp. Their happiness didn't last long. Matkovic Ivica, Kapetanovic and Sliskovic Ivan weren't satisfied with the results; it seemed to them that the children's upbringing didn't emphasize enough the Ustase spirit. Aside from that, they had established that these children were mostly Serbian and Jewish.

When Luburic returned to Jasenovac, they reported their findings to him. He ordered that they be killed, particularly as they had become a burden to the supply budget.

The Ustase took the children in groups of sixty to eighty each to Gradina, where the Gypsies killed and buried them.

This commission has gathered evidence for these crimes against innocent children based on statements from several prisoners, particularly Stazic Josip from Zagreb and Jovanovic Svetozar from Osijek.

XV. Changes in Camp Administration in March 1943

The years 1941 and 1942 saw the bloodiest of the Ustase atrocities in

Jasenovac, killing several hundred thousand prisoners.

However, important events in the world had a decisive influence even on the Ustase régime in Jasenovac: the defeat at Stalingrad. This was the reason why camp's administration became more tolerable.

Eugen Kvaternik was removed from his duty of supreme supervisor of all camps in the so-called NDH during 1943. Matkovic Ivica was also removed from his duty as administrator of Camp No. III.

Ustase Brkljacic Ivica, a Catholic priest, was appointed in his place. Matkovic received word of his dismissal on 19 March 1943, but Brkljacic wasn't due to arrive until 25 March 1943. Over the next four days, Matkovic "celebrated" his departure. He got drunk with his fellow officers, non-commissioned officers and other Ustase, and went on a rampage through the prisoners' barracks at night, herding inmates around like cattle and beating them with lathes, rifle butts, fists and boots. Many prisoners were beaten during those four nights, their bodies black and blue from the abuse, and one prisoner was beaten to death. Witness Danon Jakob from Zagreb emphasizes that during this orgy of violence, Stojcic Jozo, Brzica Petar and Hirschberger Nikola were especially frenetic.

XVI. Atrocities in the Summer of 1943

Though no mass slaughters were committed in Jasenovac in 1943, the year still didn't pass without bloodshed.

Witnesses Bednjanec Slavko from Zagreb, Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo, Skrgatic Dragutin from Zagreb, Danon Jakob from Zagreb and Gregurovic Vera from Zagreb testified to the following:

In the Summer of 1943, several prisoners managed to escape while they were on exterior labor detail. The commander of "Ustase hour," Pavlovic Marko, had decided, and Brkljacic Ivica so ordered, that prisoners were to wear chains on their legs for the next month of exterior labor. He forbade other prisoners from receiving packages and letters, and also reduced the daily food ration. Ustase officers divided the packages among themselves.

Ustase guards began to abuse the prisoners again, particularly while they were on labor detail outside the camp. Very often, fewer number of prisoners returned in the evening than had left for work in the morning. Ustase guards stated that they shot inmates who had tried to escape. Thus in August of 1943, fifty prisoners were killed.

Witness Richter Rudolf from Zagreb stated that just before Autumn of 1943, fifteen Serb Partizans were brought to Jasenovac after being

captured in Bosnia. All of them looked like living skeletons, and their bodies bore evidence of torture. When they entered the camp, ten Ustase from the First Company beat them with stakes. The beating lasted for half an hour. Three of them were finished off immediately, while others died shortly thereafter. Responsibility for the crime was attributed to the commanding officer of First Company, Sankovic Ante-Matesa, non-commissioned officers Alilovic Frane and Brkljacic Jurica and several other Ustase, identities unknown.

XVII. "Forest Groups"

Toward the end of 1943, camp administrators created the so-called "forest groups." Every group consisted of thirty to eighty prisoners who were given tools to cut down trees and chop wood. Returning at night to the camp, they realized that several of their comrades had disappeared. Witness Breyer Otto from Bjelovar stated:

From September 1943 until January 1944, forest groups were formed daily. They were sent to Gradina to cut down trees. I know that during three weeks about eighty people went to work, but each day ten of them didn't return.

Witness Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste stated:

On 29 December of 1943, eighty-four or eighty-five prisoners were called out from a list. They were given saws and axes and were told that they were going to work in the forest. We thought that was suspicious, because there were very few permanent workers from a forest group among them. They were loaded onto a boat, but even before they went ashore, the saws and axes were taken away from them. At noon, the food that was supposed to be taken to them was stopped from being taken to them. We all knew right away that they had been killed. Afterwards their clothes were returned to the camp, and we were now sure that they had been killed.

There were rumors in the camp that they were killed by the First Company of the First Ustase Defense Group, commanded by Ante Vrbani.

Two weeks after that, in the Gradina forest across the

Sava, about 120 prisoners were killed from among three or four groups. They too were sent on forest labor to Gradina, but they never returned. At that time Domobran Senior Lieutenant Nibler was appointed supervisor of the labor section. An inmate in the camp, Vlah Romeo, went to see him and told him that this was the third or fourth group that didn't return from the forest. Until now he had signed documents that these men had tried to escape and were killed, but that from then on he wouldn't sign that anymore.

Other witnesses, including Grun Walter, Breyer Otto, Danon Jakob and Novak Perjanec Mate, also stated that the Ustase killed many prisoners on forest labor during the autumn and winter, and that they noticed how Ustase brought to the camp at night various clothes, footwear and tools. All these witnesses assign blame for these crimes to Luburic Maks, Pavlovic Marko, Brkljacic Ivica, Milos Ljubo, and engineer Picilli Hinko as organizers, and Zrnusic Ante, Mihaljevic Marko, Primorac Silvestar, Bracic Nikola, Frkovic Mile, Djulkic Alaga, Cop Luka and Hirschberger Nikola as executors of these crimes. The number of prisoners killed in the forests during this time has not been established.

XVIII. Ustase Reprisals in June 1944

In June 1944, inmate Wollner Ivan, a student from Zagreb, escaped from the camp. The Ustase captured him near Dubica and beat him up so badly that he passed away, and his dead body was brought back to the camp. All prisoners had to come to the public performance, and Ustase Senior Lieutenant Sakic Dinko demanded to know the persons with whom Wollner socialized and who had helped him escape. When not one prisoner answered, Sakic ordered that an Ustase bring him the "Directory" in which the name of every Jew in Jasenovac was listed. Out of the Directory he called out 100 names. When they stood in front of him, he singled out twenty-five Jews and sentenced them to imprisonment in the "Bell Warehouse," which meant that they were sentenced to die of starvation. During the reading of the sentence, two Jews laughed. An Ustase guard noticed and reported it to Sakic. He ordered the two Jews to kneel and shot them in the back of their heads. Among the twenty-five Jews sent to the Bell Warehouse, there were several respectable people from Sarajevo: professors, lawyers, engineers, et cetera.

The State Commission gathered evidence for this crime from interviews with witnesses Ilic Branko, Kamhi Sabetaj, Danon Jakob, Aleksic Arsa and Zivkovic Jovan.

XIX. Liquidation of a Large Group of Serbs in Jablanac

Witness Breyer Otto testified that at the end of August, approximately 700 to 800 Serbs from near Okucani arrived in Jasenovac.

The witness saw the Ustase load these Serbs onto boats and transport them down the Sava to the forest located between Mlaka and Jablanac. As the camp's Economy was the custodian of land in Jablanac, the witness originally believed that these Serbs were being taken there to work. However, he learned from other prisoners that Ustase killed the Serbs on the Sava riverbank. The witness saw the Ustase guards who followed the prisoners return to the camp that night but the prisoners were never seen again.

XX. Activity of the Mobile Court-Martial in Jasenovac in September 1944

In September of 1944, the camp administration discovered through their informers that certain groups of prisoners maintained contacts outside the camp. According to the informers, these groups were connected to the Partizans and were crafting a plan for an uprising and escape.

The camp administration then convened a mobile court-martial to conduct an investigation and trial.

Luburic entrusted the investigation to Ustase judge Dr. Prpic Mihovil. Prpic was very cruel, and together with his agents Sudar Mile, Primorac Silvestar, Pavicic Petar, Neovcic Lajco, Kvesic Stipo and Pehar Nikola, conducted an "investigation" using every means of torture, including beating victims with truncheons, crushing their fingers, driving needles under their fingernails, burning their naked bodies with a blowtorch used for welding by tinsmiths, blinding them, et cetera. The investigation lasted for several weeks, during which Prpic and his comrades mutilated several prisoners.

The exact purpose of this "court" - which ignored the established facts that the Ustase had killed several hundred thousands of people, in the most heinous ways, without any justified reason, without any procedure and without any, even an Ustase "trial" - isn't clear.

The nature of the "court" can be better determined from the statements of friar and Ustase Majstorovic-Filipovic, who was a member of the "court" and who was interrogated by this commission on 29 June 1945 in Record No. 2006. Among other things, Filipovic stated:

In 1944, in September, I was a member of a mobile court-martial in Jasenovac, with the other members, Mataja Josip, Ustase captain, Milkovic Martin, Ustase Senior Lieutenant from Lika, and Dinko Sakic, Ustase Senior Lieutenant from Bosanski Brod. We didn't investigate anything, we only signed the verdicts. The verdicts we signed were given to us by Dr. Prpic Mihovil, chief of the judiciary for the area of Jasenovac. I signed death warrants for civilians from Dubica, I think seventeen of them, who were accused of collaborating with the Partizans. These seventeen men were hanged in Dubica. Finally, I signed as a member of the court-martial eight death warrants in Novska for railway workers, and they were also hanged. All the sentences were carried out the same day, and all verdicts were made by Dr. Prpic Mihovil, and the executions were performed in the various places I mentioned.

Therefore there was no inquiry, and the "court" didn't come to any verdicts on their own, but the camp administration simply passed on their decisions to be signed by members of the "court." With a few slight differences in procedure, other Ustase mobile courts-martial functioned in the same manner, fomenting terror in various parts of the state and murdering on the territory of the so-called NDH thousands of innocent victims.

Filipovic-Majstorovic didn't reveal the entire scope of the Jasenovac "trial" in September 1944 in his quoted statement. By interviewing witnesses Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo, Magric Misko from Vrapca and Danon Jakob from Zagreb, it was established that based on the verdicts handed down from this "court," a total of thirty-one individuals were hanged.

Witness Danon Jakob was present during the execution of the inmates. He stated:

That these prisoners were tortured, I know, because I saw them going into the administration building. When the Ustase brought them from the interrogation, I saw they were dragging them behind from being beaten up. The undertaker who buried the victims told me that he could identify the body of Rebac Remzija when he undressed him. His body was burned from a flame of a blow torch. Sakic Dinko, a member of the 'court,' referred to that torture instrument as 'V-1' and bragged in front of me in the barbershop that 'V-1' was a success.

On the second day I had to watch the hanging. I heard Primorac Silvestar ask Hadzija, the inmate about to be hanged, if he forgave him for beating him. And he replied that he would never forgive him for that. Primorac then told Hadzija, when the rope was already around his neck, 'Until we meet again in the other world.'

As mentioned in the introduction, in the town of Jasenovac itself there was a factory where leather was being produced. Prisoners were employed as workers, engineers and technicians, and Ustase guards used great caution in preventing them from escaping. The official name of the factory was the "Tannery," or Camp No. IV.

In October of 1944, the Ustase discovered that even in the Tannery there were two organizations keeping in contact with the Partizans. An "investigation" was conducted by Ustase Lisac Slavko, Djerek Bozo, Svagusa Andrija, Zivanovic Mato and Grubisic Jerko. Witnesses Lapcevic Stojan from Zagreb and Auferber Miro from Osijek, who both worked in the Tannery, stated that the investigation was marked by extreme cruelty, that the mobile court-martial sentenced to death twenty-five prisoners from the Tannery and had them shot.

XXI. A Still Bloodier Reign: October 1944

By October 1944, the period of moderation by the Ustase had ended.

By that time, the territory of Macedonia and Serbia had already been liberated. Belgrade had been resurrected as the capital of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, and in Vojvodina, Croatia and Bosnia, battles were being fought between the National Liberation Army and the German-Ustase armies that were fleeing toward the northwestern border.

The Ustase realized that the end of their reign of terror was near, so Luburic, Boban and other "knights" suggested slaughtering everyone who was not a part of the Ustase. Thus the Ustase from October 1944 until the last days of the war committed mass liquidations of all hostile elements.

Again, transports began to arrive to Jasenovac from unliberated parts of the country. Whole prisons and camps were evacuated and their inmates transferred to Jasenovac. Throughout the Winter of 1944 and '45 blood flowed from the "Granik" and from Gradina. Witness Rozman Ivan stated:

In December 1944, the Ustase lined-up prisoners during the public 'performances' before supper, 150 to 200 people a day. They were locked in the barracks in front of the 'Administration.' At night they were taken naked and bound with wire to the 'Granik,' where the Ustase killed them and dumped their bodies into the Sava.

I observed this during the whole month of December from my quarters in the 'Brick Factory.' There were glass windows there and I arrived around 10 p.m. from working at the 'Sawmill.' From my quarters I saw clearly how that butcher Frkovic killed people on the 'Granik' by cutting their throats with a knife and dumping them into the Sava. I could see that pretty well because there was a powerful electric light behind that spot.

Witnesses Zadavec Vinko from Zagreb, Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija, Grun Walter from Nova Gradiska, Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo and Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo gave statements to this State Commission, based on which it determined the following crimes:

- a.) that, during the Winter, the Ustase killed about 3,500 prisoners who were part of the Jasenovac labor force;
- b.) that drunken Ustase raped in turn about 20 young women who worked in the Economy, then slaughtered them and dumped their bodies into the Sava;
- c.) that, in December 1944, the Ustase liquidated by the "Granik" two groups of prisoners, who applied - believing, in their naïvete, that they would save themselves - to work in Germany. In the first group about 200 prisoners were liquidated, of different nationalities and religions, while in the other group there were only Serbs;
- d.) that, on an undetermined date, an enormous transport arrived to the camp with about 15,000 workers and peasants. The Ustase interned them in the "Main Warehouse" and the fields around it, and gradually, within a few weeks, liquidated them all on the "Granik."

On 30 and 31 March 1945, Allied planes bombed Ustase fortifications in Jasenovac.

During the bombing about 40 prisoners were killed and many wounded. Fires broke out and set off several explosions.

The Ustase forced prisoners with truncheons and gunshots to put out the fires, save various items from burning workshops and otherwise expose their lives to mortal danger. Witnesses Lapcevic Stojan, Danon Jakob and Kamhi Sabetaj state that Ustase officers Zrinusic Ante and Zovko Stanko killed many prisoners, while Mihaljevic Marko and Perkovic Marko beat and slaughtered any prisoner they wanted. These witnesses claim that at the end of March there were 5,000 prisoners on labor in Jasenovac.

XXIII. The Final Liquidation of the Inmates

In the beginning of April 1945, an offensive by the National Liberation Army commenced with the goal of driving the German occupiers and their Ustase servants from the country.

The Ustase administration in Jasenovac prepared for their escape. Luburic decided to kill the surviving prisoners, and to turn the camp and the town of Jasenovac into a pile of ashes.

Simultaneously, great transports arrived at Jasenovac with inmates from Lepoglava, Stara Gradiska and other camps and places. The Ustase killed all of these prisoners on the "Granik" or in Gradina. Witness Skrgatic Dragutin stated:

I remember that eleven railroad cars of prisoners from Lepoglava arrived in Jasenovac. I saw when all of those people were taken away by night to Gradina and killed there.

Altogether, about 700 prisoners arrived from Lepoglava, and an even greater number from Stara Gradiska.

In April, as stated by witness Breyer Otto, the Ustase took the prisoners on "exterior labor" and executed them outside of Jasenovac.

They feared that sooner or later the new cemeteries would be discovered

in and around the camp and would be used to establish how and how many victims died.

This is why they formed teams of inmates to act as undertakers who were ordered to dig out the graves in and outside the camp, in Gradina and Ustice, and exhume the corpses of the murdered victims. Other prisoners were ordered to build enormous stakes. Coke was strewn at their bases, corpses and skeletons were thrown on it, doused with oil and burned. Prisoners observed the fires burning over the next three weeks. Witness Duzemlic Milan stated that a peasant woman, Marinic Marija, told him that she observed these fires from the roof of her house in Kosutarica. She also claims to have seen the Ustase killing prisoners. When they burned the last skeleton and corpse, they began drinking and celebrating.

Prisoners and witnesses Abinum Yeshua, Danon Jakob, Zivkovic Jovan and Lapcevic Stojan, who survived the last days of Jasenovac, claim:

a.) that, on 20 April 1945, a large group of approximately 470 persons was liquidated;

b.) that, at the same time, a group which numbered approximately 400 people from Sarajevo arrived in Jasenovac, and that they too were finished off in Gradina;

c.) that, on 21 April 1945, in the women's section of the camp, approximately 760 women and girls remained, working in the Economy, in the kitchens and dairies. On 21 April, a long line of these women went to their death singing songs, parting with their comrades and saying goodbye by shouting, "You are staying, and we are going to die."

The women were finished off that day and thrown into the Sava or burned at the stake. A month later, the Commission of Inquiry found many items of female clothing strewn across the fields and roads between the Economy and the Sava;

d.) that, on 21 April, panic broke out among prisoners, and about a hundred of them hanged themselves out of despair in barracks and workshops.

Thus on 22 April, about 1,060 prisoners remained in Camp No. III.

The Ustase brought these prisoners into a large factory building near the

"Brick Warehouse." They barricaded the doors and windows and placed guards around the building to prevent anyone from escaping.

That whole day and night, the Ustase were busy mining one factory building after another, workshop after workshop, warehouse after warehouse, barrack after barrack. Their intention was to start a multitude of fires, turning the entire camp turned into a torch with explosions resounding throughout it.

The inmates in the factory building knew that certain death awaited them, and they assumed that Ustase would burn their building too and kill them all.

Therefore they decided to mount a breakthrough from the building the next day in an unarmed battle for life and death. They chose Bakotic Ante as their leader. Each prisoner ripped out boards from the walls and doors, and at exactly 10 a.m. on 22 April 1945 they broke down the doors and windows and rushed out of the building.

At the last moment, about 460 prisoners hesitated. Many were ill, old or so infirm that they couldn't think of engaging in unarmed combat.

Though physically weak and exhausted from their suffering in the camp, the six hundred prisoners who didn't lose their nerve gathered their last strength and attacked the Ustase guards, strangling several of them with their bare hands and taking their rifles. Other prisoners grabbed iron rods or bricks. Beating the Ustase with whatever they had, they began running in the direction of the eastern gate on the road to Kosutarica.

They had to cross the area alongside the Sava, between the southern part of the great wall and the river. The Ustase had several bunkers concentrated there, and several machine guns in every bunker. They were, however, surprised. They didn't expect that unarmed prisoners would dare attack them, and had neglected to close the eastern gate.

Thus the final part of the battle occurred at the gate. Prisoner Ristic Mile strangled the Ustase with a machine gun guarding the gate with his bare hands, grabbed his weapon and began firing.

Eighty prisoners were able to run through the gate and save themselves by running to the nearby forests. The other 520 died in the fighting.

The Ustase massacred the prisoners who remained behind, approximately 460 of them. Only Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste saved himself by hiding in the ruins of one building, crouching for five days and nights without food or water, watching the Ustase demolish the camp and the town of Jasenovac.

When the last Ustase disappeared from Jasenovac, Zivkovic pulled himself from his hole, ran to the Sava and swam across. The National

Liberation Army had already arrived in Jasenovac and saved him and the other eighty prisoners who managed the breakthrough from the camp.

The State Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators has gathered evidence for these crimes by the Ustase by interviewing witnesses Solenicki Stjepan, Lapcevic Stojan, Skrgatic Dragutin, Filipcic Ivan, Kamhi Sabetaj, Abinum Yeshua, Ilic Branko, Danon Jakob, Zivkovic Jovan, Aleksic Arsa and Maric Mihajlo, who gave consistent testimony on which and what type of atrocities the Ustase committed before their escape from Camp No. III.

XXIV. Breakthrough from the "Tannery"

In the town Jasenovac itself there were still 147 prisoners working in the "Tannery" on 23 April 1945.

All of them saw the fires and heard the explosions resounding from Camp No. III. They also saw the panic among the Ustase, and that they were moving from house to house planting explosives. They too were afraid that the Ustase monsters would mine and blow up the Tannery with the worker's buildings, so they decided to try to save themselves from the destruction of Camp No. IV.

They divided themselves into fifteen groups of ten and agreed to what each group had to do. Doctors among the prisoners distributed poisonous chemicals, since all prisoners would rather poison themselves than fall into the Ustase's hands.

The first group was supposed to break down the door of the quarters, the second to attack the guards; the third to cut the barbed wire, the fourth to break down the door leading into factory yard, the fifth to beat and disarm the Ustase who were there, the sixth and the seventh to bring clothes and food, the eighth to perform medical service, and the others to acquire weapons in the battle for life and death.

The plan was well thought-out. The prisoners fought bravely and broke through from the camp, but there the greatest difficulties awaited them. They had to run across Jasenovac's streets, through the fields, cut through the circles of barbed wire, and then cross the dike, roads and railroad that were swarming with bunkers and machine guns.

Prisoners Lapcevic Stojan and Berger Egon, who gave us information about this heroic feat, claim only ten prisoners survived from the Tannery and within a few days met with units of the National Liberation Army.

XXV. The Liquidation of the Ustase Hospital

As mentioned earlier, the Ustase maintained a hospital in Jasenovac for the ill and wounded soldiers of the Jasenovac garrison. Many prisoners were obligated to work in the hospital as doctors, pharmacists, nurses, maids, cooks, orderlies, chauffeurs and undertakers. According to the testimony of Danon Jakob, on 23 April Milos Ljubo and Tomic Jure ordered thirteen prisoners to be killed. The Ustase took them to the fields and executed them.

The hospital and several prisoners was relocated to Sunja.

XXVI. The Statement of Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic, Ustase War Criminal and Commandant of Jasenovac

In Record No. 2006 of 29 June 1945, the State Commission interrogated as a witness the aforementioned war criminal Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, who was captured and put on trial after the liberation. We have already mentioned part of his statement - that regarding the "trial" of the so-called mobile court-martial in Jasenovac.

Here we append the most important parts of his statement. Though his statement considering the number of victims doesn't match the truth - all witnesses interviewed, who were prisoners themselves, speak with complete consistency and certainty of a far greater number, especially in regards to the number of victims killed by Majstorovic himself - it is still crucial in that he admitted to killing approximately 100 victims by his own hand, and only "attended" mass executions. According to his confession, just during the short period of time of his command over the camp - from the end of June until the end of October 1942, therefore during four months - 20,000 to 30,000 innocent victims were liquidated. Before and after his time as commandant of the camp, he performed various duties in Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska. His statement reads:

It is true, since I was confronted with the statement of Vjekoslav Servatzi regarding the massacres in the villages surrounding Banja Luka, that I was chaplain of the II Poglavnik's Bodyguard Battalion. As such, one night I went with the brigade II PBB into action and allegedly only to search surrounding Orthodox villages, that we suspected were hosting Chetniks.

I emphasize that I was a priest in that area before the NDH. I saw how Ustase soldiers returned bloody from the slaughter, later I heard stories that on that occasion, 2,000 people were killed.

In Jasenovac I was an Ustase officer and administrator of the camp from the end of June 1942 until the end of October 1942. I admit that during public executions, I personally killed about 100 prisoners from the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska camps. I also admit that during my administration of the camp, mass executions were performed in Gradina, but I didn't participate in that, even though I knew about the killings. I correct myself - I attended these mass executions, but I didn't take part in them. As administrator, I permitted these mass executions, because I had oral orders from Ljubo Milos, and also from Matkovic Ivica, and sometimes even from Maks Luburic. In Gradina, executions were performed by sledgehammers, and in such way that a victim had to climb down into a pit that had already been dug out, which was followed by a blow from the sledgehammer to the back of the head. Besides that, killings were also performed by shooting and slitting throats. During liquidations of women and girls in Gradina, I know that rapes of the younger ones were performed too. Matkovic Ivica permitted that, and rape was, as far as I know, performed by Gypsies, the Gypsy undertakers. I never committed rape.

During my administration, according to my calculations, twenty to thirty thousand prisoners were liquidated in Jasenovac. I especially emphasize that in the beginning of Summer, the liquidation of the Djakovo camp was performed in Jasenovac. The liquidation was organized by Matijevic Joso, an Ustase lieutenant. During the liquidation of the Djakovo camp, I reckon that two to three thousand Jewish women and their children were killed.

From Jasenovac, I went to Stara Gradiska at the end of October 1942 until 27 March 1943. During that time in Stara Gradiska, mass liquidations were performed, usually outside the camp, for instance in Mlaka, Jablanac, but some were sent off to Jasenovac too. Such large transports for liquidations were carried out by the order of Matkovic Ivica, and in this way two to three thousand people were sent away.

On 16 April 1945 I returned to Jasenovac, where I stayed until the end. I know that at the time corpses of prisoners from Gradina were being exhumed and burned, in order to cover up traces of what had been done. I didn't participate in the liquidation of the last prisoners, but only in exhumation.

We have presented a fraction of the mass crimes committed by the Ustase in Jasenovac over a period of four years. We repeat that the litany of mass atrocities is not exhausted, and that numerous instances of torture and executions performed by the Ustase on individuals or groups of prisoners were not mentioned. We would again underline that these crimes were committed on a routine, daily basis.

We also mentioned that the number of victims from Jasenovac ranges around the figure of a half million, which means that one out of every ten inhabitants of the so-called NDH left his bones in Jasenovac.

The crimes committed in Jasenovac do not in the least lag behind the crimes committed by the Nazis in Belsen, Auschwitz or Majdanek.

As with all other Fascist organizations, the Ustase terrorist organization also created a criminal mentality among its members, who thus killed out of "conviction."

It is an unfortunate fact that all members joined the Ustase terrorist organization voluntarily, that they knew in advance the criminal goals of the organization, that the organization was operating by criminal means, that its activity consisted, precisely, of committing criminal acts. Therefore, when they joined this organization, every one of them knew - they knew and they had to know - that they would commit crimes, organized, mass crimes. They knew the consequences of becoming members of such organization. Therefore, they cannot use the excuse that they were ordered to commit a criminal act, and thus shift the responsibility to their commanders.

Evidence of Crimes in Jasenovac

The State Commission didn't find written documentation relating to the atrocities committed in Jasenovac. To erase all traces of this unprecedented torture chamber, which by severity and cruelty was undoubtedly one of the bloodiest of all Nazi camps in Europe, the Ustase destroyed all of their documents. However, even if all the documents written by the camp's administration were preserved, these alone couldn't be counted on for reliable information, at least in regard to the number of victims. From statements given by witnesses it was established that victims who were killed weren't always registered.

During this investigation of the atrocities committed, their timing and circumstances, the State Commission gathered evidence by interviewing

witnesses, conducting an investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac and by a photographic survey of the camp and its vicinity.

Sixty-two witnesses were interrogated:

Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo, Sarac Izmailova street 23,
Aleksic Arsa from Donji Bogicevci,
Auferber Mijo from Osijek,
Balija Branko from Zagreb, Zagorska street 44,
Berger Egon, command of the city of Zagreb, employee of
Propodjelo,
Bing Julio from Virovitica,
Breyer Otto from Bjelovar,
Bzik Stjepan from Kupljanova street 12,
Blumschein Zlatko from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 60,
Bednjanec Slavko from Zagreb, Barutanski jarak 25,
Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 32a,
Devcic Natke from Zagreb, secretary of the Conservatory,
Duzemlic Milan from Drenov Bok,
Dobaj Kario from Sarajevo,
Dominec Ivan from Zagreb, Ilica street 224,
Duvnjak Mato from Kustosija No. 23,
Fajdetic Grgur from Kompolje,
Filipic Ivan from Zagreb, Sava station,
Finzi Jakob from Sarajevo,
Flumiani Milan from Zagreb, Kuslanova street 34,
Gelb Makso from Zagreb,
Grgurovic Vera from Zagreb, Gajeva street 2b,
Grun Walter from Nova Gradiska,
Habijanec Josip from Zagreb, Nova Cesta 38,
Hala Dragutin from Zagreb, Radisina street 8,
Hebner Marijan from Zagreb, Lorkoviceva street 8,
Hersak Josip from Zagreb, Cvjetna Cesta 41,
Ilic Branko from Zivinice 28,
Jovanovic Svetozar from Osijek, Mobil. Department,
Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo,
Katalinic Andreja from Ludbreg,
Kosina Franjo from Zagreb, Jarun No. 82,
Kovacevic Vojislav from Zagreb, Vinogradska street 21,
Krkac Tomo from Jakovlje,
Kuhada Nikola from Pusca,
Kutnjak Srecko from Zagreb, Livadiceva street 22,
Lapcevic Stojan from Zagreb, Ukrinska street 12a,
Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija, Mosorska street 1,
Magdic Misko from Vrapca, Perjavica street 26,
Maric Mihajlo from Obrovnica,
Matas Pavao from Trstenik near Pusca,
Milisa Djordje from Zagreb, Zelengaj,
Novak-Perjarec Mato from Kobiljak near Sesvete,

Orlic Sime from Zagreb, Ilica street 180a,
Pejnovic Djuro from Zagreb, Brigada V. Cetkovica,
Richter Rudolf from Zagreb, Visegradska street 5a,
Rozman Ivan from Zagreb, Rojiceva street 3,
Slovenec Rudolf from Zagreb, Seljina brig. IV divizija,
Solenicki Stjepan from Novaci No. 66 near Donja Bistra,
Srica Dragan from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 2,
Stajzic Josip from Zagreb, Padovceva street 3,
Steiner Hinko from Zagreb, Nova Ves 83,
Setinc Marijan from Dolenjska Jesenica 7,
Skrgetic Dragutin from Zagreb, Rudes, Trebinjska street,
Schleifer Filip from Zagreb, Marticeva street 47,
Sulina Mato from Crikvenica,
Schwarzenberg Adolf from Zagreb, Ilica street 15,
Tot Ljudevit from Zagreb, now in Garesnica,
Trbojevic Nemanja from Zagreb, Omiska street 2,
Zadravec Vinko from Zagreb, Vranovina 22,
Zauhar Stjepan from Zagreb, Skrlceva street 39,
Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste.

These former inmates who spent considerable time - some even a full four years - in Jasenovac itself gave their statements based on their personal experiences and direct observations. The arrested war criminal Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav gave a short statement. The most important parts from his statement we appended to this report.

The investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac was conducted by the State Commission with a team of experts. Three investigations were conducted.

The first investigation was conducted by the District Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators in Nova Gradiska on 11 May 1945.

The second investigation was conducted by a special inquiry commission, sent by the State Commission to Jasenovac on 18 May 1945 to investigate the surviving evidence. That commission consisted of one official of this State Commission, three judges of higher courts, and two doctors of forensics.

The third investigation was conducted by this State Commission with the participation of doctors of forensics and two photographic experts.

All these three commissions inspected the town of Jasenovac, Camp IV, and Camp No. III near Jasenovac, and recorded the results of their work.

The first commission conducted an investigation in both Gradina and Ustice.

The commissions inspected the entire terrain and buildings and many corpses of prisoners, which lie on the banks of the Sava River or in the Sava itself, or which were buried shallow in the ground.

According to consistent forensic findings and opinion, all corpses found in the Sava and on the banks of the Sava show the common characteristics of advanced post-mortem decay, which obstructed attempts at identification. Clothing and found objects couldn't be considered as factors for identification.

Attached to nearly every corpse was an iron weight tied by wire, and their hands were tied in front or behind them, or they had fractured bones in the extremities or skull, et cetera. There was a routine occurrence of evidence of some violent act. The cause of death could not be precisely determined in every case, but each had one thing in common: that every cause of death was of a violent nature, such as severe fracture of the skull, drowning, strangulation, et cetera.

...Almost all corpses show the condition of a very pronounced thinness, which isn't concealed even by the bloating of hypodermic tissue, which occurs from gas created during post-mortem decay. Thus, for some corpses which have been discovered a possibility is allowed that the cause of death was due to a very pronounced physical weakness, exhaustion and malnutrition as consequences of severe, chronic starvation.

University professor and court doctor of forensics Dr. Premru substantiates his above opinion by the fact that during his imprisonment in Jasenovac in 1941 and 1942, he personally saw, clearly and well, all manner of torture and killings of a large number of prisoners - from bullet shots to knife stabs, decapitation from an axe, blows from sledgehammers and mallets to the head, drowning in the Sava, incineration of living people, et cetera...

* * *

In the demolished quarters for male prisoners there is the corpse of a man, whose identity could not be determined. The corpse is in a severe state of decay. Near the women's quarters there are many parts of female clothes and underwear, and in the camp area many male and female

clothes, male ties and suitcases filled with children's clothing. In one building demolished by explosives which had been used as a barn, four completely charred corpses were found of people who had either been burned alive or killed and then set aflame.

Near the burned down prisoners' quarters there are three electrical posts, on which curved axle-pins could be seen. On each post there are three such pins. According to statements given by witnesses, prisoners were hanged from the axle-pins. Near the posts is one complete device, a gallows, where according to statements from the same witnesses prisoners were hanged.

In an area of the camp right next to the mentioned posts is a larger space that was dug up and which according to statements of witnesses was used as prisoner's graveyard. On 21 April this year, the corpses were exhumed and burned, apparently for the purpose of concealing evidence of the crime - according to statements of witnesses - in a nearby ditch, where even today some ashes can be seen, while rocks in the ditch show signs of combustion. A large pile of coke was found nearby. In many places in the camp area lengths of chains were found, which by their shape clearly show that they were used as shackles for the arms and legs of prisoners.

These were the most important parts of the findings and opinions from the record of 18 May 1945 regarding the investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac, conducted by the special inquiry commission.

The investigation at the scene of the crime by this commission on 18 June 1945 was performed as a result of a significant drop of the the water level of the river in June, revealing several boats that appeared to be filled with corpses. The entire northern bank of the Sava was full of mud in which numerous corpses could be identified.

The commission found corpses of men and women, some naked and some dressed, some with skulls or the forehead or temporal bone crushed, while others had been decapitated or had the hands cut off, while others were complete. All corpses or skeletons had their arms tied behind their backs, upon which iron weights were hanged in the shape of rings or a line of trundles. The weights were approximately three to five kilograms. The court doctor of forensics issued the following finding and opinion:

I believe the corpses are one and a half to three months old and in certain cases even several months. A more accurate determination of age of the corpses isn't possible for several reasons: subsequent decay outside of the water, mechanical activity disrupting the water current, but also because they were being eaten by fish.

It is possible to conclude that the corpses were thrown into water after they had been killed by a dull, hard blow to the temporal region, crushing the skull or were killed in another manner which cannot be correctly determined due to decay of corpses, or that they were thrown alive into water shortly after they were knocked out by a blow to the head, which could be concluded from the fact that corpses were tied and fixed with iron weights.

By an investigation conducted by the district commission in Nova Gradiska on 11 May 1945 at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac without doctors of forensics present, the following was established:

Near the burned down clinic, the skeletons of some nine corpses were found. According to the statement of witness Zivkovic (who was present during the investigation), these were the corpses of prisoners who hanged themselves on 21 April 1945 out of fear of the Ustase, because on the night of 20 April 1945 they had killed with dull, hard objects about 400 prisoners whose bodies were subsequently dumped into the Sava.

On the banks of the River Sava corpses can be seen in many places. It is noted that most of the corpses had their hands tied behind their backs. According to the statement of Zivkovic, these corpses are of prisoners. Corpses floating on the Sava can also be seen.

The same commission went to Gradina and Ustice, which are located on the Bosnian side of the Sava. The following was established:

In the middle of a plum orchard belonging to Mile Bozicic is a space six steps long and thirteen steps wide, covered with ashes and bone fragments which didn't burn out completely. Nearby are shovels and wheelbarrows. Leaves

throughout the orchard are completely burned; only here and there at the end of the orchard are there some plum trees with green leaves.

The earth has been plowed to either side. In one corner there are nine empty barrels of oil, and in several places in the orchard there are traces of spilled oil. Even in areas which have been plowed, sporadic traces of oil, ashes and fragments of human bones that didn't burn out can be seen. Here and there a few whole bones can be seen, a few shoulder blades were found, and from one deep pit the lower part of a human jaw was discovered. Human hair was found in the same place.

In the plowed area, ashes and remains of human bones can be seen, especially in the parts which the plow passed over. Next to the orchard is a field belonging to Lazo Jandric, freshly plowed. Judging by the evidence, it appears that from there, too, corpses had been exhumed and burned in the orchard. We conclude this from a bone that was found, partially caked in dirt, and some bones which were found in pieces. Fragments of human teeth were also found there with three whole teeth, and beside that a few more bones. Pieces of coke were strewn about sporadically.

Behind the orchard is another plowed field, about the same size as the orchard. Four meter wide trails of ashes and bones are spread across. Judging by the trails it can be concluded that the ashes were moved by wheelbarrows and scattered about. A couple of large branches were thrown about, cut off from plum trees in the orchard. The branches are burned out.

Comrade Spanovic, who was here on 6 May 1945, mentioned that in several places in the plum orchard he even saw traces of blood. This was also reported by Mato Jugovic, Stipe Jugovic and Franjo Slafer, all from Ustice.

In the plowed field a box used for carrying things was found. The box was full of ashes and pieces of human bone which didn't burn completely. By following the trail further we reached the Sava, which is 315 steps away. A trail two meters wide leads into the Sava itself. The trail consists of ashes and human bones, but hair was also found. Judging by these trails it is obvious that the ashes and remains of bones were being moved in carrying boxes and in wheelbarrows to the Sava and dumped into the river.

Photographs were made of the corpses and skeletons of prisoners found in the River Sava, on the banks of the Sava, inside the camp, in various buildings of the camp, or that were exhumed. The ruins of the camp, which the Ustase blew up and burned before their escape, were also photographed.

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The Pavelic Papers

an independent project researching the history of the ustase movement

Section E: Conclusion

Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp: the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators, Zagreb 1946



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Such a manner of preconceived and inhumane torture and slaughter of a people has never been recorded in history. The Ustase criminals followed precisely the model of their German masters, most consciously executed all their orders, and did so in pursuit of a single goal: to exterminate as many of our people as possible, and to create a living space as large as possible for them.

The total dependence by the Ustase on their German masters, the foundation of the camp itself, the dispatch of the "disloyal," the brutal implementation of Hitler's racist Nazi theories and the deportation to the camps and extermination of the racially and nationally "impure," the same methods of torture and atrocities with minor varieties of Ustase cruelty, the building of furnaces and incineration of victims in furnaces (the Picilli furnace) - all of the evidence points to the conclusion that both Jasenovac and the crimes committed in it were fashioned from a German recipe, owing to a German Hitlerite order as implemented by their servants, the Ustase.

Subsequently, responsibility for the crimes of Jasenovac falls equally on their German masters and the Ustase executioners.

I.

Aside from the members of the German government and German commanders, first of all the so-called Poglavnik, Ante Pavelic, is held responsible.

II.



Secondly, his "deputies" and "state counselors" and all "ministers" who were in office during the era in question are responsible, especially his Ministers of the Interior: Dr. Artukovic Andrija, Dr. Lorkovic Mladen, Dr. Niksic Ante and Frkovic Mato.

III.

The third ones responsible are the heads of the "Main Directorate for Public Order and Security" and chiefs of the "Ustase Secret Service": Kvaternik Eugen, Jurcic Milutin, Cerovski Bozidar, Tomic Viktor, Lisak Erich, Herencic Ivo, Dr. Zimmermann Ljudevit, Dr. Crvenkovic Filip, Tomasevic Ivan, Dr. Vragovic Josip, Wagner Karlo, Rukavina Joso, Lucic Franjo, Dr. Benak Aleksandar, Dr. Bozinovic Zvonimir, Kirin Ico, Dr. Majic Josip, Vasko Tibor, Fario Fabjan, Paver Vjekoslav, Grzeta Nikola, Rados Franjo, Tomljenovic Stjepan, Turkalj Branko, Mak Miroslav, Ceko Ivan, Fulanovic Miroslav.

IV.

All higher and lower commandants in the Jasenovac camp are also responsible: Luburic Vjekoslav aka Maks, Sarac Ante, Milos Ljubo, Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, Brkljacic Ivica, Sakic Dinko, Picilli Hinko, Matkovic Ivica, Pavlovic Mirko and Dzal Jakob.

V.

Finally, all Ustase officers, non-commissioned officers, Ustase guards and informers and camp prisoners who tortured and killed are responsible, namely:

Alilovic Ivan and Fran, sergeants major; Andricevic Ivica, sergeant, Altarac Ante, lieutenant;

Bagaric Karlo, Balic Pasko, Basic Stevo Pindzo, Ustase non-commissioned officers; engineer Beretin, technician; Boras Ante, Drago and Ivan, Ustase non-commissioned officers; Bracic Nikola, sergeant; Brkljacic Jurica, sergeant major; Budimir brothers, Ustase non-commissioned officers; Brzica Petar, lieutenant; Buric Brusic Milan and Buntic Stepi and Simun, non-commissioned officers;

Ciprijanovic Jakob, lieutenant;

Cacic Ivan, Ustase officer; Cop Luka, sergeant; Colak Petar, non-commissioned officer; Cotic Mirko, non-commissioned officer; Covacic,

Crcek Joza and Cupic Jozo, senior lieutenants;

Cenan Ivan, non-commissioned officer;

Dangubic Milan, sergeant; Delac Petar, official; Diamantstein Bruno, "Free Prisoner"; Cerek Bozo, manager of the "Tannery"; Djulkic Alaga, sergeant; Dimac Luka, officer; Dosen Mato and Dukaric Franjo, sergeants;

Elez Ante, senior lieutenant;

Falcini Vjekoslav, non-commissioned officer; Forentic Stjepan, official; Friganovic Ante, sergeant; and Frkovic Mile, sergeant;

Galic, camp prisoner; Galic Ante, non-commissioned officer; Gasparovic Dragan, sergeant major; Grgosevic Jozo, sergeant major; Glamuzina Marko, lieutenant; Grbavac Ivan, official; Grubisic Jerko and Grgic Jure, sergeants major;

Hadzic Osman, "Free Prisoner"; Hirschberger Nikola, sergeant major; Hodzic Latif, official; Horvat Ivan, major and Horvat Mato, sergeant;

Ivanovic Joso junior, official; Ille, lieutenant from Sibenik;

Jandic Ante, sergeant; Jankovic, "Free Prisoner"; Jarak Petar, sergeant major; Jurcevic Ivan, sergeant; Juricic Jerko, sergeant major; Jusic Mujo, lieutenant; and Jusic Saban, non-commissioned officer;

Kapetanovic Ahmet, senior lieutenant; Kardun Nikica, Senior Lieutenant; Kojic Ante, lieutenant; Kojic Zarko, lieutenant; Keza Mirko, non-commissioned officer; Kolobaric Josip, sergeant major; Kolak Petar, sergeant; Kolaric Zlatko, senior lieutenant; Kordic Tihomir, lieutenant; Kosic Ante, non-commissioned officer; Kresic Tvrtko, captain; Kvesic Stipo, sergeant and Kujundzic Stipe, non-commissioned officer;

Lipovac Zvonimir, military chaplain; Lisac Slavko, sergeant major; Luzic Stjepan, sergeant;

Mackovic Josip, official; Mandusic Ante, captain; Majetic Dane, sergeant; Markotic Stanko, sergeant; Maricic Jerko, senior lieutenant; Markic Ivan, sergeant; Martinovic Slavko, sergeant; Martinovic Stojan, sergeant major; Mataja Josip, major; Matijevic Miro, major; Matijevic Joco, senior lieutenant; Matek Milan, sergeant major; Mihic Pajo, captain; Matkovic Ljubo, officer; Matijevic Matija, camp prisoner; Medvedovic Mato, major; Mihaljevic Marko, sergeant major; Miljkovic Martin, senior lieutenant; Modric Ante, sergeant major; and Musa Mato, non-commissioned officer;

Nekic Ivan, Neorcic Vlado and Novosel Stjepan, sergeants;

Ostojic Mate, non-commissioned officer;

Pavicic Petar, sergeant; Pehar Nikola, non-commissioned officer; Pehar Petar, sergeant; Perkovic Marko, sergeant major; Penaric Mate, second lieutenant; Petek Franjo, captain; Polic Marin, lieutenant; Poldrugi Stjepan, sergeant major; Polic Drago, non-commissioned officer; Dr. Prpic Mihovil, captain, military judge; Prpic Stipe, second lieutenant; Primorac Silvestar, Pudic Dragutin and Prgesa Ante, sergeants major;

Radic Miroslav, major; Remenar Antun, captain; Rendjec, senior lieutenant, and Ruzic Blago, sergeant major;

Sabljić Ilija, sergeant major; Stojčić Jozo, Senior Lieutenant; Spiller Herman, "Free Prisoner"; Skocibusic, officer; Sliskovic Ivan, lieutenant; Stankovic Marko, sergeant major; Sudar Josip, captain; Sudar Mile junior and senior, sergeants;

Sepovic Miro, sergeant; Stimac Dane, sergeant; Svagusa Andrija, officer;

Tomas Josip, sergeant major; Tomic Jure, lieutenant and Tralic Mirko, sergeant major;

Uzicanin Rasid, official.

Vasilj Ilija, lieutenant; Vasilj Mate and Luka, non-commissioned officers; Vidovic Mile, sergeant; Visakovic Nikola, major; Vlaho Vinko, sergeant major; Vrbanić Mate, sergeant major; and Vucic Ivan, non-commissioned officer;

Zokic Ante, camp prisoner; Zrinusic Ante, sergeant major; and Zivanovic Mato, lieutenant, and all other Ustase whose identity was not determined.

The State Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators has determined the above individuals as the worst war criminals, traitors of the people and enemies of the people, and deems that they must be most severely punished for the atrocities and misdeeds they committed.

In Zagreb, on 15 November 1945

Number: 4547/45.

State Commission for the Investigation
of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces
and their Collaborators

President: Dr. Venceslav Celigoj
[by his own hand]

Secretary: Dr. Ante Stokic
[by his own hand]

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